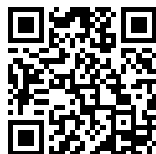


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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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Number 1

## THE OUTLOOK OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN THEOLOGY.

By GEORGE M. GRANT,  
Kingston, Canada.

WHAT is the outlook of the new century in the various departments of thought to which man's attention is chiefly directed? Such a question has been asked this year by many writers. To answer it intelligently, with reference to any subject, we must consider how far and in what directions we have already traveled during the long past, so that we may know where we now stand. We must know what gains we have made before asking what further gains may be expected.

Theology—at present thought unworthy of consideration, not only by many scientific and practical men, but by some religious people—was once denominated the “queen of the sciences,” and it may claim the same title again before the century closes. By theology I mean Christian theology, for while all systematized religions which have given birth to civilizations have as their basis spiritual interpretations of the universe, it is becoming evident that the Christian interpretation is the only one which will stand, because the only one which will be accepted by the ecumenical reason.

What, then, is the result of the nineteen centuries of thought which have been applied to the spiritual ideas that culminated



in Him who was not only the revealer of the things of God, but himself the great revelation? The total result, answer some men eminent in other departments of thought to which they have devoted themselves, amounts to a minus quantity. The theologians, they say, have been the enemies of religion. The true course is to get back to Christ, simply accept his teachings, and live like him, paying no attention to the various systems of theology over which men have vainly wrangled. Such an answer has a plausible sound, but it is, in one word, irrational. Conceit is at the bottom of it; for it is based on the notion that all previous generations have been fools, and that wisdom dwells with the present generation, and only with a select few of this select generation. But great men lived before Agamemnon. A limited knowledge of history is sufficient to teach us how wise and noble were the great theologians of the past, and how indispensable their work was to the progress of humanity and the life of religion. Take, for instance, Paul, the first and the greatest of the theologians. He did not content himself with repeating like a cuckoo the words of Jesus. The pharisaic Christians, the men who persecuted him and broke up the churches he had formed, did that. He had harder work to do. He asked himself what the fact of the risen Christ meant; what his life, death, and resurrection meant for Jews, whose previous spiritual food had been the dry theology of the rabbis or crude expectations of national glory, based on illegitimate deductions from, or partial and unspiritual interpretations of, Old Testament Scripture; what those facts meant for the Jews of Alexandria, who had been influenced by the eclectic philosophy of Philo; what they meant for the Jews of the dispersion generally, who had come in closer contact with oriental or with Greek and Roman conceptions of the universe than had the Palestinian Jews; what they meant for the gentiles, to minister unto whom he had been set apart by a call of God, his own convictions of the universality of the gospel, and the consent of the other apostles; what they meant for the philosophers of Athens, the busy traders of Corinth and Ephesus, the rude country folk of Lycaonia, and all the other peoples to whom he preached, from the time he began his ministry in

Antioch, all the while knowing well that every people had deeply rooted preconceptions, which determined the character of their thought and the whole tenor of their lives; and, in a word, what the fact of Jesus meant for himself, a man who had profited in the Jews' religion above his equals and had been more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of the fathers, but who had found his early religion inadequate to satisfy his intellect or his conscience. He had then to construct a theology, based on the new convictions which had revolutionized his being and made him a new creation. He had to answer satisfactorily to his intellect the question, "What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?" in the light of the revelation of Jesus made to him near Damascus and subsequently in Arabia, then in the temple in Jerusalem, in Tarsus, in Antioch, and throughout those weary journeys in which the hard experiences of actual life and his own spiritual wrestlings modified, refined, and purified his conceptions, though they never once shook him loose from the foundations on which he was building his theology. In setting forth the great truths regarding Christ explicitly, he had to use the exegetical methods in which he had been trained as a student and the circle of ideas with which he was familiar; methods and ideas then in large measure common to Palestinian and Alexandrian writers, and the use of which enabled him to present his gospel along lines that made it comprehensible to the mind of his age. But for Paul's theology, the gospel would never have been anything more to the Jews than a refined form of Judaism, beautiful to a few pious souls, but destitute of power to overthrow the imposing structure of Pharisaism, and it would never have reached the Greek and Roman world at all. To belittle either such a man or his theology is simply to show our ignorance of the fundamental needs of the human spirit, ignorance of the complex conditions created by society, and ignorance of the actual world in which he moved.

It was the same with subsequent great theologians who were the master-spirits of their respective ages. Who that reads the life of Athanasius can withhold a tribute of admiration, not only for that powerful dialectic to which we owe the Nicene Creed

and that insight into the inconsistency of Arianism which showed it to be at bottom an amalgam of Christianity and pagan polytheism, but for a character which exhibits the rarest constellation of virtues, a life serene amid every variety of fortune, and a devotion to truth which could not be shaken by all the forces of the Christianized world? Scholars are now too well aware of the significance of any great movement of thought to accept the sneer of Gibbon that the disputants of the fourth century were the mere victims of a diphthong; for, as Gibbon himself says, "the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other often represent the most opposite ideas." Carlyle at one time made merry over the tremendous controversies on the *homoousion* and the *homoiousion*, rolling out the Greek words in his broadest Annandale; but he subsequently acknowledged that the real question involved was whether the church would accept polytheism in any form or insist on the pure monotheism of Israel, while defining the complexity of the divine nature revealed in the New Testament. That was what the Nicene Creed aimed at, though, as in the case of Paul's theology, we must distinguish between its essence and form, that is, between the permanent and the transitory. The Nicene form is based on the conception of a substance lying beneath the properties of a thing and forming their basis, a conception which is rejected by modern philosophy. The terms "substance" and "person" have actually interchanged meanings; for, when we speak of a person, we mean the essence of a man, whereas the substance, we say, is constantly changing.

The Nicene Creed has been accepted by the church for so long a time as axiomatic theological truth that it comes to many as a shock to be told that, however well suited to the fourth century, it does not express the conception of God which is fundamental to faith. We never think of Jesus as the mysterious compound of two natures expressed by the Nicene formula, but as a person in whose life and work the gracious will and power of the invisible God was perfectly manifested and who is still united to our spirits through the indwelling of his Holy Spirit. Christ is to us, not a highly abstract product of speculative

thought, to understand which a knowledge of the Greek language and an extinct philosophy is required, but a living person who is

Nearer to us than breathing,  
Closer than hands or feet,

in whom we see God and man more truly than we see either great reality elsewhere. But while the Nicene formula must share the fate of all formulas, the little deacon of Alexandria who reared it as a bulwark round the church of his day,

The royal hearted Athanasie  
With Paul's own mantle blest,

will be a possession forever unto humanity. As Hooker states the case, in his simple and stately English :

This was the plain condition of those times ; the whole world against Athanasius and Athanasius against it ; half a hundred years spent in doubtful trial which of the two in the end would prevail — the side which has all, or else the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defender of his innocence, the other a finisher of all his troubles.

Athanasius against the world, and, as in the case of Jesus, against the church as well ! A council more numerous than that of Nicæa had been browbeaten and deceived into the acceptance of an Arian creed, but Athanasius triumphed in the end because truth was on his side, truth attested by the Christian consciousness, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

Augustine, the greatest of the Latin as Athanasius was the greatest of the Greek theologians, is even better known to the church, because he dared to lay bare all the secrets of his heart and life, with the result that it is impossible for anyone who reads his *Confessions* not to be attracted to a personality so passionate, profound, and all-embracing of the spiritual light and heat of his time. His *Confessions* have been compared with those of Rousseau, probably because both men gave the same name to their autobiographies. But the two works are alike only in the one point of absolute truthfulness. Rousseau is the natural man, who to his life's end knows no other force than that of nature and no other center but self, and who is quite sure that—mean, vain, and beastly as he is and has been—no one else is or can be better. When the last trumpet sounds, he is



ready to present himself, book in hand, before the sovereign Judge, and, calling on all men to listen to his confessions, he will challenge anyone to say, "I was better than that man there." For him there is no such thing as divine grace and no Savior from sin; no need of forgiveness and no sense of shame. Augustine, while he sees his sins and the sinfulness of his nature in the light of God, which burns into the secrets of the heart "ten thousand times brighter than the sun," repents like David with bitter tears, cries like the psalmists for forgiveness, finds it and thanks God for the Christ who has given to him as to Paul victory over sin, the clean heart, the free spirit, and abounding peace. He writes to the count Darius of his book: "See what I was in myself and by myself. I had destroyed myself, but he who made me remade me." He was a new creation. In the innermost depth of his being he found freedom and grace to be the same; and so he constantly prayed the prayer which excited the ridicule of the Pelagians, but which is understood by everyone who has found God in Christ: "Da quod jubes et jube quod vis." He was the theologian needed to formulate for the church its doctrines regarding sin and grace, divine sovereignty and human freedom, just as Athanasius had formulated the doctrines regarding the Godhead and the twofold nature of Christ. The church had been rent by Manichæism, and its true faith had to be made explicit before it received into its fold the almost ungovernable hordes of barbarians which, during the long period of pupilage which followed, it—with the imperial instinct of old Rome—wisely disciplined and at length transformed into the law-governed nations of Christendom. In the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* of Dante we see even more clearly than in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, who is generally regarded as the theologian of mediævalism, the marvelous fabric of dogma which the church built up, based mainly on the writings of Augustine. Though the outer garb with which Augustine and his successors clothed the truth will pass away, the truth will remain.

No accent of the Holy Ghost  
The heedless world has ever lost.

The treasure is in earthen bodies, in perishable wine-skins, but it is not lost when the vessel or wine-skin becomes outworn. The spirit weaves for itself more and more appropriate vessels or vestments. A garb or an earthen vessel which has done good service for centuries should be laid aside, when the time comes for putting it on the shelf of a museum, tenderly and even reverently. But that is not weak man's method. Humanity progresses, not as nature does, calmly, silently, slowly, irresistibly; but violently, passionately, through storm and stress, through blood and iron and earth-shaking conflicts, which are the birth-pangs of a wider day. Such were the birth-pangs of Europe, from the martyrdoms of Wycliffe, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, the Bohemian wars, and the sufferings of a countless host in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to the peace of Westphalia and the triumph of British Puritanism in the seventeenth century. At the diet of Worms, Luther, the theologian who should be most honored by all who are true to the modern spirit, the spirit which claims independent thinking, free examination, searching criticism, as the birthright of philosophy and science, and who would be honored by us if we but knew how much we are in his debt, proclaimed that the hour of a new epoch had struck, and that its motto was the Word of God interpreted by the devout reason. At the Leipzig disputations he declared:

I believe that I am a Christian theologian and that I live in the realm of truth; therefore will I be free and will give myself into the hands of no authority, be it that of a council or the emperor or the universities, or the pope, in order that I may confess with confidence all that I discern to be the truth.

With that word he broke the spell under which all Europe lay groaning for deliverance, a spell which still binds the great majority of men, the weaklings who dare not stand alone with God, because they do not believe that the Eternal Spirit is willing to speak directly to their spirits, because their souls have never been united to him in that act of mutual, ineffable love and trust which Luther formulated into his doctrine of justification by faith. The modern world stands on Luther's broad shoulders. Pfleiderer truly says, "We are all ruled by his mighty spirit, and the more fully so the less we are bound by his letter;"

and he confirms this judgment by a remarkable testimony from Goethe, "a judge as competent as he was unbiased."<sup>1</sup>

The Reformation was so great a movement of the human spirit that many theologians in many lands were needed to conserve it against hostile forces. The greatest of these was Calvin, who saved the principles of the Reformation from license by his great system of doctrine. Probably the finest body of systematized theology produced by the school was the Westminster Confession, and the theologian who expressed the Puritan doctrine in its most beautiful form and led captive the popular imagination was John Bunyan. Calvin's *Institutes*, the Westminster Confession, and the works of Owen and Turretin are now seldom read, but new editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress* are continually called for.

How great were the theologians of the church! How commanding their personalities! Each did the work of his day, discerning the signs of the times and the ever-enlarging purpose of God, and being true to the revelations made to his spirit.

To understand how our thoughts have widened since the seventeenth century, we need only look at the proof-texts appended to the doctrines formulated in the Westminster Confession. To the great men assembled in the Jerusalem chamber the Bible was a book, and not a literature; and all its parts were on the same plane and of equal authority. No wonder that they failed to grasp much of its teaching or to appreciate its rich content of wealth for the enrichment of life. They were saved from radical misunderstanding, because they had Luther's spirit and had learned his gospel. Jesus Christ was their Savior. Salvation was obtained, not by works or any human instrumentality, but through grace, by the immediate surrender of the soul to God. Their faces were turned to the light, and the light has been increasing to the perfect day, though, as the sun gains added power, men with weak eyes are always dazzled, lament that darkness is covering the land, and cry out that the harbingers of new light should be killed, banished, imprisoned, or at least be put out of the church!

<sup>1</sup> *Evolution and Theology*, p. 78.

It takes time to weave new principles into the warp and woof of humanity. The Reformation has been doing its work all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along the multitudinous lines in which the free spirit seeks to realize itself; in physical, chemical, and biological science; in speculation, history, and criticism; in politics, economics, and ethics; in comparative religion, in art, and in every department in which man seeks for the true, the good, or the beautiful. Much has been done. The materials have been gathered for a far wider theological synthesis than any that has ever yet been attempted—a synthesis in which no spiritual treasure which has been garnered by the toil of previous generations will be lost, but in which a wider and grander view of the universe and the purpose of God will be given to the delighted vision of the lovers of truth.

In what directions must progress be made before we can expect anything like a complete synthesis which will include and transcend the old theology? The Reformation has not yet done its work either in Europe or America. It was arrested by violent opposition from without and a consequent reaction from within, needed probably to conserve the advance which had been made. But the opposing forces seem to be now well-nigh exhausted, and the churches of the Reformation, if only they have the courage of faith which has too often been lacking, are at length free to carry out the principles of the Reformation and to regenerate society with the spiritual force which always flows from a new appreciation of Christ and the Bible. This includes a franker recognition and a wider interpretation than were possible in the sixteenth or seventeenth century of the rights of the Word of God and the rights of the human spirit.

By the Word of God we mean more than the Bible, and the Bible means infinitely more than, or rather something quite different from, an arsenal which supplies arms and ammunition for the defense of a dogmatic or ecclesiastical position—that position being thus regarded as primary and the Bible as of quite secondary importance. The Bible itself, and not any confession or text-book of systematic divinity, must be the center of theological education. And the Bible is essentially

literature, rather than a statute book: the literature of the people who have been rightly called "the people of revelation," because through them the religion which is commensurate with the highest civilization, and which alone has the promise of permanency, has been made known to the world. That literature must be studied with the same scientific freedom from preconceptions and with the same seriousness as Greek, Roman, French, German, Italian, or English literature is now studied. In no other way can its priceless treasures become the inheritance of the human spirit and enter into our life-blood. Unless studied as literature—and it can be so studied only in an atmosphere of scientific freedom—it will be neglected as the source of religious knowledge or the guide of life; and such neglect is fatal to us, because, unlike Romanists, we have no external and authoritative source and guide on which to fall back. We are thus left without either source or guide. Literary and historical criticism is, therefore, the indispensable condition of a living Protestantism, as well as the surest sign of faith. Such criticism is sometimes called destructive, and rejected without examination as the work of unbelievers. It is destructive only of the work of the scribes, who—prizing the remains of their national literature as the only glory left to Israel—combined, codified, and edited them and any new work which appealed to the theocratic consciousness of the people, with pious zeal, but with an utter lack of historical sense or literary judgment quite unavoidable, because characteristic of the East and of the age in which they did their work. We are too much indebted to them for what they preserved for succeeding ages ever to think of them save as benefactors; but to remain in bondage to them when the labors of three or four generations of scholars have revealed their methods, as the treatment of our Lord by their successors revealed their spiritual inadequacy, is discreditable to the children of light. Literary, historical, and archæological criticism is therefore essentially constructive, and a necessary development of the work of the reformers who were the critics of their age. It is not possible to isolate the Bible from the process of fearless, reverential criticism, which for more than a

century has been applied to the history, the literature, and the bibles of all other peoples. Niebuhr first supplied the key to unlock the treasures of history shrouded under beautiful forms of myth, legend, and fable, or covered by ruins, where the passer-by saw only subjects for stale moralizings. He rewrote ancient history and gave it a larger interpretation. A host of German, French, Dutch, Swiss, and British investigators and critics have entered into and followed up his labors, with the result that nothing has been lost, but much gained. A true perspective of ancient history has been secured, and this with such benefit to Christianity, which is emphatically a historical religion, that Delitzsch has pronounced the historical spirit to be the special *charisma* which God has given to the modern church. Sir William Jones first revealed to the British people the literature of India; and since his day countless scholars have been at work investigating the origin and development of the religions of the world. Everyone now sees that the views of them taken by our forefathers were inadequate and unjust; often ludicrously so; and, admittedly, we can now establish the superiority of any religion only after a comparative estimate of it with others which have held the field side by side with it for centuries, and subjecting all alike to tests and canons of universal validity. Only in this way will full justice be done to the Bible. Any other way means lack of faith in the Bible, and in Him to whom it points.

Again, the rights of the human spirit are not fully met when the freedom of the individual is asserted. The doctrine of justification by faith as "*the* article of a standing or falling church" presupposes a general development of the individual which did exist in northern Europe after its long pupilage in the school of the church during the Middle Ages, but which existed nowhere else. It is still the prevailing spirit in few countries, outside of those in which the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and English-speaking races have found a home. Luther's successful stand for freedom does, indeed, mark an epoch in the history of humanity, the significance of which will never be lost. The individualism foreshadowed by Jeremiah's new covenant,

and established by Jesus as the rock upon which he would build his church, can never be superseded, now that it has been established as the basis of modern society. It is the birthright of the fully developed spiritual man. But we have learned that the truth of individualism must be supplemented by the opposite truth, that the individual is himself the result of long racial processes from which it is unwise to attempt to shake him suddenly free. It follows that doctrines suited to Teutonic and kindred peoples may be quite unsuited to the negroes of Africa, or to the Hindoo and Mongol, races which have been trained under totally different social conditions, customs, and laws. Earnest missionaries have commenced their labors with the conviction that Hottentots could be summarily converted into entirely new products, and that the natives of the South Sea Islands needed only the gospel to put them on a level with the most advanced races. The most open-minded missionaries have been disillusioned, after repeated heart-breaking disappointments, but it is doubtful if the churches have yet been even partially disillusioned. The discipline of Israel under the law for centuries, until the fulness of the time had come, is a lesson that has apparently been thrown away on Christendom. The problem of "saving" men still seems to the ordinary Christian exceedingly simple. Did not Paul say to the Philippian jailer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," and does it not follow that it is enough to preach to all men, "Only believe"? "The gospel has not lost its power," is the reply he probably gives to those who suggest that human nature is complex, and that the condition of every people and every class in society is determined by a previous history, every factor in which must be sympathetically understood, if any permanent advance is to be made.

A many-sided process, extending over centuries, is, therefore, required to save a people, to the extent of bringing them up even to the low level on which we ourselves stand. To carry this out successfully, all the varied forces of Christian civilization must be recognized as essentially religious. The church must co-operate with these, sympathetically and intelligently. For this, patience is needed, but "he that believeth will not

make haste." He that has eyes to see will not despair. For instance, the caste system of India, originally a beneficent social institution, though now an intolerable burden, is being sapped and mined by steam and electricity, by European science and civilization, by the spirit with which a noble army of British officials administers the laws, and by the diffusion of literature essentially Christian, more certainly and on a far larger scale than by direct missionary influences. The destruction of the old is, however, always a comparatively small matter. The more important question remains: "What is to take its place?" Are we simply destroying the old, or are we providing for the creation of a new body? Are we preparing the way for the coming in power of the spirit of Christ, which fashions within every society a new body of conceptions and social usages adequate to the expansion of the organism? Under the operation of the *pax britannica*, silent processes are going on in India, which will issue in a new heaven and a new earth in which its teeming millions will experience a new life. China is in a different stage of evolution, and so is the Mohammedan world. The prospects in neither of these two worlds are at all cheering, but those who have faith in the word of God and in the spirit of man, when allowed to operate in an atmosphere of freedom, never despair.

Much, then, remains to be done before a new theology, worthy of the twentieth century, can be constructed. That theology will need to be what all the other systems professed, but never could be—the conclusions of the ecumenical reason and conscience, enlightened by the Holy Spirit "which lighteth every man who cometh into the world." The present work of investigation and criticism must go on, until everything which can be shaken is taken out of the way or put in its proper place, and until firm common ground, on which all can stand securely, has been reached. As to the character of this common ground, or the essence of Christianity, we shall be guided by the Christian consciousness of nineteen centuries, common to all the churches, and which has proved their saving salt against the various forms of error which have blended with their truth: namely, that Jesus, the founder of the perfect spiritual religion, is the Christ



promised in the Old Testament, and that he belongs to a higher order of being than the merely human and is, in a unique sense, one with God the Father. The philosophy of evolution, which now holds the field, is unwilling to accept such a view of Jesus. We may admit with it that the ideas which we owe to him would survive, even if he were regarded as merely the son of earthly parents, a teacher sent from God, who had come to the world in the regular line of natural descent. In such a case we should still have the Christ of poetry and art, and the Christ of speculation. Whether we should have the Christ of the church and the living Christ, the ever-present Savior of sinful men, is another question. The Christian consciousness—and it should be as supreme after nineteen centuries of almost world-wide testimony as the artistic consciousness is within its realm—affirms that we should not. We are oppressed with a sense of personal guilt, and must have forgiveness if we are to become new creatures. Conscience demands forgiveness, justification, and reconciliation. Man cannot give authoritatively any one of the three. The awakened conscience declares that, if Christ be not risen, we are yet in our sins; but, seeing that he is risen, we, too, rise with him into newness of life and reign with him now and forever. The philosophy of evolution cannot bear to be questioned, but it has yet to ascertain its real content. It is flushed with victories and unwilling to acknowledge that its solvents may not be applied to all the mysteries with which we are surrounded. When it becomes somewhat older and more sober, then, through that fidelity to facts from which it has arisen, it will become convinced that Jesus cannot be interpreted on the supposition that he was merely man, and it will have no more difficulty in accepting the apostolic interpretation of his person than it now has in admitting the distinction between the inorganic and the organic, between the plant and the animal, and between the animal and man. In such a question as this the testimony of Christ's own consciousness must be decisive; and if it be said that we cannot know with undoubted clearness what that testimony was, we have, at any rate, the testimony of the Christian consciousness, from the days of the apostles down to the present. As regards the ideas and

facts on which that has always rested, they cannot yield to theory. Theory must always yield to the facts.

What may be expected to flow from this Christo-centric position, when it is universally recognized by the church?

First, such an increase of spiritual unity as shall lead to organic union. Whether a metaphysic of the person of Christ shall continue to be regarded as essential, or whether the future church shall be content with the summary of facts recorded in the so-called Apostles' Creed, it would be premature to say; but manifestly the Quadrilateral formulated by the Lambeth Convocation of Bishops as a basis of church union will have to be set aside. Three of its articles have, indeed, been informally accepted, almost without thought or question, though the non-Episcopal churches have hesitated about the fourth. But why should the creeds of Nicæa, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople be put on the same level with the spiritual forces from which they originated? Are not those creeds simply results of the spiritual forces which originated from the great fact of the person of Christ? And why should the creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries be accepted and all subsequent creeds and confessions be rejected? The truth is that we know little of the early centuries and of the un-Christian spirit in which the assembled bishops often acted. If we knew more, we should put the Westminster Assembly far above even the Nicene Council.

Secondly, that the great churches of the Reformation will, as preliminary to organic union, rewrite their confessions, adapt them to our own time, and find out the extent of the common ground on which Christians now stand. What is required in this work is not the elimination of phrases and chapters, or the addition of supplementary articles and understandings, but testimonies of the church's faith, written from the new point of view which we all occupy. The organizing principle of the twentieth-century confession will be, not the sovereignty, but the fatherhood of God; not his secret purpose, but his revealed will, that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. This central revelation of God will dominate the view taken of man's nature, place, and duty. It

will be recognized that love is mightier than, because inclusive of, faith; that the note of every true church must be hope; and that every work by which man is benefited is Christian work. Theologians filled with such a spirit will not find it any more difficult to formulate a harmonious system of religious truth than the task seemed to the reformers. Calvin was but a youth when he wrote his famous *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. Luther and Melancthon drew up articles of their faith in new forms as often as they were needed during the varying struggles of friendly and opposing forces. Knox and his coadjutors, when called on by the Parliament of Scotland to submit to them a statement of the reformed faith, did not take many days to draw up a confession so worthy of the movement they represented that Edward Irving considered it superior to that which the Westminster Assembly in the century following took years to compile. These men were not hampered by the letter, for they were filled with the spirit. They readily changed their own phrases as light grew with the progress of events; and they understood that their words were simply their testimonies, and not tests by which future generations were to be kept in spiritual bondage. When a church is able to utter its faith in the language for its own day, it gives proof that it is a living church, awake to the signs of the times; that it is progressive as well as conservative; and that it is able to face dangers, to expand with the growth of the free spirit, and to adjust itself to the larger environment in which men are now living.

## NATHANAEL EMMONS.

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THE religious situation in New England at the death of Jonathan Edwards in 1758 presented grave problems and difficulties, the solution of which was imperatively demanded if Calvinism was to retain its ascendancy over the popular mind and conscience. Arminianism, with its doctrine of the freedom of the will, it was clear, if this were once admitted to be true, must resolve into an empty formula every distinctive tenet of the Calvinistic faith, whether that of eternal decrees—or election and reprobation—or that of original sin, or of perseverance in grace. It likewise struck at the very corner-stone of the old theology—the dogma of the divine sovereignty. Edwards had seen with unfailing vision that the only method to be pursued which could hold out even a suggestion of ultimate victory for the “standing order” was to resist to the bitter end every advance and attack from the Arminian line. From the first, therefore, he had refused to make concessions. On the contrary, he had asserted the principles of Calvinism in their most extreme form, for it was his firm conviction that when thus presented their logical consistency must be such an appeal to the human reason as should be irresistible.

In all this, however, Edwards was but following the course which Calvinism had taken wherever, from the moment it arose, it had been able to prevail. For the theological system of the Genevan reformer had instinctively recognized in Arminianism the reappearance within the pale of religion of the old humanism, with the literary and historical spirit of which it could have no sympathy. Then, too, humanism seemed to have been identified with immorality, and the Reformation of John Calvin was, beyond all else, in the interest of order and discipline. Other types of reform, as that of Luther, might remain indifferent to the humanistic movement, or even quietly allow its influence to

make itself felt in the work of Christianity; while Zwingli and the Church of England might openly bid it welcome as an ally; but Calvinism was bound in the nature of the case to seek the destruction of humanism as incompatible with the will and glory of God.

That was an hour fraught with serious issues for the future of religion in New England when it was determined—as had not been done elsewhere in the Christian world—that the task to be undertaken was to render Calvinism impregnable to the assaults of the reason by carrying it out to its logical conclusions. The result was that as a system of thought it reached a harshness and barbarity which are almost incredible; a result, too, from which we have not yet recovered, which may still be traced in the religious attitude of the New England people. Jonathan Edwards had been able to silence his opponents, but he had failed to convince them. It was a critical condition, from which no way of escape immediately appeared. Edwards, however, was destined to be followed by a succession of powerful thinkers whose mission it should be to seek and afford an answer to the inquiries of the time in the spirit of their great predecessor, and thus develop what is known as the Edwardian theology. Conspicuous among these was Nathanael Emmons, whose career covered the latter part of the eighteenth century and nearly all of the first half of the nineteenth.

Having graduated from Yale College in 1767, at the age of twenty-two, Emmons became in the following year the theological pupil of Dr. Smalley, of New Britain, Conn., a man of great independence of mind and a follower of the New Divinity. In his early religious experience at college, Emmons had rebelled against Calvinism and had been inclined to adopt Arminian principles. But he had read Edwards's *On the Will* with delight, and, when he came to Dr. Smalley's, felt that he was secure in the earlier type of New England religious thought. His teacher, however, opened to him other aspects of theological problems, and these he accepted because they appeared to commend themselves to his mind and heart alike; for it is to be remarked as not without its significance for all his after-thinking

that the process of conversion and the adoption of the new theology should have gone together in Emmons's experience. He never ceased to present his theological system as not only intellectually faultless, but as the very power of God unto salvation. In 1773 Emmons was ordained to the vacant parish of Franklin, Mass., and there he remained as pastor and preacher for more than half a century, and as student and thinker for nearly seventy years, or until his death in 1840. The type of New England theology which he had come to adopt, and in which he made slight changes, was that known as Hopkinsianism, the system of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I., the man who had first come forward to meet the questions raised by Edwards's teaching. But Emmons was no servile disciple; his was a mind pre-eminently independent, and all his theological conceptions, however they might agree with those of any of his predecessors, came from his intellect bearing the impress of his own genius and character; while the background in which they were set and the form of their presentation gave them fresh power. Furthermore, he and all those who constituted what may be termed the Edwardian succession had learned from Edwards that theology was a progressive science; that, while great advancements had already been made, still greater heights were waiting to be gained. This principle Emmons thoroughly accepted. The demand of the age, likewise, was for change.

Whenever the call for a change in theology has come, the temptation has usually been to find the way of settlement in the denial or surrender of some part of Christian truth; though the leaders of the movement have not always thought of their labors in that light, but rather as a search for what they have been pleased to name "the simplicity of Christianity." This is the case today, for the present, like the Hopkinsian period in New England, is an age of transition, and so of the trial and ferment which necessarily accompany the process. There is a theory now abroad—and one by no means limited to circles outside of ecclesiastical organizations—that the essence of Christianity lies in its ethical system, and that, while in the past

the church has had its governmental and theological moments, it is now to be chiefly concerned with conduct. But it is one of the lessons of Christian history that man is to realize the redemption which has come to him in the wholeness of his nature; not merely in his moral, but in his intellectual being as well. This is the position which the New England theologians represented. They believed that there may be and must be right thinking in religion; that to separate between thought and action is to injure the spiritual life of man; nay, more, is to strike it a fatal blow. For this reason they would withdraw no portion of what they conceived to be revealed in Christianity as being not only precious but indispensable to the deepest needs of the human soul, not to mention that it was the sacred law of God which no profane hand might safely touch. Hence their labors are worthy of our attention, however we may regard the particular changes which they effected as they went forth to their work of molding Calvinism into a firmer and more thoroughly unassailable system.

In view of developments which have since appeared, it is with peculiar interest that we note the rejection by Dr. Emmons and the entire Hopkinsian school of the dualism in the divine nature between justice and love, the principle which had been so strenuously maintained by Edwards, and indeed was a characteristic of original Calvinism. It was now asserted that the essence of Deity is love, and that this extends to universal being. Here was a great step forward in the conception of God; but for the present it served only to raise new problems, for the doctrine of endless torment still remained, that doctrine of an everlasting torture-house to which God had consigned from all eternity the vast majority of the race. Could so awful a procedure be chargeable upon a God whose nature is wholly love? To this question no satisfactory answer could anywhere be found. Emmons sought for it in the contention that the divine law which reflects the nature of Deity is so holy that any, even the least, transgression must be deserving of unending punishment. But this was only an attempt to remove to the shoulders of sinners the burden of what has been forever predetermined in their

case, an attempt which must prove futile, since the dogma of decrees had not been relinquished even for a moment. After all, when we look behind the plea, the government of the world had not passed from the hands of the God of Calvinism, whose formal definition had been changed, but whose character was still the same, who had not altered in his purposes for men.

A great problem of the age was that of the mystery of the existence of evil. There is no portion of Christendom where this ancient difficulty has received so much serious attention as among the Calvinists of New England. In its effort to render itself consistent, Calvinism forced the question upon the religious consciousness, and became bound to obtain an answer because of its method of dealing with human sin. Emmons used the expression, without fear or hesitation, that God is the source of evil, that in the case of the transgressor God stands behind the criminal and moves him to his crime. He reasoned that this must be so, since God is the universal and only efficient cause. It is clear, however, that he felt that the situation stood in need of an apology; for he affirmed that sin is an occasion of great good to the universe, making a distinction between occasion and means, as if, were he to describe it as the means, men should feel relieved of responsibility and should glory in their wickedness. But, unlike Edwards, it was not the method of Emmons to discover man's sin in the garden of Eden. We do not derive a heart destitute of good from our first parents; our evil heart is our own. It was his famous dictum that "sin consists in sinning." Sin does not lie in an evil nature, or principle, antecedent to choice; it is man's own act, for which he is directly accountable to God.

There was another hard problem of the period, which had weighed on men's minds for half a century, the end of which seemed to be in sight if such an idea of sin were taken as the starting-point. It was the question of how the inward change known as conversion could possibly be accomplished if, as Jonathan Edwards had argued, with what were apparently conclusive reasons, the human will possessed no creative power and could not control or reverse its inclination, whether toward



good or evil. But if humanity can be held responsible for sin, and if, moreover, it is true, as Emmons taught, that it is not only possible but easy to do God's will, that the terms of salvation have been made as low as men can ask, and that natural ability is equivalent to moral obligation, then the problem no longer exists; then, too, the preacher need not hesitate to exhort men to turn at once from sin to holiness, nor to accuse them of increasing their guilt every moment that they delay to respond.

The Franklin divine thus endeavored to meet the growing Arminianism—and in this he was following the footsteps of Hopkins—by taking to himself its doctrine of human free agency, while never entertaining a doubt on the Calvinistic proposition of the divine sovereignty. If it seemed to some that Emmons was about to pass over to the camp of the Arminians, he reassured them by his emphatic assertion that whatever there was in man, of good as well as of evil, was due to the controlling will of God. These appear like a succession of flank movements undertaken with a view to the recognition of human freedom. But, however thoroughly Emmons might believe in the freedom of the will, and however anxious his quest for its demonstration, or vigorous his statements in its defense, the doctrine could by no possibility be reconciled with that of the divine sovereignty. He had succeeded only in bringing the two principles into juxtaposition. He had no idea of an organic relation between the divine and the human; nor could he, in the face of his premises, establish such a relationship. The human will was one with the divine when it had denied its own power and had come under the domination of Deity. But this was only to obliterate the will of man, not to raise it to the realm where is the attainment of moral character. If this were the case, it was vain to talk in the same breath of the capacity of the creature to choose between good and evil, and of the predeterminations of the eternal mind. The contention was not a contribution to theology, however much it looked that way. That the will of God is supreme, and has fixed, by a decree as of fate, the everlasting condition of every man, but that nevertheless the human will is

freely to come into union with the divine—there could be no more glaring contradiction than this. Dr. Emmons denied the contradiction. When asked to explain himself, he replied that the truth lay in the combination of two extremes. It was not that he was dishonest or insincere, but rather as if he had anticipated the modern view, while it was yet too early to possess its wider outlook, and before the demand for a re-examination of the postulates had become irresistible, a demand which we may well believe his large spirit would gladly have conceded. He rejoiced in the Arminian language on the freedom of the will. It seemed to him that the Calvinists had captured the stronghold of the enemy who had long threatened them with destruction. Now he has the right to occupy both territories, the Calvinistic and the Arminian. He can pass from one to the other in safety. Today no one can go beyond him in his assertion of the absoluteness of decrees, and the next he is proclaiming human liberty as had never been done before. In the last analysis, when we come to examine the position, it is as if he had thought that the true glory of the finite lies in the fact that its little life provides, so to speak, one more opportunity for the expression on the part of the Infinite of his restless and unfathomable spirit. The finite is, as it were, like the tiny bays and inlets by the seashore which serve as channels into which the vast, deep ocean may empty a portion of its eager waters when it comes rushing and upheaving along by the force of the tides, and cannot be kept back. But whatever its poetry or its mysticism, the theory allows to man no significance in and for his own spiritual life; the human will is either unable to win for itself a sphere distinct from the divine, or has been altogether swept out of existence. In this regard the fatal logic of Edwards remained unshaken.

But our chief interest in the theology of Emmons and the other Hopkinsians lies in its doctrine of disinterested submission, or, as it is commonly known, "a willingness to be damned for the glory of God." This principle had been established in the first instance as a test of the soul's love to God—so that a man might make it the supreme proof of his devotion to declare his readiness to be damned in case God's love to the universe

should require it. Emmons's own peculiar contention on the subject was not so much that sinners should be willing to be lost as that they should be willing to have God's decree fulfilled; they should submit not so distinctively to their endless ruin as to the will of God which ordains that ruin.

There was an element of mysticism in Emmons which eagerly responded to a doctrine that shocked his own age, and which men now can hardly discuss with patience. He always spoke of it as lofty, pure, ennobling; to his mind it stood for all that is most sacred in the inner life of the spirit. He supposed that his was the principle of the French mystics of the sixteenth century, who also had proclaimed the unconditional love of God. He read with approval Cowper's translation of Madame Guyon's poems which appeared in 1782, but he did not know the idea of God which was their basis. His mysticism, although not without relations of sympathy with the French school, went farther. It called for the utter annihilation of every holiest instinct of the heart, on the ground that thus alone could there be a new creature. But, dreadful and impossible as was Emmons's doctrine of disinterested submission, it is capable of an interpretation which does honor to the man; for it bears witness to his nobility of character, in that he was unwilling to separate himself from his fellow-creatures. If there were dangers to which others were exposed in the counsels of God, he, too, was prepared to meet them. He had planted himself on the conviction that, whatever the divine decree in his own case, no less than in that of any man, whether unto happiness or misery, that decree must be right; and he would not waver. Still, as suffering was not to be desired for its own sake, but only the will of God, he could hope for the best. It was this that prompted the pathetic utterance on his death-bed: "If I am not saved, I shall be disappointed." As it manifested itself in Emmons, the principle of disinterested submission appears even beautiful, like the inspiration of a noble soul which could not endure any stain of selfishness. But it was more. Astonished as its advocates would have been, could they have been told, their doctrine was the beginning of the end for the old

Calvinism which so long had kept men in its toils. It was the promise and the pledge of a better day for the religious life of New England; not altogether because men rose in rebellion against it, but rather because it was an effort, sublime in spite of its misapprehensions, toward the larger modern view of the high worth and capacity of human nature.

Wherever the Calvinistic theology has appeared in history, whether in its origin in St. Paul or later in Augustine, or in the mediæval reformer whose remorseless logic gave it a developed expression, and from whom it takes its name, it has stood for the divine transcendence. For this reason, and more especially since the New England theologians gave to the doctrine a deeper emphasis than it had yet received, it is difficult for us to discover how Emmons could have regarded it as bringing God near to man. The truth is that he had carried his theory of the divine will so far that it alone occupied the universe; hence he was able to argue that man could not flee from its presence. But this was to leave no room for human personality, that conception which the present age has found so inspiring. If individual character was to exist at all, it was to be made over into something not itself. It is said nowadays that it is comparatively easy in theology to bring forward the charge of pantheism; but surely there can be no question that here was a theology which was indeed a pantheism; for it burned with a fire that scorched and shriveled every form of thought and life with which it came in contact. Even Emmons himself, with all his natural independence of character and vigor of mind, as he sat in his study sixteen hours a day, meditating on problems which had no connection with the spiritual life, wearing a place for his feet in the floor beneath his table, and refusing to move for any secular duty, however urgent, did not wholly escape the fatal influence of his own doctrine. He was not altogether what he would have been in another age and under a different system. But the native strength of his inner life was too great to be subdued. The man himself was better than his theology, and his personality appears as it were the open diapason sounding below and above the mighty organ roll of his awful dogmas.

It is an illustration of how extremes in religion may sometimes meet that in its effacement of the free expression of individual spiritual life consistent Calvinism was in agreement with the principles of the Jesuits, though the system of Ignatius Loyola was inspired by a different motive from that which the New England theologians had in mind.

Though the rising Arminianism of his age, which was developing itself into the Universalist and Unitarian movements, disturbed Dr. Emmons, it did not take him unawares. He had seen what was coming almost from the beginning of his ministry and was prepared for the battle all the way along. In his sermon on "The Dignity of Man"—the title of which surprises us when we turn to it—preached in 1786, long before Channing arose to emphasize that truth and make it the basis of his theology, it seems as if Emmons had advanced by forced marches and was in possession of the field before the arrival of the enemy. But when we come to bring it into relation with his system, it is clear that the position is not that which was to form the mission of Channing. The sovereignty of Deity must always dominate; and human nature has its worth, not through any spiritual capacity, which is the impress of divinity, but only because it may subserve the arbitrary will of God. To the mind of Dr. Emmons the theory of the atonement held by Universalists seemed altogether at variance with the principles of a true theology. He was constantly seeking to demonstrate that it was false. To say that Christ had died for all, and that every man therefore may claim salvation for himself, appeared as a sure way to open the flood-gates to immorality, and, what was far worse, like an attempt to fetter the divine will, which must be free to save or to condemn as it chooses. It was impossible to tell whether or no the love of God had gone forth to a particular individual. That was a mystery the solution of which must wait until after death.

On the subject of Scripture there are expressions of Emmons which lead us to think that were he living today he could be in complete accord with modern thought. In the last analysis, when it is a question of the integrity of the Bible, appeal

is to be made to internal evidence rather than to prophecy or miracles. It is as if he were confident that the book is its own witness and bears the authority for its spiritual truth stamped upon its face. Here again, however, the man is not free, but is involved in contradictions through his allegiance to the principles of Calvinism. The theory of verbal inspiration binds him; therefore, wherever the statements of the volume are obnoxious to the reason there can be no real criticism, for to appeal from the Bible to the reason is to appeal from God to man. It is the argument which was unknown to Christendom until it arose on the continent of Europe in the sixteenth century, yet an argument with which we are strangely familiar, since by one of the contradictions of history it finds its reappearance at the present time in quarters where we could least expect it, where there is a richer heritage than is afforded by Calvinism: Inasmuch as the book is the utterance of the voice of God, its pages must be absolutely free from blemish; for, though it came through man, did not God speak through his soul as through a trumpet, and was not man passive in the process? To say, or even suggest, that historical Christianity has not known that or any similar theory; that the Bible itself bears another witness; that, because of the very fact that it is through men the Word of God has come, its statement is likely to contain some indications of the weakness of the human spirit, which in reality was not passive, but struggling in anxious fear and hope to understand and record the divine message, seems to these men to belittle its value, and, indeed, to deny that any sound has reached us. It is to no purpose that Christian people have at any moment looked to Calvinism, or to regions where its spirit and influence have obtained, for help in such an interpretation of Scripture as should be an unfolding of its truer meaning. But the pastor of Franklin was too large for his system; and it fills us with compassion to see how, when he appears to be standing at the door, as if about to go into a wider world, he at once turns and shuts himself again in the dungeons of Geneva.

Dr. Emmons passed his life within his parish, confined to his own reflections, satisfied with the postulates of John Calvin,

which he had decided from original research were the very principles of St. Paul. These seemed also to be exclusive in the doctrines of that apostle, and were regarded as one with the religion of the gospels. That that first of Christian thinkers, though among the greatest, might unconsciously have identified his own philosophical speculations with the divine discoveries of the Christ of God; or that there is more in his comprehensive writings than is included in the eighth and ninth chapters of the epistle to the Romans, was a suggestion which had never presented itself as the key which could unlock for him the door to the treasures of the New Testament, to the nobler and essential theology of St. Paul, and to the teachings of the Master as well. Emmons read widely on all sides; the books of Universalism and Unitarianism, and even of infidelity, were to be found on his shelves; but he could perceive no message in any of these which he could take home in loving self-application. For seventy years he labored to make Calvinism consistent, and the thought that it would some day be revealed that he had failed never occurred to his mind. He had no conception of how that same Arminianism, which to him was only vain and repulsive, was soon to change the face of the religious world. It is interesting to note in this connection that the parsonage at Franklin, as was the custom at the houses of distinguished ministers of that period, served as a theological school, one or two pupils being received at a time, and that during his long ministry Dr. Emmons trained nearly one hundred for their sacred work. No doubt this appeared to him to furnish a good guarantee for the utter discomfiture of Arminianism, and for the continuance of New England in the ancient paths, which it had been his work, as it were, to macadamize, and along which the people might now be led by men who had been instructed in every landmark. We know what were the thinkers and the preachers bred under him, but we may be sure that the young men, too, who came to Emmons as their teacher must have had brave hearts as well as strong mental powers to receive and retain so difficult a theology.

But if Emmons was great as a theologian and teacher of

candidates for the ministry, he was greater still as a preacher ; for it was in the pulpit that he made known what was in his mind and claimed the attention of men. All these questions and controversies in theology which we have been noticing were not written down in essays or treatises, but in sermons ; they were not sent out to the world through the press ; they were proclaimed to a congregation of parishioners from the pulpit of Franklin. Emmons had no ambition to appear as an author ; he would be only a preacher. Throughout a pastorate of extraordinary length he stood consistently for the power of the pulpit, as the place of appeal to the intellect and the conscience and of nurture for the spiritual life. In this respect he has a message for our own age. Nor could any call from without turn him aside. It was only with reluctance that he first consented to receive students of divinity into his household, lest they should claim too much of his time from his preparation for his work ; and when at one period he was talked of for the presidency of what was then the new theological school at Andover, he declined. While strangers often found their way to Franklin, attracted by the fame of the preacher, it was Emmons's delight to be the minister of his own people, and to see the second and even the third generation, who had heard his voice from childhood, succeeding to one another in their places in the pews. It was a happiness, too, of which he never wearied, to be the minister of a country parish. When we recall the subjects of his sermons, it appears all the more remarkable that they should have been preached to a rural congregation. Probably there is no portion of the Christian world where abstruse theological problems have received so much attention as in the pulpits of New England ; and certainly among these that of Emmons takes high rank in this regard. After Northampton, in no parish, whether town or city, even in New England, have hard topics of theology been so freely and fully sifted as in Franklin. It is said that the divines of Germany were astonished to hear of a congregation of farmers listening to sermons on themes which were being discussed by their greatest philosophers, by Fichte and Schelling and Hegel. But the farmers of New England rejoiced



in the discussion of those themes ; what they heard in church on Sunday serving as food for reflection and conversation during the week at the plow or in the hayfield.

Emmons did not give much time to the composition of a sermon. But its plan was mapped out with elaboration beforehand, so that he knew just how he intended it to move. He always took care that his mind should be full of his subject, and as he was a rapid thinker, so he wrote rapidly. Like all the great Calvinists of his age he was a logical preacher. If you admitted his premises, you must go with him to the end. It was his peculiar fashion, however, to state what his conclusions were to be at the opening of his discourse, and before he proceeded to develop his argument. When these were unusually offensive, his hearers were perplexed ; but this was what he wished, for it served the purpose of arousing their interest to see what practical lesson he would draw in what was called the "improvement." His homiletic method is well described in one of his own aphorisms : "The wise preacher will address the understanding before the conscience, and the conscience before the heart."

But Emmons's power in the pulpit was not due to any of the graces of an oratory which is readily effective. His figure was small and slight, and his voice so feeble that he could scarcely be heard. When we add to this that because of near-sightedness his manuscript was held close to his eyes while reading, thus rendering his face invisible and adding to the difficulty of hearing him, and that his delivery was without gesture and in a monotone, it is evident that it was none of the physical gifts or acquirements that sway great popular assemblies by which the people of Franklin were drawn to their meeting-house Sunday after Sunday, in storm and sunshine, for fifty-four years. But his was the soul of the poet and the prophet, and, in spite of the disadvantages under which he labored, he often rose to great heights of impassioned eloquence, thrilling himself and his hearers alike, particularly when he laid aside his manuscript, as was his practice, after reading some main division of his discourse, or preached wholly extempore. His theology, wrought out in lonely meditation and study, through the hours of the long

days, with the hook on the door that he might not be disturbed, it was manifest, when he appeared in his pulpit, had been fused in a flaming furnace. Even in the printed volumes the fire is not completely gone, but when we turn to them is found still burning. Yet it was not merely by flights of imagination, however lofty and spiritual, that Emmons reached and commanded his audience; it was fundamentally by the eloquence of reason. Then there was always the personality of the man himself, so strong and true, and the people's own interest in high religious themes. The preacher was able to give, and the people were glad to hear. All ages were represented in that congregation, thoughtful and expectant, when Emmons arose in his place; the young found his words helpful and inspiring in the temptations that beset them in the battle of life; and old men, who had grown gray under his ministry, still continued to listen with eagerness, bending forward in their pews to catch every syllable which fell from his glowing lips, as if all that they had heard in years that were gone were to them the promise and the pledge that now at last the very mysteries of God were to be unfolded in that pulpit.

As a pastor Emmons had the love and confidence of all his people. It was not his custom to make parochial visits, even in case of sickness waiting until he was asked to come; but his people called on him, his study serving as a confessional, where men and women made known their sins and perplexities, their fears and anxieties, or their trembling hopes of salvation, and the minister gave ghostly counsel and advice. In times of religious revival it was not uncommon to see many people at once sitting in the parlor waiting their turn to go into the study of their pastor. Dr. Emmons's manners were kind and gentle, and at home there was altogether a refined grace and dignity in his bearing, as if he had been bred at court; but he had lived so much by himself that when he went abroad he was ill at ease.

The theory of the church held by Emmons was that of original Congregationalism, or Independency: that the local church is complete in itself; that the Christian people of a community constitute the Christian church of that community, with

full power to determine its creed, to establish its ministry—which, inherent in the people, is derivable from them—and to administer discipline. From a study of the documents he had concluded that this had been the earliest constitution of the Catholic church. It was likewise his conviction that the local pastor contains in his own person all the offices and authority of the ministry of Christ's kingdom; that any form of that ministry, whether presbyterian or episcopal, as these have arisen in post-apostolic times, is a subdivision of the order of Christ and contrary to the New Testament; that each Christian minister is ordained to every function, both of presbyter and bishop, and even of archbishop. In the judgment of its friends, the clerical position in the system of Congregationalism has appeared the most modest ever devised; but the career of Emmons serves to illustrate the fact that there is a point of view from which it may be said that in its concentration in a single individual of the various powers and duties of the Christian ministry, which elsewhere in the church it has seemed wise to assign among the several members of a hierarchy, the Congregational polity has raised the parochial pastor to such a pinnacle of irresponsible authority as never was known before. It is as though men like Emmons had felt that the church's pastorate must in some way reflect the conception of the divine sovereignty, that there must somehow be a manifestation within the kingdom of heaven on earth of that direct and personal method in which God governs his universe; as if the establishment of gradations in the ministry, so that the congregation could not come into immediate contact with him who should be regarded as its supreme pastor, had been like the intervention of secondary forces or *logoi* between God and his people. Thus considered, it impresses us as if Congregationalism in one of its aspects had sought to revive in these modern days the mystical vision of St. Ignatius, to whose dim eyes the local bishop, seated on his throne, seemed in the place of Christ or God. Dr. Emmons allowed no one to encroach on the prerogatives of his office. His place was that of the teacher in the pulpit; the people were to sit below in the pews. He expected his congregation to be attentive to his

instructions. It is related that on one or two occasions, when the weather was unusually hot, seeing his hearers listless and indifferent, he stopped his sermon and sent them home, dismissing them with the remark that he must have a people who would give him their attention, or they could not have him for their minister, and that the church would remain closed until they had acknowledged their fault and promised amendment. This they hastened to do. Emmons always regarded and spoke of himself as in the fullest sense the bishop of Franklin, set for the direction of that see in all things spiritual and ecclesiastical. In the nature of the case he was supreme, and no layman ever thought of addressing him as "Brother Emmons."

The political opinions of Dr. Emmons, like those of most of the clergy of his age, were of the party of the Federalists. He was essentially an aristocrat in his tastes and feelings; the principles of democracy were to him obnoxious. He was especially opposed to the election of Thomas Jefferson, whose infidel sympathies seemed to him to strike at the very root of the moral life of the nation. Early in Jefferson's administration Emmons preached his famous "Jeroboam sermon," in which, though he did not mention the president by name, no one could mistake his meaning. He compared Jefferson to Jeroboam the son of Nebat, king of Israel. As Jeroboam's sojourn amid the idolatries of Egypt had made him a bitter enemy of the religion of Israel, so Jefferson had imbibed opinions antagonistic to Christianity from the writings of French philosophers during his residence in Paris. It was on the text: "And they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king: and Jeroboam drave Israel from following the Lord, and made them sin a great sin." The comparison was unjust; but it is to be remembered that this was a time when preachers did not spare those high in authority in the state whose views they regarded as dangerous to the safety of the religious world.

There is one remark which perhaps may serve to close this presentation. All theological thought and work may be summed up as an effort to come to the knowledge of God; and that when done in the right spirit it is in the twofold recognition

that, on the one hand, that knowledge can never be completely reached, and, on the other, that it may ever grow and deepen. This was the mind of Dr. Emmons. He had no idea that he had exhausted what is to be learned of God; theology to him was a science which admitted of improvement and expansion. To that end he devoted his life, believing it to be a privilege, as well as a duty incumbent on the theological student and teacher. We today no doubt have a larger interpretation of the process; but some contribution to our opportunity was made by Nathanael Emmons, though not in the way for which he hoped and labored. There is a beautiful conception in his sermon on "The Blessedness of God": the divine happiness, he contends, is to go on increasing through all the ages of eternity. It may well be that it is the message of the great New England Calvinist to our own and to every age that man's knowledge of God here is to be as the joy of God hereafter, not bounded and perfected, but advancing into an ever wider and higher life.

## HORACE BUSHNELL AND ALBRECHT RITSCHL.

### A COMPARISON.

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THE object of this paper is to show to what an extent Bushnell marked out lines of theological method and thought which coincide substantially with the movements of recent opinion. For this purpose I shall bring his views into comparison with those of the modern German schools, especially with Ritschlianism. Two men could hardly be more unlike than were Bushnell and Ritschl; yet the affinity between their theological results is really striking. Ritschl was a professional, systematic theologian—a man who spent his life in universities, studying, teaching, and elaborating a system of theological thought. Bushnell was not primarily a student of theology; he was a preacher, a solitary thinker, and, withal, a religious genius. Ritschl was somewhat cold and severe in temperament and method, wrote in a heavy, academic style, and spent the greater part of his life in elaborating one great work on the Christian doctrine of salvation, in three stout volumes. Bushnell, on the other hand, was intense and, at times, almost vehement in feeling, was the master of one of the most original and versatile of styles, and was accustomed to publish the results of his thinking whenever he felt that he had a message, with little concern for system or even strict consistency. The two thinkers stood in no direct relation. Bushnell can hardly be said to have been a student of German theology; even less, however, was Ritschl a student of American. When Ritschl's great theological work was published, Bushnell was nearing his end. All his theological books, except *Forgiveness and Law*, antedated Ritschl's treatise on *Justification and Reconciliation*. The Ritschlian movement has attracted marked attention in England and America only within the last decade.

The points of connection between Bushnell and Ritschl were

(1) a certain kinship of spirit and method in theology, and (2) some use of common sources. In the first place, both insisted that Christianity was a religion and not a system of transcendental metaphysics, and both sought to interpret the New Testament and Christian history in accord with this presupposition. As to the second point, the spirit of Schleiermacher entered largely into the thought of both men. Bushnell, indeed, knew the great champion of the rights and demands of the religious consciousness only through fragments of translation, and second hand ; for Ritschl the principle of the supremacy of ethical and religious convictions and judgments in the sphere of faith was absolutely fundamental.

There is a certain advantage and a special interest in comparing thinkers who have never stood in any personal relation, whose history has been widely different, but whose results are, in important respects, similar. There is one point, however, in which the experience of the two men in question was alike. Both represent a reaction against the current methods and results in the dogmatics of their time ; both, also, represent a recoil from the religious indifferentism and arid rationalism into which many had fallen in reaction from traditional orthodoxy. Both men made honest attempts to deepen the religious convictions of their contemporaries. Both were advocates of religion as the supreme interest of life, and whatever subtractions they made from the current theology were made in the belief that the interests of religion demanded the changes of view proposed. Both men met with abundant opposition to their opinions, and that from both sides—the conservative and the radical. Bushnell was set upon by Puritan orthodoxy and barely escaped trial for heresy ; Ritschl was attacked by Lutheran orthodoxy as compromising with dangerous tendencies, while professing to champion evangelical views. The Unitarians did not think more favorably of the consistency of Bushnell than the neo-Hegelians did of the tenableness of Ritschl's middle position.

In the comparison which is to follow I disclaim in advance the making out of any formal similarity in method or precise

identity in results between Bushnell and modern theology. What I wish to exhibit is the inner affinity, the points of contact in the practical outcome of the two movements. I shall consider four points: (1) the limitations of theological knowledge, (2) the Trinity, (3) the person of Christ, and (4) the doctrine of atonement.

Bushnell wrought out his theory of the limitations of theological knowledge in his essay on language. His contention was that all terms which are applied to thought or spirit, being based on physical analogy, are inadequate to express the full import of any theological truth. All the words which we apply to God, the soul, and their relations are figurative; they are signs and images, not absolute measures and equivalents of spiritual truths. There is a formal element in all the words which are applied to spirit which theologians are wont to make too much of in their theories and arguments, spinning out whole series of inferences from the logical forms of certain words. This procedure misconceives the very nature of language, which is made up of signs or hints, not of formally precise and adequate expressions for the spiritual facts. "Words of thought or spirit are earthen vessels in which the truth is borne, yet always offering their mere pottery as being the truth itself" (*God in Christ*, p. 48). Hence the necessary imperfection of all theological definitions. They are made up of figurative and inadequate symbols; yet theologians often regard and apply them as though they were as scientifically exact as the axioms and processes of mathematics. Bushnell instances the discussions and definitions of the action of the will in which writers are commonly "overpowered by the terms and predicates of language, which, being mostly derived from the physical world, are charged, to the same extent, with a mechanical significance" (*God in Christ*, p. 62). From this source proceeds the futile discussion of what causes the choices of the will, whereas, in fact, the real problem is one of spirit to which the analogical words in use can have no application.

Such considerations led Bushnell to place a low estimate on formal logical argumentations in theology, in comparison with



spiritual insight. He complained that, too often, theologians were "mere logickers," "one-word professors quarreling with everyone who goes out of their word." His contention was against those who "make a given word a law to their thinking," building a lofty superstructure of inference upon some human analogy, such as government, decree, substitution. Bushnell did not advocate the abandonment of such terms; we could not abandon them if we would. We have no other medium than this figurative language. His contention was, however, that these thought-forms must not be identified with the truth, or be regarded as exactly and exclusively descriptive of it. He claimed that the Bible, instead of using the approved method of definition, gives us the truth in a great variety of forms, many of which, if treated on the scholastic's method, would be contradictory enough. Scripture uses pictorial language in accordance with its nature in order, by appeal to our varied powers and faculties, to quicken in us the sense of God and of spiritual things. Here we see the living use and power of language in contrast to the cut and dried *pre-cision* ("the cutting up of the body of truth into definite and dead morsels," *God in Christ*, p. 93) which is illustrated in "scientific" theology. Bushnell's argument reminds one of the saying of Hase: "Die Dogmatik ist ein Herbarium, d. h., eine systematisch wohlgeordnete Sammlung *getrockneter Pflanzen*; in der Heiligen Schrift lebt noch der unvergängliche Frühling." The practical object of Bushnell was to support the conclusion that "language under the laws of logic or speculation does not seem to be adequate" to provide us with "a satisfactory and truly adequate system of scientific theology" (*God in Christ*, p. 77).

Bushnell's discussion of the nature of language, as applied to spiritual subjects, is very interesting and suggestive, and supplies an important corrective to ordinary theological procedure. Who does not recall illustrations of the bondage of physical analogy in theology against which Bushnell inveighed? Atonement explained in terms of military operations—in terms of commercial transactions—in terms of human government; the doctrine of salvation defined exclusively in terms of a legal analogy;

and so on throughout the whole range of doctrine. Bushnell did a good work for theology in this essay, reminding it of its true nature as a philosophy of a spiritual world and protesting against the idea that the mysteries of God's being and providence could be explained by definition and logical deduction.

But it is obvious that Bushnell's discussion did not go to the heart of the problem of the nature and limits of theological knowledge. His was a theory concerning the instrument of thought, rather than of thought itself. He set limits to theology by insisting that it employed a defective medium. What is chiefly needed, however, is a theory of the knowable, not merely of the expressible. It is this which every philosophic theologian undertakes to furnish. Let us note the salient points in the Ritschlian view.

Ritschl built his theory of knowledge upon the principles of Kant. He regarded all the speculative arguments for the being of God and the religious view of the world as more or less ineffective, and set a low estimate upon natural theology as a whole. Indeed, Ritschl placed a relatively low value upon philosophical speculation as an aid to religious belief. He pointed to the effects of metaphysics—Platonic, Alexandrian, Hegelian—upon theology, and asked whether these systems have helped or harmed the cause with which they were allied.

But if Ritschl is skeptical concerning the speculative defense of faith, he is positive concerning its moral basis in human nature. Religion has its ground in the religious constitution of man—in that world of values and ends to which man knows that he belongs and whose existence he will never consent to stake upon any scheme of theoretic reasoning. Hence faith has its rights and does not need to hinge its *raison d'être* upon any of the contending philosophical systems. If theology must wait till some generally accepted system of metaphysics is adopted, it would better withdraw from the field and resign its task.

Ritschl's view is, then, that the mind of man is wholly incompetent to construct an adequate theoretic system of the universe. All his logical processes and speculative arguments cannot prove the being of God; much less, his goodness and

forgiving mercy. The existence of God is a practical, moral conviction which the heart and conscience of man demand—a value-judgment, that is, a belief required by the religious nature of man. It is not on this account less certain, but more certain. The verdicts of the moral reason are our highest certainties. Our ethical convictions are more secure than our theoretic processes, because they are the utterances of what we know to be highest in us—the convictions which give worth to life. Moral value is the highest test of truth. All religious certitude is based upon it. Religious beliefs are not conclusions demonstrated from premises and axioms as the mathematician's result is demonstrated. They are of a different nature; they are not mere cold, disinterested, theoretic judgments; they are ethical and religious judgments, "judgments of value," as Ritschl calls them, verdicts of our higher nature. But they are not less trustworthy than mere theoretical knowledge because they are different in their nature. Indeed, they have their own advantage, because they are the verdicts of the highest court.

Now, this method of setting limits to religious thought is obviously very different from Bushnell's; yet the two schemes have their affinities and issue in a very similar practical result. Both go to show that a fully rounded system of speculative theology is quite impossible; both lay strong emphasis upon the religious, as contrasted with the merely logical and theoretic, character of theological knowledge. Bushnell's contention was that religious truth could not find adequate expression in human language; Ritschl goes farther back and seeks to define the nature and limitations of our knowledge of religious truth. But this was what Bushnell was feeling after in his theory of language, and he frequently touches the problem in what he says of the rights of religious conviction and intuition as against the theoretic processes of speculative theology.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For example: "What they [the terms of religion] carry into our soul's feeling or perception, or awaken in it by expression, is their only truth" (*Christ in Theology*, p. 17). "Real truth is to be found only by insight, and never by the extempore clatter of logical judgments" (*ibid.*, p. 22). He advocates a "suspension of our intensely dogmatizing habit," urging "how the ceasing to be busied *about* and *upon* truth, as a dead body offered to the scalpels of logic, and the giving ourselves *to* truth

The next topic is the Trinity. Bushnell protested, in general, against the doctrine of the Trinity current in his time as a theorem unwarrantable alike on account of its presumptuousness and its inconsistency. If the Deity is defined as consisting of three persons, then we have not one God, but a family of Gods. If, on the other hand, theology shrinks from using the term "person," or explains it as meaning something less than a distinct self-consciousness and will, then the ground of historic orthodoxy is abandoned, and a modal theory of the Trinity is inevitable. This was Bushnell's own position. He held a modal Trinity, or, as he preferred to say, an "instrumental" Trinity; that is, he regarded the word "Trinity" as a term which designated the threefold aspect of God's historic self-revelation. He did not deny that, corresponding to this threefoldness in revelation, there might be immanent distinctions — aspects or principles — in God's being. Indeed, in his essay on "The Christian Trinity a Practical Truth" (*New Englander*, November, 1854), he spoke of God's "eternally threeing himself." In general, however, and for all practical purposes, Bushnell correlated the idea of the Trinity with revelation. We can conceive

as set before us in living expression, under God's own forms, yielding them a pure heart in which to glass themselves, would fill us evermore with senses of God and his truth otherwise unattainable" (*ibid.*, p. 32).

How closely this position resembles that of the French so-called "fideistic" school may be seen from the following characterization of it by Rev. J. D. Fleming in the *Expository Times* for June, 1901: "The formal or philosophical principle which characterizes the school is the theory that religious thought, dealing, as it does, with the invisible, spiritual, and eternal, but having no adequate categories to express them, is obliged to clothe what is transcendent in sensible, material, phenomenal forms. The religious sentiment or idea incarnates itself in a local, contingent, concrete form which varies under the influence of prevailing scientific or philosophical ideas." This French school is closely akin to the Ritschlian movement. Among its distinguished representatives may be named the late Professors Bouvier of Geneva and Sabatier of Paris, and the present dean of the Paris faculty of Protestant theology, Dr. Ménégoz. The *Life of Bouvier* shows how, in the face of Genevan orthodoxy, he fought his way, very much as Bushnell did, to a new and independent position. The two men seem to me to have been much alike in many personal characteristics, as they certainly were in theological opinion. But Bouvier won more acceptance for his views in the very home of Calvin than Bushnell could do for his in New England, for he became professor of dogmatic theology in the university of Geneva, where for more than thirty years he devoted his genius to the reconstruction of theology.

and use the idea in no other way. In what manner, possibly, the Infinite may be three, without ceasing to be one Person, we cannot know; and what we cannot know it cannot be useful to assert. We know God's threefold revelation; his inner mystery we do not know; it is not open to our inspection. Better to assert less than to assert what is self-contradictory.

Very similar is the position of Ritschl and his school, and, indeed, of many who do not confess themselves his disciples. The Ritschlian theologians regard the Trinity of the Nicene Creed as a product of Greek metaphysics—an effort of speculative thought to define the unknowable. It can have little, if any, religious value. Ritschl himself gives but very slight consideration to the subject. I will therefore cite the opinions of a few other theologians who illustrate, in general, the Ritschlian "tendency," and briefly compare their views with that of Bushnell.

Kaftan, professor in Berlin and a leading Ritschlian of the more conservative type, presents in his *Dogmatik* a view of the Trinity which I have condensed thus:

In the Christian knowledge that God is revealed in Christ, and imparted and indwelling by his Spirit, are given the elements of trinitarian belief. This belief has its roots in history and experience, and must be interpreted and estimated in accord with them. In revelation is disclosed an economic Trinity—a threefoldness of God's historic manifestation. But we must go farther. We must see in revelation, not only what God *does*, but something of what he *is*. The eternal is mirrored in the historical. We therefore say: The revelations in Christ and in the Spirit correspond to and express the eternal nature of God. Beyond some such general statement, however, we cannot go. The eternal background of the threefold revelation is undefinable. Dorner, Kaftan's predecessor, had advocated a Trinity of "principles" in God, repudiating the use of the term "person" as applied to them. In God, he held, there is but one person.

Lobstein, professor in Strassburg, another Ritschlian, also defines the Trinity from the historical point of view. In his *Introduction to Theology* (French and German, and untranslated),

he says: The salvation provided by the wisdom and love of the heavenly Father, realized in the historic work of the Savior and communicated by the inner action of the Spirit, finds its most complete and profound expression in the trinitarian formula, which sums up the system of Christian dogmatic. He adds that the starting-point of the doctrine must be, not speculation, but revelation in Christ and in the Spirit, and that it is a truth of religion, distinctively. He contends that traditional orthodoxy has developed its trinitarian speculations too much from abstract views of the divine nature, instead of proceeding from effect to cause, from fact to idea. The Trinity which the New Testament presents is a religious, historic, economic Trinity; the orthodox doctrine is a speculative deduction produced by an unwarranted use of various analogies, physical, psychological, and mystical.

The late Professor Nitzsch, of Kiel, not a Ritschlian, holds that "Trinity" expresses three principles or potencies which appear in the divine self-revelation. He denies the propriety of naming these personalized, distinguishable potencies "persons." The personifications, for example, of the Spirit and of the Logos in the New Testament are religious thought-forms, and are not to be taken as scientific definitions. All the traditional arguments to prove a trinity of persons in God either fail or, if they be regarded as succeeding, disprove monotheism. Nitzsch holds an immanent modal Trinity, whose religious import is known to us only in historical revelation.

Members of the critical school, such as Lipsius and Pfeiderer, also recognize an economic or revelation Trinity. In Lipsius its import is: (1) the eternal ground of salvation; (2) God's historically revealed saving purpose; (3) God's present abiding will of love. For Pfeiderer it denotes God's revelation of himself in creation, redemption, and sanctification, that is, a Trinity of function. All these authors repudiate the Nicene doctrine of "eternal generation," and of three proper persons, and find the primary meaning of the trinitarian formula in the fact that it summarizes the three chief aspects of God's being and working known to us in revelation and redemption.

As following a similar line of thought, I will instance two English-speaking writers—one British, one American—Mr. Walker, author of *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, and Professor King, of Oberlin, author of *Reconstruction in Theology*.

In discussing the Trinity and Unity of God, Mr. Walker refers to the difficulty which many find in the ordinary formulations of the Trinity involving, by its assertion of the eternal existence of three personalities, "plain tritheism." Then he adds: "It is now generally acknowledged that the Trinity of the New Testament is not, in itself, the ontological one of speculative theology, but the practical or economical one of God, the Father, revealed in Jesus Christ, his Son, and present in the Holy Spirit." Walker is ready to assert "distinctions" in God—three principles, but not three persons. Hence he claims that the pre-existence of Christ cannot be conceived as the eternal being, alongside of God, of a second personality. That would mean two eternal personal Gods. The Logos must be conceived as a principle or potency—God in his outgoing, self-imparting nature—the moving principle of creation, revelation, and redemption.

As Professor King expresses himself concisely on our subject, I will quote his words in full:

It can be no service to the church to react toward a really metaphysical tritheism, affirming social relations and love within the Godhead, in the immanent Trinity. The attempt has been widely approved, but I cannot doubt that, so far as it becomes a living faith, it means tritheism pure and simple, and will surely bring its own punishment. It seems probable that this attempt has come from a sincere desire to give Christ his true glory. But it has virtually proceeded, nevertheless, upon the wholly unwarranted assumption that the relations of Christ to God, whether on earth or in his pre-existence or in his exaltation, were to be transferred forthwith to the relations of the immanent Trinity—to the inner relations of the very being of God himself.

This, at least, is true: nothing calls for more absolute and complete personality than love and social relations. To affirm social relations, therefore, in the Godhead is to assert absolute tritheism, and no plausible manipulation of the terms can avoid it. The analysis of self-consciousness, also, taken from Hegel, it seems to the writer—to put it flatly—helps not at all to a real Trinity, and proves nothing. It is far better that we should admit that we simply do not understand the eternal Trinity, than that, by explanations

which do not explain, we should be driven to ascribe three persons to God in the only sense in which we can understand person, and not be able to say that God is one person in any sense we can understand. This new tritheism seems to me less defensible than even the oldest credal statements of the Trinity, for those were at least scrupulously careful to insist that the distinctions in the Godhead were not personal, but that God was in truth one.<sup>2</sup>

We are likely to find the biblical doctrine of the Trinity more satisfying, both intellectually and religiously, than any later abstractly wrought out statements. We believe in one God, our Father, concretely and supremely revealed and brought nigh with absolute abiding assurance in Christ, and making himself known in the hearts of all who will receive him, in the most intimate, constant, and powerful, but not obtrusive, friendship possible to man, giving thus the supreme conditions of both character and happiness. This is the great practical New Testament confession of faith, contained both in the apostolic benediction and in the baptismal formula. (*Reconstruction in Theology*, pp. 191-3.)

It will be sufficiently apparent, I think, that all these theologians are pursuing essentially the same track of thought as that followed by Bushnell. The New England theology of his time was plainly tritheistic. Emmons did not hesitate to declare that the doctrine of the Trinity was perfectly clear and plain; the mystery was how God, being three persons, could be one God.<sup>3</sup> The history of theology shows a constant oscillation between tritheism and some form of modal or revelation Trinity. Bushnell reacted from the former to the latter point of view, as modern theology has done. If there is any definable position

<sup>2</sup> Did not the Athanasian theology hold a Trinity of three proper persons, saving the unity of God by a doctrine of eternal derivation and subordination? It was a later formulation, *i. e.*, in Augustine, which affirmed the equality of the three, and hence was driven to save the unity of God by reducing the "persons" to modes or forms — indefinite and indefinable. "While the eastern theology (as represented in the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople) insisted on the consubstantiality of the Son, there was always recognized the subordination of the second and third persons. In the Deity the Father is the beginning; it is to him that primal causality belongs. From the outset the West clung to the unity of substance, fastening attention on this cardinal element of the doctrine. It was through Augustine that, in the West, subordinationism was eliminated from the trinitarian conception" (FISHER, *History of Doctrine*, p. 146).

<sup>3</sup> "We find no difficulty in conceiving of three divine persons. It is just as easy to conceive of three divine persons as of three human persons. . . . The only difficulty in this case lies in conceiving these *three* persons to be *one*." (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 111.)



between these two views, religious thought has never found it or been able to stay in it. In a few translated passages from German theologians, especially from Twisten, Bushnell found illustrated another method of thought than that which was common on the subject, and he gladly welcomed it as an encouragement in his own struggles of mind. His practical result is well expressed in his phrase: a Trinity in act, that is, a Trinity seen and known in revelation, not in speculation. He saw in the Athanasian terms "eternal generation" and "procession" the idea of a Trinity in act, a Trinity *becoming*, as opposed to the notion of a *static* Trinity. He rejoiced to find this affinity (as he conceived it) between his views and the Nicene creed. But the resemblance was more apparent than real, and he never actually accepted the Nicene metaphysics of deity. His Trinity was a Trinity of revelation. He was ready to believe that the three-fold revelation corresponded to the nature of God—each term, Father, Son, and Spirit, representing a real aspect of God. But what was the nature of that immanent threeness he could not define; nor did he believe that any man could define it. The current view was tritheism, if "person" means what "person" always means; if it does not really mean "person," then what does it mean? Distinction, function, aspect, mode, principle, potency. But all these are as indefinite as Bushnell's own doctrine, which was that the Trinity was an "instrumental verity"—a summary of the great aspects of the Christian revelation. So far the New Testament goes; so far we may go, and no farther.

Bushnell's positive view of Christ and of the limits of our knowledge concerning him may be given very briefly. Christ was "the manifestation of the life of God;" "he differs from us, not in degree, but in kind;" "he is God manifested;" he possesses a "superhuman quality," for he is absolutely unique and cannot be classed with other men. "In fact," adds Bushnell, "his divinity was never seriously questioned until after the easy and free representations of the Scripture and of the apostolic fathers had been hardened into dogma or converted, by the Nicene theologues and those of the subsequent ages, into a doctrine of the mere human understanding; an assertion of three

metaphysical persons in the divine nature." Who, then, is Christ? He is "the incarnation of the divine nature," "the manifestation of God;" "God was in Christ;" etc. "Externally viewed, he is a union of God and man, whose object is to humanize the conception of God, and so to express or communicate God." If, now, one asks: "What are the contents of his person?" I answer that the question is impracticable, unphilosophic, dictated only by false curiosity, and, of course, not answered by Scripture. "Christ is not given as a riddle to our curiosity, or that we may set ourselves to reason out his mystery, but simply that God may thus express his own feeling and draw himself into union with us, by an act of accommodation to our human sympathies and capacities" (*God in Christ and Christ in Theology, passim*).

These few quotations exhibit Bushnell's position as well as a hundred extracts would do. His conception involves two chief points: (1) the divinity of Christ is to be found in what he is and does for men as the Revealer of God and Savior from sin; (2) the nature of the indwelling of God in him is a mystery on which theological metaphysics throws no light. I shall show, in some detail, that these are the chief points of the Ritschlian Christology.

In his treatise on *The Ritschlian Theology*, Garvie says:

If we endeavor to translate into current speech Ritschl's statements of the features in the revelation of God in Christ which warrant our assigning to him the predicate of divinity, we find that they are practically the evidences on which modern apologetics has been led to lay most stress. The essence of God as love is expressed in his person. He is in his teaching and work inexplicable by the world into which he came, and in his action and passion alike shows himself superior to it. He has been able to establish and maintain in that world a community, the members of which have his own filial consciousness of, and confidence in, God. There is an absolute identity between his activity and the fulfilment in the world of God's purpose for mankind. (P. 289.)

That this statement is true with respect to the present attitude of apologetics may be seen by reference to the treatise of Bruce, who says:

There is reason to believe that there now exists in many Christian minds a feeling of coldness, not to say aversion, to the definition of Christ's person

handed down to us from ancient councils, as consisting of two distinct natures combined in the unity of a single personality (*Apologetics*, p. 399).

He predicts that the church of the future will recognize the futility of definite dogmatic solutions of the metaphysical problem of Christ's person. Where he finds the divineness of Jesus is evident from such words as these:

God is a Spirit, not merely ontologically, but ethically, and of what quality his Spirit is the man Jesus declares. God is love, and what divine love means the ministry of Jesus in life and death shows. God is good in the specific sense of being gracious, generous, philanthropic, and the historic life of Jesus interprets for us the philanthropy of God. All we really know of God in spirit and in very truth we know through Jesus. (*Ibid.*, p. 350.)

The meaning of these statements is that it is not in the metaphysical, but in the ethical, categories that the Christian finds the divinity of Jesus. That was the great contention of Bushnell, and we shall see that it is the distinctive peculiarity of the theology of Ritschl.

Ritschl says: "According to the hints given us in the New Testament, the grace and truth manifested in his (Christ's) vocation, and the loftiness of his self-determination as compared with the particular and natural impulses which spring from the world, are the features in the earthly life of Christ which are summed up in the attribute of his Godhead" (*Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 463). Again he says: "Jesus experienced a relation to God which had not previously existed, and demonstrated it to his disciples; and it was his intention to introduce his disciples into the same religious view of the world and judgment of themselves, and under this condition into the universal task of the kingdom of God, which he knew to be assigned to his disciples as to himself." "New relation," "fresh estimate," "new task"—these are the distinctive marks of Christ for his followers; in these and such as these are found his religious value and power. In a word, his divinity is a name for his perfect revelation of God. He has the religious value of God to us, because in and through him God does interpret himself to men and save them. "Christ is God to us because he does for us what God alone can do"—is Garvie's summary of Ritschl's Christology.

This Christian estimate of Christ is founded in history and in experience. It is a religious estimate—a value-judgment. The New Testament doctrine of Christ is of the same kind. Paul and John were not metaphysicians engaged in an effort to define the mystery of Christ's being; they were disciples who drew upon the available vocabulary of their age for means to set forth their conception and experience of the saving power of Christ as the mediator of the divine love and mercy. Paul's doctrine of the creatorship and world-ruling power of Christ is his way of setting forth the great Christian certainty that Christ represents and embodies God's eternal world-end. Christ's significance is the meaning and goal of the world. The pre-existence of Christ means that that which Christ historically reveals and accomplishes is grounded in God's eternal purpose of love. Most Ritschlians point to the fact that Jewish thought was wont to exalt the value of objects by conceiving them as pre-existing with God; hence the conception of Christ's pre-existence was a natural method of exalting his religious significance (see Harnack on the conception of pre-existence in his *History of Dogma*, Vol. I). It is pointed out that, if Christ's pre-existence is strictly taken as personal, it leads on to a Trinity of three metaphysical personalities, from which theology recedes as soon as it has established it.

The method of Ritschl in Christology, as of Bushnell, is historical and experimental. He repudiates the procedure of traditional theology as taking its start with the mysteries of the divine nature, instead of with a historical person. This involves theology in a maze of attempts to define and describe what no man has ever seen or known. We are entangled in definitions of natures and substances human and divine, and their combination, which explain not at all, to which no clear thought corresponds, and which are as incomprehensible as the original mystery. Orthodoxy tells us how an eternal divine person united with a human person to make a compound personality which was both man and God, both finite and infinite, both limited in knowledge and omniscient. Unable to square this description with history, kenoticism tells us that God veiled,

disused, or even ceased to possess his divine attributes in the incarnation. The orthodoxy of Nicæa and Chalcedon Ritschl regards as the product of Greek speculation transforming the Christian gospel into an esoteric theosophy, while of the theory that an infinite being can by an act of will transform or diminish himself into finiteness he says: "This is nothing else but mythology."

Christ, then, is offered to our faith, not to our speculative understanding. These are the marks of his divinity: his perfect revelation of God's love; making his end the same as that of God; his dominion over the world; his founding and fostering of the kingdom of the God-like on earth. Both the positive and the negative aspects of Ritschl's view are stated in Dr. Somerville's summary of his Christology:

The predicate of Godhead, applied to Christ, is exhausted, Ritschl held, when we have recognized Him as the Revealer of God and the archetype of spiritual sovereignty over the world. The question of how he stands, in that relation, to God and to us is set aside as an idle one, as lying outside the limits of knowledge. (*St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 317.)

His divinity is not to be sought, according to this view, in the vague, metaphysical categories, but in the moral and religious categories. Not "substance," "nature," and "subsistence," but "love," "moral triumph," and "forgiveness," express the Christian's sense of the value of Christ. Such is the view of the Ritschlians, and such, if I read him aright, was the view of Bushnell. Both placed a low estimate upon the creedal definitions of Christ's person, regarding them as going quite beyond Scripture warrant and as seeking to solve the insoluble, and, of course, conspicuously failing. Both exalted Christ as known in history and in experience. Both advocated a religious estimate of Christ and depreciated the subtleties of Greek speculation as an aid to faith. "Christ is here to express God, not to puzzle us in questions about the internal composition of his person," said Bushnell. There could be no better summation of the Ritschlian Christology.

In the doctrine of atonement the resemblance between Bushnell and Ritschl is less apparent. They are rooted, however, in

similar general principles. The title of Bushnell's treatise on the subject discloses his point of view: *The Vicarious Sacrifice, Grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation*. His object was to translate the doctrine out of the language of physical, commercial, and legal analogy, into the language of religion and morality—to state the doctrine of salvation in terms of personal relation. His great principle was: the vicariousness of the divine love. God enters by sympathy into the suffering lot of his creatures and makes their woes and burdens his own. This revelation of the pitying love of God is adapted, as nothing else is, to soften human hearts and to lead men by repentance to become reconciled to God. It is, above all things, the goodness of God, as supremely revealed in Christ, which leads men to repentance. As for the sacrificial terms of Scripture, "priesthood," "propitiation," "blood," etc., they are figures of speech derived from the Jewish religion, necessary at the time to make real to men the saving power of Christ's life and death, and necessary still, but not to be regarded as adequately defining the inner spiritual meaning of Christ's saving work, but as symbols and analogies—pictorial representations of truths which are really moral and spiritual.

Bushnell thus rejected the penal-satisfaction theory current in his time. Nor did he regard with much greater favor the governmental view which was coming into vogue. His was an ethical interpretation which regarded the subject from the standpoint of the Christian's consciousness of the saving benefits of Christ, and not a theoretic construction based upon *a priori* definitions and a consequent dialectic. Bushnell built, as Ritschl did, on the love of God, though in a much less one-sided way than Ritschl. It is often represented that there was, according to the theory of Bushnell, no expression of the righteousness of God—the self-preservative, self-respecting quality of his nature—in the work of Christ, as if he had conceived the work of Christ as a revelation of the benevolence of God only. This is quite incorrect. In *Forgiveness and Law*, indeed, he approximated the current orthodoxy so far as to speak of God as propitiating himself in forgiveness, and declared that Dr. Shedd was right when

he spoke of God as laying his wrath upon himself. In his efforts to find common ground with his critics, he says that by the work of Christ forgiveness is made compatible with the integrity and authority of the divine law, that Christ suffered in our place and as a propitiation for our sins. He was not unwilling to use the terms of current orthodoxy, but it was felt by his opponents—and doubtless correctly—that his meaning was different from theirs. He had his own view of the nature of such language. To him such terms were hints, figures, suggestions. To them they were scientific definitions. On the same principle, he declared that he would subscribe all the creeds. He could accept them as human thought-forms, earthen vessels in which men were trying to preserve the treasure of spiritual truth.

But it seems to me that we come closest to Bushnell's real thought and find its most characteristic expression neither in the polemic nor in the irenic parts of his writings, but in those parts in which he is spontaneously and constructively developing his thought in a free way. Where he is defining his views over against opinions which he repudiated he often overshoots the mark, and when he is trying to compromise with current orthodoxy, you feel that the approximation is rather apparent than real; that the identity is more in words than in thought. It was creditable to him that he sought common ground with his critics—and there *was* common ground. But it did not exist in the same method of thought or in the same understanding of terms, but in religious experience. The Christian life was essentially the same in all, but his thought and that of his age went wide asunder. No agreement in words could hide the underlying difference.

That Bushnell recognized in his own way the revelation, in the work of Christ, of the righteousness of God, and so maintained that in the death of Christ we see expressed at once "the goodness and the severity of God," is evident from expressions like these :

It is a fundamental condition, as regards moral effect on our character, that, while courage and hope are given us, we should be made, at the same time, to feel the intensest possible sense of the sanctity of the law and the

inflexible righteousness of God. What we need in this view is some new expression of God, which, taken as addressed to us, will keep alive the impression in us that God suffers no laxity. In a word, we must be made to feel in the very article of forgiveness, when it is offered, the essential and eternal sanctity of God's law—his own immovable adherence to it—as the only basis of order and well-being in the universe. (*God in Christ*, p. 218.)

In order to make men penitent, and so to want forgiveness—that is, to keep the world alive to the eternal integrity, verity, and sanctity of God's law; that is, to keep us apprised of sin, and deny us any power of rest while we continue under sin—it was needful that Christ, in his life and sufferings, should consecrate and re-consecrate the desecrated law of God, and give it a more exact and imminent authority than it had before." (P. 219.)

Bushnell specifies four ways in which Christ "brought the law closer to men's souls and gave it even a more sacred rigor and verity than it had before his advent":

1. By his teaching concerning God's holy requirements.
2. By his own perfect obedience to the law of God.
3. By undergoing whatever sufferings were necessary in the effort "to re-establish the law as a living power in man's heart."
4. By his death, in which he asserts the sanctity of God's law—for thereby he will show us how much he is willing to endure in order to re-sanctify the law and renew us in the spirit of it.

In Bushnell's view the work of Christ was the fullest historic expression of the total nature of God. It was not a mere human example; it was a disclosure of God. His contention was the same as that of Maurice: the tragic experience of Jesus Christ on earth "meant the deliberate unfolding of the nature and life of God with such power and passion as to inspire in man a transforming trust and a uniting love" (R. H. Hutton).

Like Bushnell, Ritschl repudiates the penal conception of Christ's sufferings, and declares that his priesthood consists in his maintenance of his perfectly normal relation to God, and in his introduction of others into that same relation. This he does by founding the kingdom of God, in the life of which the Christian salvation is realized. Bushnell's view of salvation is more individualistic; Ritschl's more social.

As related to the ethical nature of God, Ritschl regards the saving work of Christ as a disclosure of the divine love. In his



view the wrath of God is an eschatological conception. Men become objects of God's wrath only in case of persistent and final impenitence. They are not here and now the objects of God's wrath, but only of his love. Ritschl has also an unusual conception of God's righteousness. It is a name for God's persistent purpose of grace; it designates the consistency with which God adheres to his determination to bless and save men in and through his kingdom. It denotes, not so much an aspect of God's nature, as an aspect of his method. It is not *static*, but *dynamic*.

In this view there is no possibility of setting love and righteousness in conflict, rivalry, or even contrast. The old conception of a satisfaction to righteousness wrought by love, through the death of Christ, is quite excluded. Even the simultaneous satisfaction of righteousness and love — of God's holy displeasure toward sin and his gracious feeling toward the sinner — as commonly conceived, has no place in Ritschl's system. Righteousness is satisfied only in the sense that God consistently pursues his loving purpose. That is righteousness. The difference between love and righteousness is purely formal. Righteousness is love moving ever onward, through all the ages and in the face of all hindrances, accomplishing its ends in making God known and in drawing men into fellowship with him in his kingdom.

Thus Ritschl departs much farther from traditional views than Bushnell. The latter ethicized the doctrine of atonement by taking it out of the world of figure and analogy, and by protesting against what seemed to him un-Christian views of God; but he still regarded righteousness as a constitutive factor in the being of God, and sought to show how it was expressed and satisfied in the work of Christ. I am confident that the views of Bushnell on this point correspond much more closely with the New Testament representations than do those of Ritschl. But space is wanting in which to enter into further criticism. The two theories are alike in this, that they aim to interpret the work of Christ in terms of ethics and personality, that is, to keep it in the world to which it belongs, and, further, to do this

by building upon the Christian's experience of the saving power of Christ.

I have thus sought to set forth in outline the theories of Bushnell in the light of present-day theological thinking. No one who attends to the subject can doubt the resemblance between him and Ritschl, whatever may be his estimate of them. In the foregoing observations I have attempted an exposition, not a critique. I cannot, however, refrain from indicating, in closing, three points in which the theological movements which I have sketched have been of signal service to Christian thought and life:

1. In forcing the closest consideration of the nature and limits of theological knowledge. Theology has been compelled to tell us how it knows what it affirms.

2. In exposing the unclearness and the contradictions which abound in theology on the subject of the Trinity. How almost universal has it been to juggle with the word "person"! In almost any theological book in which the traditional formula "three persons in one God" is defended you can read arguments which prove tritheism, if they prove anything—arguments from the pre-existence passages and from social relations in God—a conclusion which is no sooner established than it is repudiated by the admission that "person" does not mean what "person" always means. Modern thought insists on clearness and consistency, and declines to affirm what it must confess in the next breath to be either contradictory or without apprehensible meaning.

3. The insistence that theology is not a kind of dialectic, proceeding from *a priori* premises—a play of the speculative intellect—but the science of the Christian faith, an interpretation of religion. It must, therefore, be understood and expressed according to its true nature. Above all must Christian theology be built up in accord with that concept of God which was fundamental in the consciousness of Jesus and central in his teaching. Only when theology is so constructed is it really Christian. Has this always been the case in the past? Are there not great creeds, purporting to be Christian confessions

of faith, which do not even recognize the fatherhood of God, and not only have no word to say concerning his universal love for mankind, but logically quite exclude such an idea? It is an interesting subject for inquiry, which I can only suggest here, to what an extent our old Protestant theology was built upon specifically Jewish, as opposed to Christian, conceptions of God. God's partiality, his arbitrary election of some, the legal view of his relations to men and of his provision for salvation—do not these savor strongly of the late Jewish theology, and where do they find any warrant in the teaching of Jesus? I say deliberately that to me the old theology seems more Jewish than Christian. So far as it was biblical, its kinship was with the Old Testament and with certain traces of rabbinism which survived in Paul, rather than with the spirit and teaching of Jesus. The true task of our time is to Christianize theology—to reconstruct it into accord with that highest revelation of the mind and will of God which is given in Jesus Christ. To this task no man among us has given a greater impulse than Horace Bushnell. I have sought to show that the thought of our own day is taking up this task and, in no small degree, working it out on the lines struck out by him.

## MOHAMMEDAN GNOSTICISM IN AMERICA.

### THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, CHARACTER, AND ESOTERIC DOCTRINES OF THE TRUTH-KNOWERS.

By STOYAN KRSTOFF VATRALSKY,  
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MR. BENJAMIN KIDD, in his brilliant work, *Social Evolution*, points out how irrationally neglectful the intellectual classes have always been in the study of religious phenomena, "the pivot upon which the whole drama of human history and human development turns." He calls attention to their failure in ancient Rome to grasp the significance of Christianity, unfolding before their eyes. Although it was destined to destroy and supersede their boasted civilization, their attitude toward it was that of either active hostility or passive contempt. "The intellectual scrutiny which had undermined the old faiths saw nothing in the new." He also quotes upon the point the following pregnant passage from W. E. H. Lecky, the historian :

That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians who were profoundly conscious of the decomposition around them ; that all these writers should have utterly failed to predict the issue of the movement they were observing ; and that during the space of three centuries they should have treated as simply contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or evil, the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men, are facts well worthy of meditation in every period of religious transition.<sup>1</sup>

Few thinking men doubt that our time is a period of religious transition, or at least religious reconstruction ; yet sober meditation upon the subject, or serious study of its phenomena, is as yet largely wanting. Like the intellectual classes of the dead civilization, those of our own time are "either actively hostile or" (in a vast majority of cases) "passively contemptuous" toward any religious fact, movement, or discussion. It would probably

<sup>1</sup> *Social Evolution*, p. 134.

excite but little remark among them to be told that a Mohammedan sect had obtained a foothold in America and was, under the veil of secrecy, spreading rapidly. Yet, for all that, it seems to me worth while to call attention to this sinister fact which has come under my notice. For of all the strange cults, oriental vagaries, theosophic maunderings, and morbid hallucinations that have of late years invaded this country, perhaps the most curious, and certainly the most pernicious, is that of the Babists, a secret Mohammedan sect which I discovered some time ago in Wisconsin, and since then in Chicago, under the name of "Truth-Knowers."

Ibrahim Kheiralla, the propagandist of the sect, claims to have converted two thousand Americans in the space of two years. How far this boast is true I am unable in every particular to verify; but there is no room to doubt that the man has had incredible success. I have personally seen large, well-organized congregations of his converts both in Kenosha, Wis., and in Chicago. I have also reasons to believe their claims that similarly growing assemblies are holding their secret meetings in every large city of the United States. This is the more remarkable when we recall the fact that never before in the history of the world has a Mohammedan sect taken root among a Christian people without the aid of the sword. I believe it would not have happened today had it come bearing its own proper name, flying its own native colors. It has succeeded because, like a counterfeit coin, it has passed for what it is not. Most of the converts hardly realize what they have embraced, or whither they are drifting. I consider it a duty, therefore, to tell the American people what I know of this secret and mysterious sect, and what are its origin, character, and purposes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I base my statements in this article upon, first, my personal knowledge of the cult gained by taking eleven of their "private" lessons in Kenosha, Wis.; and, secondly, upon two articles on "The Babis" in Vol. XXI of *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and two books: *A Traveller's Narrative* and *The New History*, all by PROFESSOR EDWARD G. BROWNE, of Cambridge, England, the greatest authority on Babi-Behaism. The two last-mentioned books are translations from Persian, with rich annotations by Professor Browne. The volumes have scientific value aside from their immediate or original object. All articles on the subject in the encyclopædias are worthless on account of their unreliable sources. A scholarly mastery of Babism also

After a careful study, I have named this newly imported cult "Mohammedan Gnosticism," a term that will readily suggest to the student its character, its origin, and its component elements.

Mohammedanism, called by its followers Islam, is the religion founded in 622 A. D. by Mohammed, in Arabia. It is a hybrid religion, strongly influenced by Jewish and Christian elements, gathered and garbled by the illiterate Arabian from hearsay, and, therefore, misconceived, misstated, and misapplied. According to Mohammed, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus "the son of Mary," and himself are prophets of successively rising authority; himself being the last and greatest, *the* Prophet. Hence the axis of the creed of Islam is, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

Another characteristic to be noticed in Mohammed's religion is its retrogressive nature. Although Islamism adopted many Jewish conceptions, it degraded them, and made them cruder and harsher. Take, for instance, the conception of Jewish monotheism. While Christianity raised the idea of Jehovah, and not only raised it, but refined and softened it in such a way that he was conceived as the God of righteousness and love, even "our Father who is in heaven" (hence believers are his children, all others, their unreclaimed brothers); Mohammedanism, on the contrary, degraded the idea and made it narrow and heartless, until Allah was conceived of as an oriental autocrat, powerful and despotic. Hence believers are his subjects; all others, his enemies, whom to destroy is a work of piety. It is for this reason that the Turks, the most orthodox of Mohammedans, have become the "anti-human specimen of humanity."<sup>3</sup> The quality of the idea of God always reflects itself in the character and conduct of the believers. It should be remembered, also, that Mohammed did not formally reject the Bible; but by rating the Quran, his own book, as a higher revelation, he practically

requires a knowledge of the following cults and words: Gnosticism, Sabianism, Islam, Sufism, and Mahdi, with the following Shiah Mohammedan sects: the Ismailis, Assassins, Ali-Allahis, Druses, and Sheikhis.

<sup>3</sup>"The Merciful" is one of the most common names Mohammedans give to Allah, but it seems to be more of an abject flattery than a confession of belief.

annulled for his followers its authority. In the same way, putting himself in place of Christ, whose work he claimed to be finishing, Mohammed repealed the authority of Christianity, under the guise of accepting it.

Gnosticism was that religious-philosophical movement which during the early ages of our era attempted to destroy Christianity by pretending to accept it. The Gnostics first professed acceptance of Christ's teachings, then allegorized, paganized, and explained them away. To their own believers the Gnostic teachers could explain away the plainest of Scripture statements. Their principal characteristics were: (a) A claim of exclusive knowledge, *gnosis*, hence they were called Gnostics, "knowers." (b) They pried into the mysteries of the beginning and end of things, talked much about æons or demiurges, or emanations of God or from God, among whom, in a chain of being, they included Jesus Christ. By some of the Gnostics, Jehovah of the Old Testament was held to be either an inferior emanation from Deity or a fallen angel, but in either case the creator of the visible world, from whose prison-house of matter Christ, his antagonist, had come to save mankind through knowledge, not through faith. (c) Like the Kabbalists, they put great stress on the power of certain letters and the combination of certain numbers. (d) Furthermore, Gnosticism was an eclectic system: it drew its material and inspiration from all religions and all philosophies, striving unscientifically to reconcile them. In this hopeless attempt the Gnostics resorted to allegorical interpretation of the sacred books, tampered with their texts, and took the liberty of interpolating new passages and even of composing new gospels of Christ's life. (e) Their teaching was esoteric, and their membership consisted of two classes: the imperfect or seekers, and the perfect or knowers. Their most noted teachers were Cerinthus, Basilides, and Valentinus. The cult attained historic significance during the second century, and lasted until about the fourth. Since then it has reappeared by degrees in various places and modified forms, as among the Manicheans, the Paulicians, the Bogomils, and the Albigenses, but has never taken permanent root, except among the Mohammedans.

Mohammedan Gnosticism, the combination of these two singular combinations, was born in Persia. Although Mohammed accepted the gospels as the book of the prophet Jesus, it is doubtful if he ever saw a copy of the New Testament. Being illiterate, he certainly never read it. Some of his ideas at least he must have derived from Gnostic sources. His statement, for instance, that it was not Jesus, but another man, whom the Jews crucified by mistake, is a notion taken from the Gnostics. The Quran thus lending itself more readily to fantastic treatment, Gnosticism found itself quite at home among the Moslems, especially with the Shiah sectaries and Sufi mystics of Persia.

The world of Islam is divided today into Sunni and Shiah Mohammedans; the first and far greater division having its stronghold in Turkey; the latter, in Persia. These again are split and subdivided, according to Moslem authorities, into more than one hundred and fifty sects. The Persian sects are said to be seventy-three. Most of these, particularly the more radical, are secret cults, outwardly conforming to orthodoxy—for in Mohammedan countries it is unsafe to be an avowed dissenter. Among some of these Shiah sects, such as the Ismailis, the Assassins, the Druses, the Ali-Allahis, the Sheikhis, and the Sufi dervishes, we find in various degrees all the Gnostic characteristics in Mohammedan garb: the pretension to exclusive knowledge of the Quran, allegory gone mad, eclecticism, esotericism, pantheism, and emanations or manifestations or reincarnations of Allah. For instance, during the second half of the ninth century, a Persian, Abdallah by name, claimed to be God. So did in the eleventh century el-Hakim, a man of monstrous cruelty, whose reappearance on earth his followers, the Druses, expect to this day.

Another man whose anticipated reappearance has played an important rôle in the history of the Mohammedan world, and is sure to be heard of again, is Mohammed ibn Hassan el-Askari, generally called the Imam Mahdi or Kaim. We must get the idea of this ever-expected Moslem Messiah clearly in mind if we would understand the rise and progress of Babism. According to the Shiah mollahs, their twelfth Imam, the Mahdi, who in



260 A. H. mysteriously disappeared from human view, is not dead at all, but hiding in a mysterious subterranean region. He still communicates with his church through men called "babs" (from *bab*, "gate") sent by him from time to time. Thence he will issue forth at the proper time to lead the faithful in slaughtering all infidels, and ushering in the Moslem millennium. Hence there is a multitude of Mohammedan adventists, ever computing, guessing at, and expecting the hidden Mahdi's auspicious appearance. Nor have they been always disappointed in their expectation. Many mystic fanatics, pure lunatics, or deliberate impostors have profited by the popular belief and have claimed to be the Expected One—and some of them with partial success. Such was, for instance, the Soudanese Mahdi, Mohammed Ahmed, who during 1882 and 1883 gained an immense following. He did not establish quite a universal empire upon the ruins of the non-Moslem powers, but succeeded in annihilating the British army under Hicks, treacherously murdering General Gordon, and establishing the kingdom of the Soudan, which was destroyed in 1898 by the avenging sword of Lord Kitchener. Another partially successful Mahdi—and this brings us to the heart of our theme—was the Persian mystic, Haji Sayyid Ali Mohammed, known as the Bab, founder of the Babist sect, the subject of the present paper.

The year 1844 (1260 A. H.) was exactly 1,000 years since the disappearance of the holy Imam Mahdi, and the whole of Persia, the land of Shiah, was on tip-toe of expectation for his advent. In the midst of this suppressed excitement of expectancy, a young Mohammedan enthusiast, of mystic tendencies, visionary frame of mind, and poor schooling, Ali Mohammed (thenceforth to be called the Bab), declared himself to be the long-expected Mahdi. He at first called himself *Bab-ed-Din*, "Door of the Faith," but later he advanced the more ambitious title of *Nokteh*, "the Point" or focus of all preceding revelations, and other Quranic and traditional titles, all of which mean the same thing—that he was the Mahdi. He announced himself to be a lineal descendant according to the flesh of the Prophet, and the sole interpreter of the Quranic mysteries. Some say

that, like Beha, one of his successors, the Bab claimed to be a manifestation of Allah. Following the illustrious example of Mohammed (who challenged his adversaries to produce a single Sura like his inspired chapters), the new prophet rested the claim of his Mahdihood upon his inspiration. He pointed out that he could spontaneously write as good verses as those of the Quran, which was likely enough, although the book is regarded by Moslems as the one thing uncreated in this universe of creation, and its beauty and celestial symmetry a standing miracle of the ages.

The authoritative announcement and specious claims of the young enthusiast at once created commotion everywhere. As was to be expected, public opinion was sharply divided upon the subject. While the majority of his countrymen rejected the claims as the ravings of a blasphemous madman, not a few accepted his pretensions with devout enthusiasm and worshipful zeal. Particularly effective upon his audience was his audacious claim of sacred-verse writing. "I beheld in him," said Mollah Mohammed Ali, of Zanjan, "the most noble of the Prophet's miracles, and, had I rejected it, I should have rejected the truth of the religion of Islam,"<sup>4</sup> voicing thus the sentiments of thousands. Thus originated our Mohammedan Gnostics, called in their native Persia "Babists," from Bab, the popularized title of the founder.

From the very start Mirza Ali Mohammed had a great following. Nearly everyone was expecting the Holy Imam to appear. And here was this young Sayyid (a descendant of the Prophet), claiming to be he. Who else could he be? Did he not present as a proof of his divine person the very proof the Prophet himself presented? It was to no purpose enemies pointed out that Bab's verses were ungrammatical. The Bab in turn called attention to the fact that such was also the case of the Quran! Believers appeared all over Persia; and of the numerous Sheikhi sect, following the example of Mollah Hussein of Bushrawey, Mollah Mohammed Ali of Barfurush, and Kuratu 'l-Ayn, a young woman of talent and beauty, fully one-half

<sup>4</sup> *The New History*, pp. 350 and 373.

became Babists. And each individual, as is the wont of new proselytes, was a zealous propagandist. Moreover, the new religion's permanency was secured by a well-organized hierarchy of nineteen persons, consisting of the Bab and eighteen apostles, called "The Letters of the Living."

Meanwhile the new prophet, like the faithful Islamite he was, performed, during the latter part of 1844, his pilgrimage to Mecca, thus becoming a Haji; and, returning, sent messengers before his face to announce his august approach. But while there were many individuals to whom both message and messengers were as heaven-sent, the humor of the Persians as a nation toward the new dispensation was anything but kindly. Most of the mollahs were not, or pretended not to be, satisfied with the proof of the new prophet, while the government well knew the danger to itself should the people take the fanatic seriously and recognize him as the Mahdi. Such a recognition would have made him supreme, not only in the church, but also in the state. So it came to pass that his missionaries were received badly and treated shamefully, many being beaten and imprisoned; and soon after Haji Ali Mohammed, the Bab, was himself placed in ward. But he continued to direct his well-organized hierarchy from prison, and the sect gained in numbers daily.

Although in 1844 the Bab had promised his disciples to return the next year with the sword, this sacred Mohammedan weapon did not make its appearance until three or four years later. In 1848 the Babists had grown so numerous, so restless, and so confident of success that, being harassed, they took up arms and proclaimed their leader "universal sovereign," according to Scripture. As the prophetic sovereign was still in prison, and his followers scattered all over the kingdom, therefore, unable to unite their forces, the insurgents did him and their cause very poor service by this ill-timed uprising and indiscreet proclamation. The government of the Shah, more than ever before, realized the dangerous nature of the new sect, and decided to crush it at a blow. There were uprisings in two or three places, and, although the Babists were at first successful against overwhelming numbers, they were finally conquered and put to the

sword. During the progress of one of these fights the Bab himself was taken out of prison and publicly executed, at Tabriz, on July 8, 1850. To the last the martyr held steadfast to his claim that he was el-Mahdi.<sup>5</sup>

The death of Haji Sayyid Ali Mohammed did not end Babism, as the Persian government ignorantly expected. Far from it. The martyrdom of the enthusiast, who was a good man and doubtless sincere, justly exalted him and his cause in the eyes of men; while the hierarchy the Bab left behind him was amply equipped to manage the affairs of his persecuted church. Of all earthly organizations those cemented by religion and governed by hierarchy are the most adhesive, the most persistent. As soon as the prophet, therefore, was dead, his appointed successor, Mirza Yahya, stepped in his place as the head of the Nineteen, and the work went on as before. That the new leader did not propose to take a backward step was suggestively hinted by his titles *Subh-i-Ezel*, "the Morning of Eternity," or *Hazrat-i-Ezel*, "His Holiness the Eternal."

In 1852, in order to revenge the death of their prophet, three Babists attempted to assassinate the Shah of Persia; and he, like an oriental despot, a Mohammedan at that, inflicted punishment upon the whole sect. He executed twenty-eight of its leading men with horrible tortures, and proscribed all teachers of or believers in Babism. Since then it has become more than ever a secret sect, an attitude which is particularly congenial to its Gnostic proclivities. The practice of duplicity as a fine art has become to Babism a second nature. Among Mohammedans, in every particular, they are outwardly orthodox Moslems. This persecution produced still another effect upon the sect. Mirza Yahya and the other leaders, who barely escaped with their lives across the border, seem to have decided that the Quran, after all, was by far a safer missionary weapon than the sword. Since then, although they have often used the dagger in removing non-official rivals and persecutors, they have never advocated propagation of their faith by the sword. This policy

<sup>5</sup> The claim of his American followers that he was Elijah, the prophet, was never made by him.

is said to have been adopted by Mirza Hussein Ali, of Nur, who usurped the leadership of the sect.

The next important event in the history of the sect is the "manifestation" of that man whom, for brevity's sake, writers call Beha, an abbreviation of his title, Beha'u'llah, and the schism resulting therefrom. Hussein Ali was a half-brother to Mirza Yahya, whom he assisted in governing the church, and stood high in the councils of the new religious community. Being ambitious, and a shrewder and stronger man than his mild brother, he resolved with a bold move to usurp the leadership and become the head of the hierarchy. So during 1866 or 1867, Hussein Ali, of Nur, but then at Adrianople, European Turkey, suddenly exhibited the prophetic proof of inspiration (spontaneity in uttering and writing Quran-like verses, the claim thereof being the main thing), claimed to be the One foretold by the Bab—"He whom Allah shall manifest" to finish the work begun by the Bab—and authoritatively summoned all the Babists to acknowledge him their supreme and sole spiritual chief. Although all these pretensions were opposed by *Subh-i-Ezel*, the real leader, after a sharp struggle the majority of the faithful accepted the new theophany, and Babism was split into two sects. The followers of the legitimate successor were called *Ezelis*, those of the triumphant usurper, *Behai*. Beha did not miscalculate the effect of his "manifestation." Not since Mohammed the Arabian had the world seen anything like it. At the time of his death, in 1892, he had nearly a million zealous followers.

We ought to consider for a moment the work and worth of this man; for the name Beha'u'llah bids fair to be written by the side of Confucius, Laotze, Buddha, Zoroaster, and Mohammed—names that all ages must know, all men repeat, some to disparage, some to exalt, and millions in prayer and praise. Morally standing much below him, Beha was Bab's intellectual superior. He also possessed some knowledge of occidental civilization, which was of great advantage to him in reconstructing his religious system. He borrowed copiously from Christianity without giving it credit; and, unlike Mohammed,

he seems to be familiar with the New Testament. He often takes an idea from the gospel, craftily changing its wording and application. With his shrewder mind, longer life, and riper experience, as compared with the young founder, he elaborated, edited, amended, extended, cut down, and improved the system, rendering it less fantastic, less pantheistic, and more practical. Beha was even more to Babism than Brigham Young was to Mormonism; for he not only developed the system, but made it revolve around himself. He appropriated the honors belonging to the founder of his religion, and many of those due to his Allah.

His life-history is as follows: Mirza Hussein Ali, of Nur, Persia, was the son of "a lawful concubine" of Mirza Yaha's father; therefore he was a half-brother of Subh-i-Ezel, the Prophet's appointed successor. He was an able, cunning, and ambitious man, who, after the death of the Bab, was naturally recognized as one of the leaders of the new religion. At the time of the attempted assassination of the Shah, he was imprisoned for a while on suspicion. After his release he prudently withdrew to Turkey, where he lived and died an exile, but surrounded with all the luxuries that oriental taste could crave and money and devotion supply. In the enthusiasm of his youth he was converted to Babism, but in the coolness of his manhood his shrewd foresight saw in the rising movement a career of limitless possibilities, the realization of an ambition surpassing men's dreams; and he decided to bid high for it, cost what it might. In assisting his brother to manage and instruct the fast-increasing sect, he had learned the quality of his material—their dense credulity and boundless devotion and enthusiasm. Happily, the Bab was dead and out of the way; happily, too, his utterances had been various, the more incoherent the better, and capable of being quoted in support of any claim whatsoever. All this Hussein Ali the Beha knew, and thereupon he acted with a superb audacity. Pointing at his Mohammed-like prophetic attributes, he assumed the title Beha'u'llah, "the Splendor of Allah," and claimed to be the final theophany foretold by the Bab. Thereupon he bade men pray in the direction of Akka

(his residence), "whence issueth the command to whomsoever is on the earth and in the heavens." But while thus emphasizing one of the favorite utterances of Bab's earlier prophetic career ("He whom Allah shall manifest"), Beha chose to forget the founder's later and final claim—the very claim for which he paid with his life. The fact is that, taking the utterance in its natural sense, the founder was, as the Mahdi, the fulfiller of his own earlier prediction as a mere bab. It looks as though Hussein Ali forgot on purpose that Ali Mohammed was "His Holiness the Supreme." The popularization of the founder's earlier title doubtless assisted Beha's treacherous design to degrade the martyred founder of Babism to the position of his ambitious disciple's forerunner. Our suspicion of the sinister motives of this Allah-incarnation is increased when we notice that he was not himself scrupulous as to the means of attaining his object. When inspirations and revelations failed him, like a true Mohammedan, he did not disdain to benefit by the pointed argument of the dagger or the subtle persuasion of poison. Professor Browne reluctantly records the names of sixteen persons removed by the Beha's party in this criminal way. Some of the victims were members of Bab's original "Letters of the Living." It was by such means that Beha succeeded in displacing the founder as the center of the Babi system. It is evident that, as we have said, morally Beha was much inferior to the Bab, in whom he at first believed and whom he later utilized as a stepping-stone to his self-apotheosis. And to prevent anyone, as it seems, from playing the game of "manifestation" on himself, Beha brands as an impostor whosoever shall claim a new revelation before the completion of one thousand years after him.

Beha's life and manners were exceedingly imposing. He seems to have studiously played his self-assumed rôle of divinity. He understood the gross credulity of the oriental mind; he knew how to impress and bewilder its untutored imagination, and acted accordingly. He played upon it by dramatic seclusions and dazzling appearances—seclusions behind gorgeous screens and mystic curtains, where privileged individuals were permitted to

approach his august presence in worshipful attitude, leaving their shoes behind them; and unwonted appearances, wherein he was surrounded by a brilliant court of reverential retainers. To the same end, he strove to enhance his personal attractiveness by the free use of perfumes and cosmetics. In his old age he dyed his hair black to make himself look youthful. He had plenty of means and plenty of men for this royal display; for prophethood in Beha's hands became a very lucrative business. He lived in splendor and luxury. As a practical man, he grew immensely rich from the gifts of the faithful, and did not fail to secure the succession of the Imamate in his own family. Princes laid their treasures at his feet, and begged for the privilege of being his humblest servants. He died in 1892 at Acre or Akka, Syria, and was succeeded by his son Abbas Efendi, as his vicar, who still resides there.

It was from there that a missionary of the sect was sent to propagate the faith in this country, which seems to have proven a fruitful field. According to Mollah Ibrahim G. Kheiralla, the Babi-Behai missionary to America, he converted no less than two thousand Americans during his first two years of labor. Of these about seven hundred were living in Chicago; between two hundred and fifty and three hundred in Kenosha, Racine, and Milwaukee; about four hundred in New York; and the rest in Boston and other large cities. Lately it has been reported, I know not how truly, that there are now about ten thousand Babists in the United States.<sup>6</sup> But as they are a secret cult, no outsider can know their exact number. The means for the propaganda are furnished, it is said, by a wealthy New York woman, a convert.

We turn to a study of its doctrines: (1) God is one, undifferentiated, unknown and unknowable, communicating with his world by periodic manifestations of himself. The historic manifestations of Allah are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, Mohammed, Ali Mohammed, the Bab, and Hussein Ali the Beha. The number nineteen mystically expresses the name of God and represents the manifestation of the unity of his essence.

<sup>6</sup>*The Advance*, Chicago, August 30, 1900.



Nineteen times nineteen (361) represents the sum-total of the manifested universe. All being is an emanation from Allah, and will finally be absorbed in him. (2) Prayers are prescribed three times a day, morning, afternoon, and evening, of three prostrations each, in the direction of Akka. Public or congregational prayers are abolished, except at funerals. (3) Fasts are enjoined for all during the last month of the year from sunrise to sunset daily, excepting children, travelers, the sick, the infirm, and the aged. (4) Almsgiving to the poor is commanded, although begging is condemned. (5) Pilgrimage to the shrines and tombs of the prophets and saints is recommended. These five points are held by all Mohammedans, and are called by their mollahs "the five pillars of the Faith" (Islam).

But Babism, like several other Mohammedan sects, has introduced some innovations on Moslem orthodoxy. Despite their constant reiteration that Allah is one, the Bab's theology borders on pantheism and seriously threatens the conception of the unity of the Godhead, the boast of Islam. Its most radical innovation, however, is that it supersedes Mohammed with two new prophets, who, it is claimed, have carried his work to completion, namely, the Bab and Beha, the last and greatest of all the prophets. It is this article of their faith that brings them in conflict with orthodox Mohammedans. The most original, perhaps I should say the only original, element of its doctrines is the sacredness of the number nineteen. Their hierarchy consists of nineteen persons, each of them the head of nineteen disciples. The Babi year has nineteen months; each month, nineteen days; each day, nineteen hours; each hour, nineteen minutes; each minute, nineteen seconds. All weights and measures are divided accordingly. The Bab, it appears, settled that the year consists of nineteen times nineteen days; but Beha, who had a longer experience in mundane time, discovered that there were five more days in the solar year than there ought to be. He was therefore compelled to insert them after the last month. Babism has its own new era, commencing with the "manifestation" of the Bab (1844).

Like the Druses, the Ismailis, and other Mohammedan sects,

the Babists believe in emanations from and reincarnations of Allah, although they prefer to give the doctrine another name than incarnation. In their secret lessons they teach that several of the biblical prophets, such as Daniel, Job, Noah, and Jesus, are now on earth. Jesus, they teach, has reappeared in Abbas Efendi, "the Master." The rest of the Nineteen, or the most of them, are doubtless Quranic or other Islamic saints, whose names they prefer not to tell when proselyting among Christians.

They have three great annual festivals, two of which are kept by no other Mohammedans, namely, the manifestations of the Bab and Beha, the latter being the greatest of all their festivals. They have a peculiar salutation ("*Allah'u'Abha*"), used only among themselves. The sect also introduces new laws and peculiar ceremonies, regulating funerals, inheritance, and divorce cases. Among the inspired prophetic permissions and injunctions we find that "men must not kiss each other's hands;" they should use chairs, and not sit on the ground; permission is given them to shave their beards; they are advised to cut their finger nails; birds might be lawfully eaten without uttering "*Bism'illah*" over them; talismans and amulets should be worn for protection; music is permitted; women should be admitted at table, and are even "to be allowed to appear in society." This must be a matter of pride to the American women who have embraced Babism.

The family. Babism — let us give it full credit — has condemned cruelty to animals, and has attempted to improve the awful condition of Moslem womanhood; but the aimed-at innovations fall so far below what Christian women have already enjoyed for centuries past that to us they sound more like mockery than betterments. But to Mohammedan womanhood, to be permitted music, or to eat with the rest of the family at table, or even to go into society, is a great advance. Although a curse in Christendom, Babism is a blessing in the Orient. There are other ameliorations secured in the same line. If her husband does not return nine months after he has promised to return, the wife has a right to marry another. After quarreling with her, a man has to wait a year before divorcing his wife. This is an improvement on the

custom of other Mohammedans, who may divorce the wife at any time ; but the Babi sect does not abolish the evil. It only postpones it for a year. The wife is still in a helpless state ; her fate remains entirely in the power of her husband's caprice.

Some writers say that the prophets of Babism have abolished polygamy. But that must be a mistake, which has its source in Shiah misrepresentations. Their Moslem traditions, their high devotion to Mohammed, with his eleven wives and fifteen or more concubines, are against such a supposition. In speaking of their differences and deviations from other Mohammedans, Professor Browne says nothing about their abolishing polygamy. It is incredible that he should have omitted to point out so important an advance ; for he is not only well informed, but anxious to exalt them over other Mohammedans. On the other hand, we read that " His Holiness, Mollah Mohammed Ali of Zanjan," one of the zealous apostles of the Bab, in whose cause he died a martyr, had, to the end of his life, three wives.<sup>7</sup> On similarly insecure grounds, some writers have announced the abolition of the veil. Circumcision also remains, although I do not think it is as yet introduced among the American converts. The missionary is a cautious man.

In regard to the state and its citizens, Babism seems to have taken a step backward. The inequality of men before the law is sharply emphasized. In all Mohammedan countries, following the precepts of the Quran, Sura IX, non-Moslems can live only as subjects, distinctly unequal and humiliated, but at least enjoy a nominal right to their property. In the " Truth-Knowers'" state, when that can be set up, it is ordained that unbelievers cannot have either legal or property rights. "All their property may be taken from them."

Infidels [says Professor Browne] are to be allowed no part nor lot in the future government ; they are not even permitted to reside in the five holy provinces of Fars, Irak, Azarbaijan, Khurasan, and Mazandaran, nor in any other country whose inhabitants are believers in the Beyan (one of Bab's books), unless they are merchants, or others who follow a useful profession.

Another point, more of a characteristic perhaps than doctrine, wherein we notice a relapse from, rather than an advance on,

<sup>7</sup> *The New History*, p. 160.

orthodox Islam, is their feigned conformity to the dominant religion whose adherents they are striving to convert. This has inevitably led them to a policy of deliberate duplicity, to them a pious means to a pious end. Since Beha's influence has become paramount, they have adopted the plan of "secret propaganda," as someone states, "which does not hesitate, in case of need, at denying their belief under oath." Among Mohammedans they use the Quran, worship in the mosques, and claim to be primitive Islamites; among Christians they claim to be nothing but primitive Christians. In their secret "lessons" they allegorize and explain away many of these things; but in public, by means of mental reservation and the use of words in a double sense, they appear, as they mean to appear, perfectly orthodox. In their teachings they speak constantly of knowing the truth, but never of *speaking the truth*. In his book *Bab-ed-Din: the Door of True Religion*, Mollah Kheiralla never mentions veracity among the virtues, nor lying among the vices. Mendacity, as is well known, is an oriental art. No man can fully appreciate the Scripture saying, "all men are liars," until he has resided in the Orient; but religious duplicity, a well-known doctrine called *ketman* or *takiva*, is a Persian peculiarity. The Shiahs, to which division the Persians for the most part belong, are permitted to dissimulate in matters of religion. And some Mohammedan sects, among which are our truth-knowing Babists, have raised this permission to a pious privilege.

It is plain, then, that in origin, tradition, spirit, and character, Babi-Behaism is Mohammedan; in method and form, Gnostic. It is unnecessary to say, as some superficial writers do, that it contains Mohammedan, Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, Buddhistic, Kabbalistic, and Gnostic elements. As we have seen, Mohammed never formally repudiated the Bible. Islamism implies both Jewish and Christian elements, while Gnosticism embraces all the rest. Mohammedan Gnosticism expresses this cult precisely.

In calling Babi-Behaism a worse and more pernicious cult than Mormonism, I do so deliberately. The chief objections to Mormonism are two: First, its hierarchy, by means of which it

can marshal a compact organization of its devotees and thus acquire a menacing political power. Secondly, people rightly object to its institution of polygamy, by means of which it degrades womanhood and desecrates the purity of the family. Now, Babism possesses both of these execrable features with emphasis, and, in addition, introduces at least three more: first the spirit of removing religious rivals and antagonists by means of the sword, if not the tacit command to do so; the use of the sword is inseparable from Mohammedan piety; secondly, deliberate religious duplicity; and, thirdly, the far more dangerous element of esotericism or secrecy in religion, and that backed by a compact oriental hierarchy, beyond the ken and power of the country's laws. I do not mean to say that all these features would be introduced immediately. It requires years to Mohammedanize the spirit of its votaries. It will take decades before an American Babist can approve assassination or enjoy an Armenian massacre. New converts, who are brought up in the midst of Christian civilization, would be shocked by the very idea of such practices. There might be such a thing as a sudden conversion; but degeneration as well as regeneration requires time.

Moreover, policy requires that the most objectionable features should be introduced gradually. This fact has not been overlooked by Beha, their crafty chief, with whom policy in consideration of expediency, often at the expense of good faith, is one of his strongest points, one of his cardinal virtues—if I may so abuse the term. Until the final triumph of the religion, he has sanctioned feigned conformity. From their point of view, Babists have divine authority for duplicity. Accordingly, in Persia they use the Quran only, attend the teachings of the mollahs, and worship in the ordinary mosques; while in this country, although they do not go to church (there being no persecution), they quote the Bible only and declare themselves, before the uninitiated, “good Christians.”

This characteristic may be illustrated by the equivocal use of the name of Christ. I have heard a Babist missionary lecture in Kenosha before an uninitiated audience upon the “Fundamental

Principles of the Truth-Knowers," wherein he never mentioned the name of the founder of the religion under discussion, nor the other "manifestation," nor its sacred writings. It was as if one should speak in Persia on the fundamentals of Protestantism, with Protestantism changed to some euphonious local term, and the names of Christ, Paul, Luther, Europe, Palestine, and the New Testament left out, or referred to covertly under historical Mohammedan names. The address was so worded that it left the impression, and purposely so, that the system was Christocentric, as is any Christian cult.<sup>8</sup> Nothing could be farther from the truth. For them the historic Christ is a mere prophet, inferior to Mohammed, to Ali Mohammed, the Bab, and to Hussein Ali. It is this man, as I have already shown, whom they call Beha'u'llah ("the Splendor of Allah"), "the Manifestation," "the Supreme Horizon," etc., etc., that stands at the center of their fantastic system. They agree with all Mohammedans in the preposterous belief that Jesus prophesied the coming of Mohammed in order to complete this work of which Islam and the Quran were the fruit; but differ from them in adding a far more abominable article, namely, that Christ's sole mission on earth was—to prepare the world for, and to announce the advent of, Hussein Ali of Nur! This particular sect is even farther removed from Christianity, and more obnoxious, than ordinary Mohammedanism. While other Moslems rate Christ below Mohammed, these rate him not only as inferior to Mohammed, but to two other men besides.

Their other singular view of Christ is furnished by their reincarnation theory. Beha, at his death, as I have already stated, was succeeded by his son, Abbas Efendi, who, as the "point" of the Nineteen, is the head of their hierarchy. He is a kind of turbaned pope, enjoying a degree of authority and tribute of devotion to be envied by him of Rome. Although not as great, of course, as Beha, "the Supreme Horizon," Abbas Efendi is his son and vicar, usually called by the faithful "the Master." This man the "Truth-Knowers" have seen fit to regard as Jesus the Christ, reincarnated, and seriously so regard

<sup>8</sup> See Kenosha (Wis.) papers, November 20, 1899.

him. It is he whom they have in mind when American Babists reply affirmatively to the question, "Do you believe in Christ?" It was he, Abbas Efendi, that the missionary had in mind when in the lecture referred to he declared: "We fully believe in our great Master, Jesus, the Christ, and in all his teachings;" it was in this man's mouth that he put the words: "My father is greater than I," meaning his father according to the flesh, namely Beha; while his audience thought, and it was intended they should think, that the oriental teacher was quoting the New Testament in a Christian sense. And had I not taken their esoteric teachings, "private lessons," as they prefer to call them, I should have understood him as his audience did. The supposition of such astounding duplicity would have appeared incredible or beyond even the oriental proverbial mendacity.

As the fact of a successful Islamic propaganda in America seems so incredible, the more so because the teachers endeavor to pass it under another name, let me in closing put together some of my reasons for calling the body of "Truth-Knowers" of Kenosha and Chicago a Mohammedan sect.

1. It originated (in 1844) in a Mohammedan country, Persia.
2. The founder of the sect was a zealous Mohammedan mystic, Ali Mohammed, called the Bab (1820-50), who claimed to be a lineal descendant according to the flesh, as well as in the spirit, of the great Arabian Mohammed. He also based all his teachings and reforms, all his fantastic claims, on the Quran and acknowledged Moslem traditions. His name and titles, given, assumed, or acquired (Haji Sayyid, Ali Mohammed, the Bab), are the most Mohammedan of Mohammedan names and titles. "Sayyid" means that he is a descendant of the Prophet; "Haji," he has been on a pilgrimage to Mecca; "Ali," the name of Mohammed's nephew, whom the Persians venerate on equality with the Prophet; "Mohammed" does not require explanation; and "Bab" or "Bab-ed-Din" is taken from the well-known Shiah belief connected with the Hidden Imam el-Mahdi.

3. In accordance with his claims to preach pure Islamism, the Bab, like his successors in office, never hesitated to rate the

Quran as a later, fuller, and superior revelation to that of the Bible, and to exalt his ancestor and predecessor Mohammed above Christ.

4. Moreover, I know that the "Truth-Knowers" believe, and in their "private lessons" teach, that Mohammed is a true prophet. In calling believers in the Arabian prophet Mohammedans, I only follow the accepted custom of the world.

5. The "Truth-Knowers" recognize the Quran as the "Book of God," although they say that it has been corrupted, in which they agree with Shiah Mohammedans as against the Sunni. The sacred books of the sect cite the Quran only in support of their claims.

6. They have no ordained clergy, which is another Mohammedan characteristic.

7. They hold their public meetings on Friday, which is the Moslem day for weekly public worship. The Babists of Persia, who are in every particular identical with the American "Truth-Knowers," not only meet on Friday, but worship with the Shiah Mohammedans in the ordinary mosques.

8. They (the American Babists) teach that the East, meaning the Moslem world, particularly Arabia, is the perennial source of all true knowledge and wisdom. Arabia's moral and intellectual supremacy is an article of conviction firmly held by every devout Mohammedan the world over, and is one of the chief causes of their intellectual and moral stagnation.

9. Their present head and headquarters, both of Persian Babists and American "Truth-Knowers," are in Mohammedan Turkey, namely, at Akka or Acre, Syria.

10. The American propagandist brought this teaching from the Mohammedan Orient. "From the Orient," he writes, "whence every preacher and prophet has appeared, I have been sent to teach this religion to the people of this country." His name (Ibrahim Kheiralla) is characteristically Islamic. Ibrahim is the Arabic for Abraham; Kheiralla is composed of two Arabic words: *kheir*, "goodness," and *alla*, "god." Allah is the Mohammedan name for God the world over.

11. Hussein Ali, "the Splendor of Allah," the acknowledged



spiritual head of Babism, whose pretensions to be a greater divinity than the Bab himself are recognized by most Babists, including the American branch, called by them in their secret teachings "the Manifestation"—this the greatest authority among them calls Mohammed: "His Highness the Seal of the Prophets," "the King of the Elect," "the Sun of Truth," "the Sun of the Highest Horizon," etc. Could anybody be a more loyal Mohammedan than Hussein Ali, the Beha? In his "Letter to the King of Persia"<sup>9</sup> he declares that Babism teaches nothing contrary to the Quran, "the Book of God," as he devoutly calls it, quoting verse after verse from it in support of his assertion. I do not know how the letter affected his majesty, the Shah; but I acknowledge myself a convert as against the public declarations of his followers in this country. In reading it I was more than ever convinced of the fact that this cult is one of the many sects of Islam.

12. Finally, the Bab himself, like his successor, plainly calls it Islam; and, being its founder, he certainly ought to know. In his commentary on the Quran, Sura Joseph, Ali Mohammed says: "Whosoever denies Islam, Allah will not accept from him any of his actions in the day of the resurrection." In plain words, no virtue will avail you before God, unless you are a Mohammedan.

Now, for all these reasons combined, most of which are conclusive singly, I call the "Truth-Knowers" a Mohammedan sect; and no student could call them anything else.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *A Traveller's Narrative*, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Should anyone have doubts in regard to my statement that the Babists of Persia and the "Truth-Knowers" of the United States are the same, let him see MR. KHEIRALLA's book, published in Chicago, entitled *Beha 'U'llah*, a notice of which is found in this number of the JOURNAL.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

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### THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS IN ALEXANDRIA.

SINCE Westcott and Hort published their *Introduction to the New Testament in Greek*, there has been a tendency among critics of the text of the New Testament to divert their attention toward that type of text which the two Cambridge editors called "Western." Westcott and Hort, it will be remembered, rejected this type of text as corrupt and licentious, but admitted that it was attested by ancient and widely distributed evidence. Since then, however, all research has emphasized the truth of their admission, without strengthening the reasons on which they based their rejection of the claims of the text in question.

The result has been that all who are interested in criticism have been looking for theories which would satisfactorily explain the phenomena, and naturally the chief objects of criticism have been the great "Western" documents, the Codex Bezae, the Old Latin version, the Old Syriac version, and the quotations found in the earliest Fathers on whose quotations reliance can be placed, notably, of course, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. But the chief effect of this close study and criticism has been negative. Theory after theory has been invented, and still we are no nearer than were Westcott and Hort to finding any explanation why this corrupt and licentious "Western" text has such excellent and widespread attestation. The glossators (as they have been assumed to be) who made the text have been accused of being cultured orientals with a knowledge of geography, Latins with a tendency to adopt Syriac idioms, Montanists, Jews, Greeks, heretics; and the extraordinary agreement found in places between the Old Latin and Old Syriac has produced considerable belief in the theory that the original Latin version was made in Syria at the governor's court or in its immediate neighborhood.

One result of the direction thus given to research has been that comparatively little attention has been paid to the attestation of the other early texts, Westcott and Hort's "Neutral" and "Alexandrian," except as contrasted with the "Western" type. But quite recently various things have once more drawn attention to these other texts,

and it is the object of the present note to point out the value of this change, the results it has reached already, and the direction in which it seems likely to influence opinion on the text of the New Testament.

It seems possible that much may be hoped for from thus changing the direction of the critical attack, and approaching the "Western" problem, not by a frontal movement on the Codex Bezae or the Old Latin or Old Syriac versions, but by a flank movement directed against the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" texts.

By this means it may perhaps be made possible for us to do incidentally what has never been done yet, namely, to find out the life-history of Codd.  $\aleph$  and B, and the chronological and geographical limits of the use of the type of text represented by those manuscripts. But the main and important result which we may look for is a kind of reflected light on the "Western" problem, for if it shall appear certain, as it certainly already appears probable, that the text of  $\aleph$  B has not the character which was attributed to it by Westcott and Hort (as that which was used, especially in Alexandria, in the earliest times), then it may perhaps also appear probable that the "Western" text has in its turn characteristics other than it has been admitted to have.

It is obvious that the chief source of information about the Alexandrian text (using the phrase in its local sense, and not in Westcott and Hort's) is the quotations in the Alexandrian Fathers, especially in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril. Their evidence ought to be tabulated and considered carefully, but until the text of all the Fathers themselves has been properly edited with an adequate *apparatus criticus* it is useless to attempt a task which could not be satisfactorily completed. However, even from the scanty and ill-arranged<sup>1</sup> materials which we possess it is possible to see three stages in the history of the text at Alexandria, before the Antiochian text was adopted.

#### 1. The stage represented by Clement of Alexandria.

For this stage we have but little evidence, for we cannot reconstruct out of Clement's quotations anything approaching to a complete text of the gospels; but, thanks to Mr. Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*, published in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, such evidence as there is is easy to find and study, and Mr. Burkitt, in a short introduction to this book, has already pointed out the general importance and bearing of the facts. It seems quite clear that

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Clement's quotations.

Clement's Greek Testament, which was presumably the Greek Testament current in Alexandria in his day, was indeed free from "Antiochian" readings, but for the most part was marked by "Western" readings, and that these "Western" readings are not confined to that stratum of the "Western" text which is common to both the Latin and Syriac branches of it, but often supports readings of which the attestation is otherwise quite one-sided. An excellent instance of this is found in Luke 3: 22. The ordinary text of this passage is, "*Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased*," supported by the "Neutral" text, the Syriac branch of the "Western" text, and adopted by the "Antiochian" text. But Clement's Bible had, "*Thou art my beloved Son; this day have I begotten thee*," which is the reading found in D and the majority of the Old Latin authorities. It is, as Mr. Burkitt points out, a reading for which there is no Syriac authority, and therefore, as he says, "we have good grounds for treating the text used by Clement as a branch of the 'Western' text not primarily akin to the Syriac branch." There is, indeed, no example of any reading attested only by Clement and the Old Syriac. The nearest approach to it is in Matt. 18: 20, where Clement's Bible had: "*There are not two or three gathered together in my name with whom I am not in the midst of them*"<sup>3</sup>—a reading also found in D and the Sinaitic Syriac, but not in any Latin version. It is quite improbable that this reading was ever part of the distinctively Latin text, as it is not found in the oldest Latin MSS. (except d) nor in Cyprian.

This, then, seems to be the verdict on the first stage of textual history in Alexandria. The text in use at that time was of a "Western" type, though not identical either with the "Western" text found in the Old Latin or with the "Western" text found in the Old Syriac. It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of this stage, for it represents a period of textual history which is equaled in antiquity only by the quotations found in Irenæus and perhaps<sup>4</sup> Tertullian.

<sup>3</sup> This reading cannot be summarily rejected as due to the influence of Ps. 2: 7. It may equally well be argued that the received text is due to (a) a fear of Cerinthian exegesis, (b) the analogy of the words spoken at the transfiguration. For its connection with the early history of Christmas cf. CONYBEARE, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, January, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noticed by students of the Codex Bezae that this is an important passage for the study of that manuscript, as it is one of those which go to suggest that its Greek is independent of, and in places probably earlier than, that which underlies the Old Latin version.

<sup>5</sup> Because, if Zahn's view of Tertullian's quotations be correct, they are evidence for the text, not of a Latin, but of a Greek Bible.

2. The second stage is represented by the quotations in Origen's writings. It is possible that some of these quotations may be due to the influence of Cæsarean manuscripts, but it is probable, on general principles, that Origen had more influence on the text of Cæsarea than the text in use at Cæsarea had upon him. It is much to be wished that someone should do for Origen's writings the work which Mr. Barnard has done for Clement's; for, if this were done, we might be able to tell with some certainty how far we can discriminate between different texts used by Origen at different periods. At present it is possible to draw only somewhat uncertain conclusions, but at least we can see enough to say quite unhesitatingly that he used manuscripts which differed from those used by Clement, and agreed far more closely with the "Neutral" type of text, represented in Greek manuscripts by  $\aleph$  B. This fact suggests an interesting point. The two great uncials  $\aleph$  B have been proved by various scholars (notably by Dr. Rendel Harris in an appendix to his book on *Stichometry*) to have been closely connected with the great library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, and probably to have been written there; on the other hand, B has preserved a peculiar arrangement of the Pauline epistles which is found elsewhere only in Athanasius, the great Alexandrian Father. The obvious suggestion is that the archetype of B was brought from Alexandria to Cæsarea, and it is not a little curious that the writer (Origen) whose quotations have the greatest resemblance to B is himself well known to have gone from Alexandria to Cæsarea. This may be merely a coincidence, but it is the kind of coincidence that makes one think. But, however that may be, it is a patent fact that there are no authorities for the "Neutral" text earlier than this, the second stage of the textual history of Alexandria.

I believe, though it is a dangerous statement, that it would be difficult to find a dozen readings in which a purely "Neutral" variant is supported by an authority earlier than Origen.<sup>5</sup> The contrary statement is often made, but as a rule all the evidence which is adduced is simply that of readings found in  $\aleph$  B and also in some "Western" authority. There are perhaps exceptions, but as a rule the earliest patristic writers do not support  $\aleph$  B in cases where the authority of these manuscripts is supported by no manuscript or version of a "Western" type.

<sup>5</sup> I assume the accuracy of the view that the Bohairic version is later than the Sahidic.

It is, therefore, certain that the second stage of the history of the text of Alexandria is the use of the "Neutral" type of text (represented among manuscripts by  $\aleph$  B) which, so far as we know, was not used previously,<sup>6</sup> and the gradual abandoning of the old "Western" type which was used in the time of Clement of Alexandria. But, although this is the case, there are not wanting signs that the old type of the text still existed. It was not the fashionable text, but it was not entirely forgotten, and so we get even in Origen's writings certain "Western" readings which have disappeared from the "Neutral" text; and the same, as is well known, is true of  $\aleph$ .<sup>7</sup> A good example of this is found in Matt. 19 : 9, where Origen seems to preserve the "Western" reading (clearly the right one), omitting the addition "*and he who marries a divorced woman commits adultery*," which is found in  $\aleph$  B and most MSS. (i. e., is *Neutral and Antiochian*), and is almost certainly due to the influence of Matt. 5 : 32, to which, it may be mentioned in passing, the quotation from Clement given by Tischendorf ought probably to be referred. Similarly, the generations succeeding Origen do not fail to show signs of knowledge of a "Western" text; indeed, it is probable that it is sometimes possible to secure from them what may have been the old Alexandrian text before the "Neutral" text was raised into favor. There is one exceedingly good example, not only of the way in which such traces do exist, but also of the process by which they may be easily covered up and hidden by the textual history of the writings in which they are found. There is a certain tractate called the *De Incarnatione et contra Arianos* of which the authorship is doubtful. Some scholars think it was written by Apollinarius; others, holding the passages accused of Apollinarianism to be interpolations, believe that the traditional view is right which ascribes it to Athanasius. On the whole, perhaps there is slightly more to be said for the latter view than for the former. In this tractate the writer makes much use of Matt. 19 : 17. According to the Greek MSS., he quotes it twice in the form  $\mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\ \delta\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  and twice in the form  $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ; while an old Armenian version, published by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXIV, has  $\mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\ \delta\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ .

<sup>6</sup>It may be argued that it existed before, although it was not used. But this is really the same argument as that used by the disciples and successors of Dean Burgon when they appeal from the great uncials to the lost archetypes of the cursives, which, they think, would have supported the "Traditional" text.

<sup>7</sup>There are a sufficient number of "Western" readings in  $\aleph$ , especially in John, to make it a question whether they are not signs that  $\aleph$  is a MS. with an originally "Western" text corrected to correspond with a "Neutral" text.

all four times. On the other hand, Montfaucon in his edition has corrected all the places into the orthodox *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; except once, when he allowed *μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν* to stand because he did not notice that the passage was a quotation! This is a very curious reading; for it is that which Marcion<sup>8</sup> had in Luke, and it really brings us, as so many early readings do, out of textual criticism into the synoptic problem. This, for instance, is a passage where the three gospels seem to be based on one common document; *ex hypothesi*, therefore, there must have been a reading in the original document which gave trouble and which was altered in the gospels based on it into something more congenial to the general feelings of Christians. But neither the form found in our Matthew<sup>9</sup> nor in our Mark and Luke<sup>10</sup> is of this kind. *Μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν*, on the other hand, would exactly suit the conditions of the problem, and it must be the oldest form of the story. The only question is whether it was altered by the redactors who made the canonical gospels or by the scribes who copied them; or, in other words, whether we are to restore *μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν* both in the text of the *Grundschrift* of our gospels and also in the text of the gospels themselves, or only in the former.

It is an interesting problem; but for our present purpose the important thing is that we gain a peep at the gospels at a period earlier than that of any extant MS., and we find a text which is certainly not that of *Ν* B.

3. Following on this second stage in the text of Alexandria, when the "Neutral" type was predominant, although traces of the earlier "Western" type remained, comes the third stage, that which Westcott and Hort call the "Alexandrian," found especially in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, though at all events in the extant MSS. of his writings the influence of the "Antiochian" type of text can also be traced.

It is in the main a recension of the "Neutral" text, remarkable for small grammatical and stylistic changes, and Westcott and Hort consider that the best representatives of it in extant MSS. are *Ν* CLX, *Δ* in Mark, *Ξ* in Luke, 33, and the Bohairic version, CL and the Bohairic

<sup>8</sup> Cf. too Origen in Matthew: ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς φασὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα εἰρηκέναι· τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ Θεός· ὡς τὸ τεταγμένον 'ἀγαθός' ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ ἂν ταχθῆναι καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρου τινός. The text may be all right as it stands, but in the light of Athanasius and Marcion the *μὴ ἂν ταχθῆναι* reminds one very strongly of *μή με λέγε*, and makes one wonder if Origen were not thinking of that reading.

<sup>9</sup> τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;

<sup>10</sup> τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;

being the truest to type, although none of them is quite pure. It is in their "impurities" that the chief value of these MSS. is to be sought. It has been the custom to regard the impurities as, critically speaking, mere dross. But perhaps this is hasty, and some of these apparent waste products may be made to do very useful work in the critical world; for they are of two kinds:

(1) "Antiochian" readings, which may usually be left to the followers of the "Traditional Text."

(2) "Western" readings. These have been explained as due to the influence of "Western" MSS. imported into Alexandria. This is a possible theory, but it is contrary to experience to find unfashionable readings (such as imported "Western" readings, which had not been adopted by the "Antiochian" text, certainly must have been by this time) being adopted in this manner into MSS. of other types. It is therefore more probable that they represent the survival or "cropping out" of the old Alexandrian text of the unrevised "Western" type of which Clement's quotations prove the existence, but by no means define the limits. This view is supported by critical parallels. Every student of the Latin Bible knows that late MSS. of the Vulgate of St. Jerome preserve more Old Latin readings than are found in the earlier and better MSS., so that we find many readings which belonged to the Old Latin version, and were removed by St. Jerome, "cropping out" in quite late MSS. of the Vulgate. To such an extent is this the case that, if all the old Latin MSS. had been destroyed, it would be possible to restore a very considerable portion of their text by studying the apparent impurities of the Vulgate. Here, then, is a case in which apparent impurities in late MSS. are proved to be of the greatest possible value. They are so proved because in their case we have, as it were, both ends of the story, and are thus enabled to detect early readings in the late Vulgate MSS. by the simple process of looking in a more or less complete *apparatus criticus*. But we ought to be able to use the lesson which we have learned from the study of a complete chapter in textual history in reconstructing the partially lost chapter of the history of the text in Alexandria. The fact that the early part is almost entirely lost, though it renders the task more difficult, also makes it more important. And, after all, although it is difficult, the task is probably not impossible. For instance, in Mark 10:27 the words "*with God all things are possible*" are omitted in ΔΨ 1209 and a few other minuscules. The occurrence of ΔΨ at once suggests some connection with Hort's "Alexandrian" text, though one is surprised to



find it omitting a phrase which is inserted in the "Neutral" text. But on looking up the passage in Mr. Barnard's edition of Clement's quotations, the whole history of the variant seems to become plain, for Clement's Bible also did not contain these words. Apparently, then, this phrase (which a comparison of the gospels suggests to be an early gloss) did not exist in the first stage of the Alexandrian text, found its way into the second stage (the "Neutral" text), and passed thence into the revised text generally, leaving, however, an echo of the first stage in the omission of the phrase in a few MSS. which are known more often to possess the text typical of the third stage, Hort's "Alexandrian" text. Here the history of the text seems quite clear, because we happen to possess the evidence of Clement.

There are also other cases where an application of acknowledged textual principles lead to similar results. For instance, it is one of Hort's most generally approved canons of criticism that a conflated text is, as a rule, later than either of the elements of which it is composed. It is possible to apply this principle to the text of Mark 9:43, and to gain, not indeed any certain information, but a strong hint as to what was the text in Alexandria in the first period. The facts as given in the *apparatus criticus* are somewhat complicated. They can be best shown in tabular form, thus :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| A | 1. To depart into the unquenchable fire. 1-118-209 Syr <sup>Sin</sup> .  |
|   | 2. To depart into Gehenna. $\aleph^{\text{ca}}$ L <sup>A</sup> $\Psi$ .  |
|   | 3. To depart into Gehenna, into unquenchable fire. $\aleph$ B boh.   |
|   | 4. To be cast into Gehenna, where is fire unquenchable. D k b i.   |
|   | 5. To depart into Gehenna of fire. F. Syr <sup>hl</sup> .  |
| B | 6. To depart into Gehenna, where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched. Pesh.   |
|   | 7. To depart into Gehenna, into the unquenchable fire, where their worm does not die and their fire is not quenched. The Antiochian text, including several old Latin MSS. |

It seems quite obvious that this is the history of a very early attempt at conflation, as the B group are all clearly based on the A group. It will be noticed that the evidence for 3, one of the conflations, is strictly limited to that of the "Neutral" text, and that there is no early "Western" evidence for the exact form of conflation which it has adopted.

It is therefore probable that both 1 and 2 are earlier than 3, and that 2 represents the old Alexandrian text.

Of course, this argument is not conclusive—no argument from conflation can be—but it has as much weight here as it has in the

eight passages given by Westcott and Hort, and it ought not to be brushed aside because it tells against  $\aleph B$ . The weak point in the argument is, of course, the absence of any direct proof that the reading 2 is an ancient one. This is really only an example of the fact, alluded to previously, that in attempting to reconstruct the text of Alexandria we are dealing with a story of which the first chapter is much mutilated. But in this case, as so often happens, a closer examination brings more clues to light, and there is some indirect evidence which deserves attention.

This is found in the Old Latin version with which, it will be remembered, the old Alexandrian text as found in Clement often has affinities. It is clear that the Old Latin reading (numbered 4 in the preceding table) is a glossed form. It is equally clear that it is not based on the simple form found in the Semitic Syriac, but on the other form which is found in  $\aleph^a L \Delta \Psi$ . The antiquity of this form is, therefore, vindicated as superior to that of the Old Latin version (inasmuch as the unglossed text is, *ex hypothesi*, older than the glossed form), and it is therefore quite likely that this form may have been that found in the old Alexandrian text, and used by the makers of the "Neutral" text as the foundation of the conflation which they adopted.

Here, then, we have perhaps another instance of a reading which is found in MSS. generally associated with the third stage of the history of the text in Alexandria, proving to lie behind the reading used in the second period, and probably to be the reading of the first period. It is exactly what the analogy of the Vulgate would lead one to expect. The old readings which have disappeared from the text in the second stage sometimes "crop out" in the third. It is therefore suggested that a careful study of these apparently impure "Western" readings which are found in manuscripts which as a class represent the "Alexandrian" text in Hort's sense is likely to have important results in throwing light on the early "Western" text which was in use in Alexandria in the days of Clement.

There is one other source of information which may perhaps be drawn upon for the same purpose—the marginal readings in the Harklean Syriac. This, as is well known, represents the text of MSS. which in the sixth century were preserved in the library of the Enaton in Alexandria, and they are as completely Western in character as even Codex Bezae itself. Not very much study has been given them. It has been assumed that they represent, not a truly Alexandrian type of text, but imported MSS. from elsewhere. It may be so;

but, in the first place, the bringing of MSS. to Alexandria for copying purposes is rather like bringing coals to Newcastle for colliery use, and, in the second place, it is remarkable that they should have a text of so unpopular and archaic a type. Surely, it is much more likely that in the margin of the Harklean we have a survival of genuine old Alexandrian manuscripts belonging to the period of Clement, when a "Western" type was in use and the "Neutral" type had not been invented.

The foregoing remarks do not claim to be a statement of ascertained facts, but merely some indication of the line which progress in textual criticism seems to be taking. If they are to any large degree correct, the importance of the change of view suggested is obvious. For it comes to this: We shall have to make up our minds to regard Westcott and Hort's edition a failure (though a failure without which we should be poor indeed), in so far that it has not succeeded in reconstructing, as it claims to do, "*the original Greek*" of the gospels, but has instead reconstructed the text which was dominant in Alexandria, not in the first, but in the second stage of the history of the text in that city. We shall have, in fact, to regard it and the MSS. on which it is based as secondary rather than primary authorities for the text of the New Testament. Furthermore, we shall have to admit that for the earliest period of textual history there are no pure<sup>22</sup> authorities extant in Greek MSS. For the reconstruction of the earliest type of text we are dependent upon hints, some of them in Greek manuscripts, some of them in versions, some of them in the quotations of early Fathers. We have to collect them and examine them and study the collections and examinations which have been made already, without any *arrière pensée* that (as was once said to the writer) "Westcott and Hort have given us the true text; all that remains for us to do is to classify the deviations from it." At present no one knows quite what may prove to be the primitive form of the text. On the whole, it perhaps seems as though it was of the type which we call "Western." But it also seems certain that the "Western" text is no more a single homogeneous text than it is western geographically. Each of the great regions of the Christian world seems to have had in it a different form, so that we get sometimes Latin and Syriac branches agreeing against Alexandrian, sometimes other combinations.

<sup>22</sup>It is almost certain that no "Western" authority does more than represent a local text, unrevised, it is true, but almost always lost and interpolated.

One thing alone seems quite certain. The mechanical system which never admits conjectural emendation will not restore us the primitive text. Definite evidence does not go far enough to enable us not to be subjective, and therefore we shall have to be subjective or admit that the text of the gospels is irredeemably corrupt and that we cannot restore it. It is sometimes well to remember that, after all, it is only untrained subjectivity which is necessarily of the Evil One.

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### THE BELIEFS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

THE science of comparative religion is probably making the most rapid advances of any branch of theological study at the present time. It is fostered by the fuller intercourse between nations and the sense of solidarity that is pervading the world. Its scope is increased by the discoveries of ancient religious records, by the translations of sacred books, and by anthropological studies of our day. Its bearing upon questions of doctrine is acknowledged more fully. Comparative religion is not only the application of the scientific method to the historical religions, but it also should be the expression of an intelligent, candid, and hopeful Christian faith which believes in the providence of the All-Father, the light of the Logos, and the universal influences of the Spirit. The only adequate apologetic for the coming century, in the face of the world-wide problems, must include the recognition of the claims of comparative religion.

The study, however, is attended with many difficulties, some of which are peculiar to itself. It has been advocated and prosecuted by those who not only are "without prejudice" in favor of Christianity and revelation, but who have erected upon its impartial plain masked batteries to attack the certainties of all religion. Indifferentists have given their approval, who are pleased to see all religions apparently reduced to the same level, as they believe in the authority of no religion. The science has been passing through what may be termed the "slumming" stage, when well-dressed, cultivated seekers after novel sensations have enjoyed themselves by personally inspecting the quaint religious habits and curious customs of the out-of-the-way portions of the human race. But objections which may properly be brought against the sincerity or seriousness of some investigators do not bear equally upon the value of the investigation.

Yet in the science itself, when properly pursued, there are inherent difficulties. There are found the hindrances in the way of precision common to all sciences which deal, not with the mechanism of the material world, but with the spontaneity and individualism of humanity.<sup>1</sup> The thoughts and opinions of mankind are far less easy to classify than the shape of the cranium or the facial angle. It is probable that no set of opinions are more difficult to reduce to simplicity and system than those which concern man's belief in invisible or supernatural powers.<sup>2</sup> There is confusion and ambiguity in regard to some of the essential terms in the discussion, such as "religion" itself, "animism," and the like. And to complete the intricacy of the problem, in the study of so-called "primitive" religion not only must the actual beliefs of the savages be taken into consideration, but these beliefs are presented to us through the media of witnesses whose "personal equation" is sometimes found to be a subtle and significant element in their testimony.

The study of primitive religion is therefore the paradise, or happy hunting-ground, for the man with a theory. Odd must the theory be that cannot find support and solace in some statements of travelers or missionaries. The present debates concerning the claims of animism illustrate this point.

Animism, although Max Müller tried to send the term "into exile,"<sup>3</sup> has been held, since the publication of Tylor's *Primitive Culture* in 1871, as the most widely accepted scientific theory of the origin of religion. It marked a great advance over Hegel's formulæ and the fetich theory. There are signs now which indicate that its opponents are becoming more bold and its friends more cautious, if not less confident. In the field of Old Testament history animism is now held by independent students to be insufficient to interpret the facts in the manner in which it was employed by Stade and Lippert.<sup>4</sup> From the Roman Catholic position Dr. Aloys Borchert has recently published an able critique of the theory, adducing considerable evidence to show that soul-, ancestor-, and spirit-worship were not the earliest forms of religious expression. His argument is joined, naturally, to a general denunciation of *Evolutionismus*.<sup>5</sup> De la Saussaye holds that animism was more a

<sup>1</sup>JAMES WARD, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup>L. H. MORGAN, *Ancient Society*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>MAX MÜLLER, *Natural Religion*, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup>AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, 1900, p. 422; 1901, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup>A. BORCHERT, *Der Animismus*, 1900 (Freiburg i. B.), p. 130.

philosophy than a religion, and that no religion consisted in animism alone.<sup>6</sup> Tiele says that it has been abandoned by many, if not by most, experts.<sup>7</sup> Even in its stronghold, in the Folk-Lore Society, there are indications of disloyalty. The English Society in 1900 turned from its investigation of "Cat's Cradle Among the Papuans" to consider a paper on "Pre-Animistic Forms of Religion," in which it was asserted that the theory was in danger of being overworked, and that the facts disprove its claims.<sup>8</sup> But the most telling assault on the theory in recent years has been made by Mr. Andrew Lang, in the entertaining pages of *The Making of Religion*, and in other recent productions.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Lang has collected a mass of evidence, drawn from a large number of authorities, to prove that "low races" possess clearer and higher conceptions of Deity than the anthropologists are willing to allow. Savages in America, Africa, and Oceanica are found with the belief in a "High God," who is the benevolent maker of all things. If Mr. Lang were content with maintaining that "it seems proved beyond a doubt that the savages have 'felt after' a conception of a Creator higher than that for which they have commonly got credit," one might agree with Professor Iverach that "he seems to have made out his case and supported his thesis."<sup>10</sup> But Mr. Lang has committed himself to a peculiar theory of "degeneration," which encumbers (one would think unnecessarily) his position. This degeneration, which he is careful to explain is not from any "supernatural revelation to the earliest men,"<sup>11</sup> hangs in the air. It is frequently asserted to be a reality, but it is given no base or background. Still, he declares that "only contradictory facts, in sufficient quantity, can annihilate the old theory of degeneration when it is presented in this form."<sup>12</sup> The 1,428 pages of the enlarged edition of J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*,<sup>13</sup> to take a single example, would seem to most readers to be a "sufficient quantity" of "contradictory facts" (if quantity is the desideratum), for Dr. Frazer's great work, along with the various volumes of the "Grimm Library," supports, without qualification, the view of man's gradual mental and moral progression in his religious conceptions. But is truth a warfare of this description, where one theory,

<sup>6</sup> *Religionsgeschichte*, 2te Aufl., 1897, Vol. I, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Theol. Jahresbericht*, 1898, p. 444.

<sup>8</sup> *Folk-Lore*, 1900, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 2d ed., 1899, and *The Homeric Hymns*.

<sup>10</sup> *Critical Review*, 1898, p. 394.

<sup>11</sup> *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 1899, Vol. I, p. xiii.

<sup>12</sup> *Making of Religion*, p. 290.

<sup>13</sup> Second edition, 3 vols., 1900.

with ten thousand facts, surrenders when another theory comes against it with twenty thousand? What are "contradictory" facts? Facts can hardly be "contradictory" to each other (if they are facts), but only to insufficient theories set for their explanation. The phrase, however, strikes the nerve of the final difficulty in the path of the science. The evidence is not harmonious. This variation not only opens the way for divergent theories of the origin of religion, but it comes at times to an *impasse*, in a direct contradiction in regard to the facts. So this discussion, revealing the inconsistency, and even conflict, in the testimony, leads necessarily to the closer scrutiny of the accuracy of the evidence.

Perhaps in no line of historical science is the question of the competency of the witnesses more significant than in the study of primitive religion. The doctrinal and theoretical presuppositions, or prejudices, must be fairly weighed to determine the personal equation of the investigators. In regard to the American religions, this point is especially important in questions relating to demonology. The subtle word "Wakan," which denotes the mysterious or supernatural, "comprehending all manifestations of the unseen world,"<sup>14</sup> has been frequently rendered "devil." In the earlier days it was so translated by those who held that the religion of the "savage" was the direct inspiration of the evil one. While the Indians undoubtedly believed in spirits able and willing to work natural and moral evils, and sacrificed to them in consequence, yet "Okee" and the other "Divell" gods mentioned in early testimony are hardly to be considered as counterparts of Satan. In the Indian sign language, while the sign for "medicine" signifies the "mysterious or unknown, or the concealed and obscure forces of nature," the sign for God is the "sign for medicine and pointing to the zenith, or the sign for great and pointing to the zenith, with the extended index of the right hand."<sup>15</sup>

In studying the beliefs of the North American Indians, an examination of part of the evidence shows some of the more obvious causes for error. These will be noted, especial attention being given to the psychological causes of error in the testimony.

The tendency in the earlier testimony was usually to underestimate the native beliefs. The reasons for this lay partly in the mind of the European and partly in the mind of the Indian. The European was wholly unacquainted with the language, both in its vocabulary and in

<sup>14</sup> D. G. BRINTON, *Myths of the New World*, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> W. P. CLARK, *Indian Sign Language*, 1885, pp. 189, 248.

its subtle modal characteristics. Its inadequacy to express ordinary conceptions of civilized peoples, and the absence of abstract terms, led some capable and careful witnesses to disparage unduly the Indian's mental powers, and consequently his religious attainments. Biard, the Jesuit missionary, wrote in 1611 :

All their conceptions are limited to sensible and material things ; there is nothing abstract, internal, spiritual, or distinct. . . . Words expressing universal and generic ideas, such as beast, animal, body, substance, and the like, these are altogether too learned for them.

Observing, then, no external religious ceremonies, he adds : "They have no temples, sacred edifices, rites, ceremonies, or religious teachings."<sup>16</sup> Five years later, after more careful study, he modified his views decidedly. Cayne, also a Jesuit missionary, in 1618 wrote that the Canadian Indians had "almost no conception of Deity or concern for salvation."<sup>17</sup> Hennepin, the Récollet missionary, as late as 1682 said :

We must all of us own that almost all of the savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary arguments and reasonings that the rest of mankind are led by upon this subject ; so dark and stupid are their understandings.<sup>18</sup>

This opinion, especially if we adopt Parkman's view that Hennepin was an "impostor," would show that darkness and stupidity were not characteristics of the Indian alone. Hennepin adds later :

Their language, which is very expressive in everything else, is so barren on this subject, that we can't find any expression in it to signify the Deity, or any one of the mysteries, not even the most common : this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Hennepin, however, makes other statements hard to reconcile with this ; as, for example, giving several names for the Deity in the Indian dialects. Jouvency, writing in 1710 of the earlier experiences of the Jesuit missions, said :

There is among them no system of religion, or care of it. They honor a Deity who has no definite character or regular code of worship. They perceive, however, through the twilight, as it were, that some Deity does exist.<sup>19</sup> Verrazzano, in his letter on the discovery of Norumbega, in 1524 (if there is truth under the interpolations), could find neither worship, sacrifice, nor temples. He adds quaintly : "We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their owne libertie."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896), Vol. II, pp. 11, 75.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 201.

<sup>19</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. I, p. 287.

<sup>20</sup> *Continuation of New Discovery*, pp. 65, 69. <sup>20</sup> *Hakluyt's Divers Voyages*, p. 71.



Another reason for the undue depreciation of the native beliefs was the failure of the Europeans to understand the secretiveness of the Indian disposition. Le Jeune, a Jesuit, wrote in 1633 :

It is a great mistake to think that they have no knowledge of a divinity. . . . I confess that the savages have no public or common prayer, nor any form of worship usually rendered to one whom they hold as God, and their knowledge is only as darkness. But it cannot be denied that they recognize some nature superior to the nature of man. . . . I do not know their secrets, but from the little that I am about to say it will be seen that they recognize some divinity.<sup>21</sup>

"I do not know their secrets" ! This is a long step in advance from the superficial statements that they had no conception of Deity nor names for him. Benzoni, in 1572, shows this secretiveness of the Indian. In speaking of the native idols he said : "The ministers of their faith keep a great many of them hidden in caves and underground, sacrificing to them occultly, and asking in what manner they can possibly expel the Christians from their country."<sup>22</sup> Schoolcraft, while defending the character of the Indian from the charge of inveterate falsehood, concedes that the proclivity is to concealment and even to "habitual want of frankness of utterance."<sup>23</sup> He mentions the evasion practiced by the Indian on subjects connected with religion. "There is an evident avoidance of the subject ; it is manifestly trenching on a secret, reserved topic." And further than that, there is "the fear of making any revelations on a sacred topic," and even "a secrecy which his religion imposes."<sup>24</sup> Berkely, in his *History of Virginia*, refers to this fear as a dread of the native priesthood.

A trait in the character of the Indian which led to further misapprehension of his religious beliefs was his imitativeness. By his readiness to copy the religious practices of the foreigners he strengthened the impression—often, no doubt, intentionally—that he had little or no religion of his own. In the account of the first voyage of Columbus by Peter Martyr (Anghiera), who obtained his information directly from Columbus,<sup>25</sup> we have this description of the imitativeness of the natives of Hispaniola :

At the eventide about the falling of the sun when our men went to prayer, and kneeled on their knees after the manner of the Christians, they did the

<sup>21</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. V, p. 153.      <sup>22</sup> HAKLUYT ed., pp. 78, 79.

<sup>23</sup> *History, etc., of the Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 434.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 401.

<sup>25</sup> JUSTIN WINSOR, *Narr. and Crit. History*, Vol. II, p. 57.

like also. And after what manner soever they sawe them pray to the crosse they followed them in all poyntes as well as they coulede.\*6

Chanca, the physician of the fleet of Columbus, giving the narrative of the second voyage, in 1494, bore further testimony to this trait :

My idea of this people is, that if we could converse with them, they would all be converted, for they do whatever they see us do, making genuflections before the altars at the Ave Maria and the other parts of the devotional service, and making the sign of the cross. They all say that they wish to be Christians, although in truth they are idolaters.\*7

The northern Indian had the same willingness to adopt the foreign customs, as is seen in Carter's account of the Indians at Hochelega :

This nation has no knowledge of the true God, but believes in one whom they call Cudrueigni, who, they say, often informs them of future events, and who throws dust in their eyes when angry with them. . . . We endeavored to convince them of their erroneous belief, telling them that Cudrueigni was only a devil or evil spirit who deceived them ; and affirmed that there is only one God of heaven, the Creator of all, from whom we have all good things, and that it would be necessary to be baptized, or otherwise they would all be damned. They readily acquiesced in these and other things concerning our faith, calling their Cudrueigni agouiada, or the evil one, and requesting our captain that they might be baptized.\*8

In the Latin edition of Hariot's *Narrative of Virginia* published by DeBry in Frankfort in 1590, after the description of John Wyth's picture of Kiwasa, the great Virginian idol, or "Okee," this passage follows, which is not found in the English Hakluyt Society reprint :

Other knowledge of God these miserable ones do not possess ; although I think them desirous at least of the knowledge of him ; for when we bow down upon our knees to offer prayers to God, they imitate us, and seeing us move the lips, they do the same ; wherefore it is likely that they will be led to the knowledge of the Gospel. God grant the favor unto them.\*9

One of the first religious customs to make an impression upon the Europeans was the worship of the sun and moon. The reason why this belief was soon observed may be that adoration of the heavenly bodies would be easily understood by onlookers, and the worship of the sun, at least, would probably be performed frequently. Peter Martyr Anghiera, in 1516, quoting from a "booke written by one Ramonus an Heremite, whom Columbus had left with certayne kinges

\*6 *De Rebus Oceanicis, etc.*, Eng. transl., 1612, 1st Decade.

\*7 *Voyages of Columbus*, p. 63.

\*8 KERR, *Gen. Hist. and Coll. of Voyages*, Vol. VI, pp. 52 f.

\*9 *Admiranda Narratio, etc.*, Plate XXI.

of the Iland to instruct them in the Christian faith," says of the natives of San Domingo :

Our men therefore were long in the Iland of Hispaniola before they knew that the people thereof honoured any other thing than the lights of heaven or hadde any other religion, but when they hadde beene longe conversant with them and by understanding their language drew to a further familiarity they had knowledge that they used divers rites and superstitions.<sup>30</sup>

There is the implication, at least, that the worship paid to the heavenly bodies was the first that was recognized. Ribault, in his *Discoverie of Terra Florida* (1562), mentions the gesture of the Indian king, "lifting up his arme to heaven, put forth his fingers, whereby it seemed that he made us to understande that they worshipped ye sunne and ye moone for Gods, as afterwarde we understoode it so."<sup>31</sup> Samuel Champlain's *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599-1602* contains this interesting testimony to moon-worship, and cannibalism also :

The greater part of the said Indians, who are not under the domination of the Spaniards, adore the moon as their Deity, and when they desire to perform their cermonies, they assemble, great and small, in the middle of their villages, and place themselves in a circle. Those who have anything to eat, bring it, and they put all the provisions together in the midst of them and make the best cheer possible. . . . After they have well sung and danced they place themselves with their faces to the earth and all at once, they all together begin to cry out and weep, saying, 'Oh ! powerful and bright moon, grant that we may conquer our enemies, and may eat them, that we may not fall into their hands ; and that dying we may go and rejoice with our relatives.'<sup>32</sup>

In the *Jesuit Relations*, in 1616, Biard wrote again of the Indians of Nouvelle France : "They believe in a God, so they say ; but they cannot call him by any other name than that of the sun, Niscaminou, nor do they know any prayers or manner of worshipping him." But, strangely enough, in the next sentence Biard narrates circumstantially the words of the prayer that a young Autmoine (priest) told him he was accustomed to offer to the sun, when in great need, after putting on his sacred robes, and turning toward the east!<sup>33</sup> Lalemant, in the *Relations* for 1626, seems to be equally inconsistent, for he follows his statement that they pray to the sun with the assertion that "they have no form of divine worship or any kind of prayers."<sup>34</sup> Hennepin,

<sup>30</sup> *De Rebus Ocean.*, Eng. transl., 1st Decade.

<sup>31</sup> HAKLUYT, p. 99.

<sup>32</sup> HAKLUYT ed., pp. 37, 38.

<sup>33</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. III, p. 133.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 203.

after the assertion, already quoted, that almost all of the savages have no belief of a deity, qualifies it by adding that there is "a glimmering of a confus'd Notion of God;" that "some will confess, but very cloudily, that the Sun is God: others say 'tis a genius that rules in the air."<sup>35</sup>

A closer and more sympathetic intercourse with the Indians opened the way for an error in the opposite direction, namely, of exaggerating their belief in the character and attributes of Deity. The reason for this lay in the fact that the Indian was willing, from motives of craftiness, or politeness, or mental uncertainty, combined, to give his assent to any question asked him, especially if it were not quite intelligible. Mr. Schoolcraft, speaking of the Algonquin verb, says that "doubting phrases are all formed from the simple radix *aindum*, or *aind*, mind, and imply meditation or reserve of expression."<sup>36</sup> This agnostic model expression "*aindum*" is a clue that will help to interpret some very astonishing declarations of belief, which are, on the surface, contradictory of testimony already considered. It is not difficult to find statements which Europeans translated into matter-of-fact assertions, in the indicative mood, which were really "doubting phrases," that "imply meditation or reserve of expression." "*Aindum*" will be found to blight and blur much of the testimony which Mr. Lang and the degenerationists proffer so confidently.

Peter Martyr, speaking of the native belief in ghosts or familiar spirits, termed "*Zemes*," makes this remarkable statement:

They think that the *Zemes* are the messengers (*internuncios*) of him whom they confess (*fatentur*) to be one alone (*unicum*), infinite (*fine carentem*), omnipotent, and invisible.<sup>37</sup>

This seems excellent testimony to employ against the "ghost theory." The conception of the Infinite, Omnipotent, and Invisible, who is One Alone, could hardly have been evolved out of those who are but his messengers. The "*theologia gentilis*" of the Hispaniolan is of a high order, and seems more like a reminiscence of than a "degeneration" from the views of Thomas Aquinas. Peter Martyr calls him the "celestial eternal divinity," and says that he is called *Iocaúna* and *Guamaonocon*. The first name seems to be allied to the "*Ahone*" that Strachey found among the Virginia Indians, for which Mr. Lang hopes that further evidence may be obtained.<sup>38</sup> But, unfortunately,

<sup>35</sup> *Continuation of New Discovery*, p. 65.      <sup>36</sup> *History, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 434.

<sup>37</sup> *De Rebus Oceanicis* (Coloniae, 1574), p. 103.

<sup>38</sup> *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. xxxix.

Peter Martyr talks overmuch to be a satisfactory witness for the defense of the "degeneration theory." "They hold that the deity has a mother (*numen ipsum habere genetricem*) called by these five names." It is evident that the confession of belief in a unique, infinite, and omnipotent being must be a "doubting phrase," connected with the mood expressed by "Aindum," if it is to be harmonized with the belief that the deity has a mother, whose names are circumstantially recorded as Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Iiella, and Guimazoa. Perhaps Le Jeune, the observant Jesuit, threw some light on this perplexing question, and on human nature in general, when he wrote: "The savages agree very readily with what you say, but they do not, for all that, cease to act upon their own ideas."<sup>39</sup>

In an interesting passage in Le Jeune's *Relation*, partly quoted by Mr. Lang, after the missionary had discovered the native belief in Atahocam, "the one who can do everything and who made the earth and the sky," we find that in the following year Le Jeune learned the significance of *aindum*: "I have already reported that the savages believed that a certain one named Atachocam had created the world." After a winter spent in intercourse with a "famous sorcerer" and an old man, he finds them retreating into the "dubitative mood": "They did not know who was the first Author of the world — that it was perhaps Atahocham, but that was not certain; that they only speak of Atahocam as one speaks of a thing so far distant (*esloignée*) that nothing sure can be known about it; and, in fact, the word 'Nitatahokan' in their language means, 'I relate a fable,' 'I am telling an old story,' invented for amusement (*fait à plaisir*)."<sup>40</sup> This name Atahocam is the same as Atahauta which Hennepin, who "could not find any expression to signify the Deity," found to be the name of the Creator god of the "barbarians at the mouth of the river of St. Laurence."<sup>41</sup>

But in the testimony of Beverly, the historian of Virginia (1705), we find the most aggravated instance of *aindum*. In order to obtain further information on the subject of the native religion, Beverly singles out an Indian of unusual intelligence and treats him with much courtesy. "After I had found him well warm'd (for unless they be surprized some way or other they will not talk freely of their religion) I ask'd him concerning their God, and what their Notions of him

<sup>39</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. V, p. 151.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 156, 157.

<sup>41</sup> *Continuation of New Discovery*, p. 57.

were?" The Indian's reply is given at length, and is most carefully and elaborately expressed. Part of it is as follows:

He freely told me, that they believ'd God was universally beneficent, that his dwelling was in the Heavens above and that the influences of his Goodness reached to the earth beneath: that he was incomprehensible in his excellence and enjoy'd all possible Felicity, that his Duration was eternal, his Perfection boundless, and that he possesses everlasting indolence and ease, etc.

Nothing could, apparently, be clearer testimony than that. But we are obliged to write *aindum* across the entire passage, when we turn back and note what was Beverly's genial method of getting his native theologian "well warm'd."

I made much of him, seating him close by a large fire and giving him plenty of strong cyder, which I hop'd would make him good company and open hearted. After I had found him well warm'd . . . .<sup>42</sup>

Is this a case of "In vino veritas"? Or is it probable that the "open-hearted," if not inebriated, Redskin was willing to give his assent to every question asked him, adding *aindum* the next morning?

The testimony of the missionaries of the United Brethren concerning the beliefs of the Delawares and Iroquois is later than most of those mentioned. Loskiel, in 1788, says: "The prevailing belief of all these nations is that there is one God, or, as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created the heavens and the earth." "They represent God as almighty and able to do as much good as he pleases." "Beside the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities."<sup>43</sup> There seems to be a distinction in kind between the "Supreme Being" and both good and evil spirits, which bears against Spencer's "ghost theory," although it is not irreconcilable with Tylor's more general theory of animism. Loskiel's testimony to the importation of the conception of the devil is interesting. "They seem to have no idea of the Devil, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." Loskiel also repudiates the view that adoration is paid to the inferior divinities. Sacrifices are made to the "Manittos," because God "does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has, therefore, made known his will in dreams, notifying to them what beings they have to consider as manittos, and what offerings to make to them."

Summing up the examination of the testimony, we find that the

<sup>42</sup> *History of Virginia*, 1705, pp. 169, 170.

<sup>43</sup> *History of Missions of United Brethren, etc.*, pp. 33 f.

earlier phase was the undue depreciation of the native beliefs. This was largely on account of ignorance of the language and the lack of external ceremonials. The secretiveness of the Indian led him to conceal his actual belief. His imitateness and readiness to assume foreign customs aided in the misunderstanding. After this phase was passed, the opposite error of overestimation was natural. The acquiescent temper of the Indian gave him the appearance of believing that to which he was only giving a momentary assent. The native agnosticism, indicated by doubting phrases as *aindum*, was not fairly appreciated and aided in the misunderstanding. The theological proclivities of most of the European witnesses helped this exaggeration of knowledge of divinity in the natural man.

In relation to the general discussions about animism and the origin of religion, this examination shows that Mr. Lang and the degenerationists are in danger of exaggerating the definiteness and the conclusiveness of the testimony.<sup>44</sup> As with the belief in immortality, the knowledge of God is to be regarded more as an inference than as a reminiscence of the past. Mr. Lang has waged a successful warfare against the narrower animism of Spencer and Huxley, which is the old Euhemerism revived. Worship of dead chiefs and ancestors is not the only root of the religious sentiment. But animism in the broader sense, in which Tylor used it, is not bound to that one mode of development. The sense of awe, the feeling after the infinite, the recognition of mystery in nature, the causal inference,<sup>45</sup> and the measuring of all force, including omnipotence, in terms of the human will,<sup>46</sup> these, and the like, are characteristics of the savage, and of the sage, and of the saint.

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<sup>44</sup> TIELE, in *Theol. Jahresb.*, 1898, p. 445.

<sup>45</sup> D. G. BRINTON, *Religions of Primitive People*, pp. 44, 47.

<sup>46</sup> B. F. COCKER, *Theistic Conception, etc.*, pp. 35-40, and LINDSAY, *Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion*, p. 92.

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT. Herausgegeben von G. KRÜGER.  
Zwanzigster Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1900.  
Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn. Complete, M. 30.

Erste Abtheilung: Exegese, bearbeitet von Baentsch und Meyer (pp. 1-288). M. 9. Zweite Abtheilung: Historische Theologie, bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Preuschen, Ficker, O. Clemen, Loesche, Kohlschmidt, Lehmann, Hegler und Koehler (pp. 289-796). M. 12. Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie, bearbeitet von Mayer, Scheibe, Sulze, Elsenhans (pp. 797-1086). M. 9.

NOW THAT the twentieth volume of this valuable and well-nigh indispensable compendium of theological publications is almost completed, thus rounding out the second decennium of its useful existence, it may not be inappropriate briefly to survey the gradual growth of this excellent bibliographical repertory. The first volume appeared in the year 1882, with Professor Pünjer, then scarce thirty years old, as editor-in-chief. For four years he continued this arduous work, not only editing the whole volume, but also contributing, from year to year, a large share of the annual summaries. Of his original twelve collaborators only one, H. Lüdemann, is still to be found among the contributors to the twentieth volume; three more, Dreyer, Holtzmann, and Siegfried, continued until last year. The fourth volume was almost ready for distribution when, on May 15, 1885, Pünjer died after a short illness. He had given much of his time to the *Jahresbericht* gratuitously—as did also his successors—and it is said that this additional burden which he, always of delicate health and of weakened constitution, took upon his shoulders, broke his health completely and brought him to an early grave.<sup>1</sup> His colleague and collaborator, Professor R. A. Lipsius, became the editor for Vols. 5-11. Vols. 12-14 were edited by H. Holtzmann, the famous New Testament critic; Vols. 15-19, by Holtzmann and G. Krüger, the church historian, who had become a regular contributor since 1888.\* With the present volume Holtzmann relin-

<sup>1</sup> Pünjer is known chiefly as the author of a "History of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion Since the Reformation" (*Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation*), 2 vols.

\* Well known to the readers of this JOURNAL through his article on "David Friedrich Strauss," published in this JOURNAL, Vol. IV, pp. 514-35, July, 1900.



quishes his task as editor and contributor to the *Jahresbericht*, now edited by Krüger alone. During these twenty years the *Jahresbericht* had counted among its contributors some of the best-known authorities, theologians of world-wide reputation. A few may be mentioned here: Carl Siegfried, the Semitist and Old Testament scholar, from Vols. 1 to 19 (incl.), when sickness compelled him to give up that part of his work; for the same length of time Holtzmann contributed his careful résumés on New Testament subjects; W. Gass and H. Basser-  
mann, of Heidelberg; Nippold, of Jena; Dorner, of Berlin; and others. The number of contributors has grown from thirteen to twenty-three.

The *Jahresbericht*, of which "it can truly be said that nowhere in the field of theological literature there is a work similar to it,"<sup>3</sup> has never been a paying venture from a publisher's point of view; its steady growth<sup>4</sup> has rendered this financial situation more desperate from year to year. The present writer has it on best authority that the editor-in-chief receives no compensation at all for his truly gigantic task of editing a volume of more than 1,200 pages, contributed by more than twenty different men, who in their turn receive only a most insignificant honorarium. Almost all the work on this volume is a labor of love, and hard labor it is. The number of subscribers is comparatively small, and unless it can be considerably increased within a short time, the work will have to be discontinued. And yet it is indispensable to every student pursuing researches in any branch of theology. Cannot, will not, the readers of this JOURNAL, interested as they are in the advancement and spread of theological learning, contribute their share toward the maintenance of this grand repository by urging colleges, seminaries, and public libraries to become subscribers to it? Much, we are persuaded, can be done here, if the matter is brought to the attention of those who are and always have been ready and willing to support a most worthy cause. The attention of our readers is also called to the fact that every part of the *Jahresbericht* may be had separately, and that the use of each part is facilitated by the carefully prepared index, sold for only 2 marks. It is true that the *Jahresbericht* to some extent seemingly neglects American publications; but this is

<sup>3</sup> See this JOURNAL, Vol. II, pp. 388-91, April, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Notice the gradual increase of the report from year to year; pp. 389; 463; 406; 412; 566; 528; 558; 560; 608; 597; 658; 649; 692; 680; 690; 880; 940; 946 (Vol. 19). In the first volume exegetical theology occupied 73 pages; historical theology, 114; systematic theology, 85; in the present volume (20) these three departments fill respectively 288, 508, and 290 pages.

not so much the fault of either editor or contributors as it is that of authors neglecting to send copies for review. Wherever and whenever it is possible, the editor and contributors have endeavored to do justice to all.

Beginning with Vol. 21, the section "Oriental Languages and Literatures, etc.," comprising Egyptology, Assyriology, Arabic and Ethiopic, Aramaic dialects, Phoenician, Semitic palæography and manuscripts, will be intrusted to a specialist along those lines, as was suggested in a former notice.<sup>5</sup> We congratulate editor and contributors upon the work so well done in the past, and bid them good cheer, sympathy, and best wishes for a still better future. "Invaluable as a guide to the student at the present time, the importance of this compendium will be immeasurably enhanced in the days of future generations."<sup>6</sup>

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SPINOZA'S GOTTESBEGRIFF. Von ELMER E. POWELL. Halle: Niemeyer, 1899. Pp. ix + 113. M. 3.

THE question as to whether God, in Spinoza's system, is a self-conscious intelligence, or a substance of which no such definite predicates can be affirmed, is one which still haunts the students of this fascinating and perplexing author. For the second view speak such statements as the denial of intellect and will to the divine being. For the first view speaks the fact that *cogitatio* is one of the divine attributes. The monograph of Dr. Powell is a study of the general outlines of Spinoza's system, and of the particular passages which bear upon this problem. He utilizes not only the *Ethics*, but the *Short Treatise*, which was not accessible to some of the earlier writers who have argued the question; and his conclusion, based to a considerable degree upon certain explicit statements in the *Short Treatise*, is in favor of the second alternative named above. In this I think he is right, in so far as the terms "self-conscious intelligence" are taken in any sense capable of interpretation in terms of human consciousness. At the same time, one feels that the Spinoza of the fifth book of the *Ethics*, if asked whether, in saying "God loves himself with an infinite love," he means merely that each man loves his fellow, would have replied: "No, I mean something far deeper than this, and something which mysticism has always striven to express, however inadequately. To be one with God is not merely to love my fellow-man,

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, p. 388, of this JOURNAL.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

and to view the world *sub specie aeternitatis* is not merely a negative conception." In other words, although Spinoza's God, or Substance, or Nature, no doubt suffers from the logical prejudice that the universal must be indefinite, and although it may be more fittingly stated as substance than as subject, there was with Spinoza, as with other mystics, some positive value in this God with whom he would unite himself.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A CRITICAL EXPOSITION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEIBNIZ, with an Appendix of Leading Passages. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. Cambridge: The University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. ix + 311. \$2.25, net.

NO ENGLISH work on the Leibnizian theory of knowledge has appeared since Gerhardt's edition of Leibniz presented its wealth of new material. There was, therefore, a demand for a new study in the light of this material. Mr. Russell has utilized especially the correspondence with Arnauld and the *Discours de metaphysique* of 1786 to present the system as following from Leibniz's view of propositions. This view was that all the possible predicates of a given subject are involved in that subject, so that a perfect knowledge of it would discover them. A substance, accordingly, has all its states contained within its essence or notion, and their emergence needs no action from without; each individual substance is a world apart. The metaphysics of the monadology follows, therefore, directly from a logic. Later chapters deal with Leibniz's view of substance and his arguments for the existence of God.

The general aim of the book is declared to be critical rather than historical. It is not so much to view the system of Leibniz in its historical relations or psychological development, as to examine its internal consistency and its objective tenability as a typical system. From this standpoint, Mr. Russell succeeds in finding much that is untenable and many arguments that in his opinion are "scandalous." It will probably occur to the reader, however, that in the case of Leibniz, more than in that of most, such a method and examination have comparatively little value. The system of Leibniz, as he himself says more than once, was a synthesis of varied tendencies and conceptions. It did not arise from a single logical deductive process, although its author did once state it from this point of view. The

individualism of modern life and thought, as truly as the mediæval theory of substantial forms, entered into his conception of individual substance; the teleological demand for unity was an even stronger determinant than the logical analysis of propositions. If these factors are ignored, the significance of the system is not recognized. Notwithstanding his acuteness, Mr. Russell fails in comprehensive grasp, and one is moved to query whether it is desirable to attempt what he has attempted. If one wishes to philosophize, is it not better to do it directly, without using an author of two centuries ago as an opponent; while, on the other hand, if such an author is to be criticised, should it not be done from a comprehensive appreciation and examination of his system as a whole, rather than from an analysis of certain detached portions?

JAMES H. TUFTS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANCIS HUTCHESON. *His Life, Teaching and Position in the History of Philosophy.* By WILLIAM ROBERT SCOTT. Cambridge: The University Press, 1901. Pp. xx + 296. 8s.

THIS admirable book of Dr. Scott's is devoted in about equal measure to the life and the philosophy of Hutcheson. Hutcheson has been a rather vague personality, but the author has unearthed enough material about his family and his early work as preacher and teacher, and, finally, about his efforts in behalf of the liberal tendencies in theology when in Glasgow, to present a fairly definite figure before us. In fact, he makes it evident that the personality of Hutcheson counted for very much more than has usually been recognized. He seems to have taken a deep personal interest in particular students, and to have exercised a corresponding influence upon them. Beginning as a preacher, he maintained through all his career as a teacher something of the preacher's personal attitude and much of the preacher's manner of presentation in his class-room work. It is due to his influence that in Scotland lecturers in moral philosophy have felt it a matter of tradition that something of personal inspiration and ethical enthusiasm should find place in the class-room along with a scientific treatment of the subject.

As a preacher Hutcheson seems to have been too liberal in his views for the somewhat conservative Scotch-Irish congregation, and the report which one of the elders of his father's church gave to the

father, after hearing the son's sermon, is worth quoting for its own sake as well as for the light which it throws upon Hutcheson :

Your silly loon, Frank, has fashed a' the congregation wi' his idle cackle; for he has been babbling this oor about a gude and benevolent God, and that the sauls o' the heathens themsels will gang to Heeven, if they follow the licht o' their ain consciences. Not a word does the daft boy ken, speer, nor say about the gude auld comfortable doctrines o' election, reprobation, original sin and faith. Hoot mon, awa' wi' sic a fellow!

After his appointment as professor of philosophy at Glasgow, these liberal tendencies were enlisted in the case of what may be called the "enlightenment" in Scotland. It is as leader of the enlightenment in Scotland that his position and services are properly to be measured, according to Dr. Scott. In England, Shaftesbury had contributed toward the introduction of Greek ideals of culture and toward more liberal views in theology, but Shaftesbury was himself too much of a Greek and too little of an orthodox churchman to perform such a service for Scotland. To satisfy the Scottish demand for a religious basis and framework for the conduct of life and for scientific thought, there was need for just such a character as Hutcheson; that is, of a man who was at once in sympathy with Scottish Puritanism, and at the same time an ardent enthusiast for the ideals which he found in the writings of the Stoics and of Cicero. The bent of the Scottish mind during the last one hundred and fifty years in favor of philosophical and ethical study is due in no small degree to Hutcheson's influence.

As regards the treatment of Hutcheson's philosophy, the author has done a real service in pointing out more carefully than has ever been done before the different stages of Hutcheson's thought. Dr. Scott says that there are four fairly distinct stages in his moral theory, represented respectively by (1) the *Enquiry*, (2) the *Essay on the Passions*, (3) the *System of Moral Philosophy*, and (4) the *Compend*, which he wrote toward the close of his work. Previous writers have not usually distinguished between (1) and (2), and have given little or no attention to (4). In general, the first stage is characterized as hedonistic. In the second stage he has come under the influence of Butler, but maintains the pre-eminence of benevolence over self-love. The third stage is characterized by fresh influences of classicism, and especially of Aristotle. In the fourth stage an increased influence of the Stoics and Marcus Aurelius is disclosed.

In tracing the history of utilitarian formula prior to Hutcheson, it seems strange that Dr. Scott has not alluded to the approximations

which Cumberland makes to the later classical statement, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Cumberland uses repeatedly such phrases as "the happiest state of the whole system of rational agents;" "the largest quantity of public happiness;" and finally says: "before comparing several goods together, we may always conclude such a good greater which carries in it the larger quantity of public happiness." This is certainly very near the formula of Hutcheson and Bentham. This, however, is a minor omission, and every student of British ethics in the eighteenth century will be grateful to Dr. Scott for his work,

JAMES H. TUFTS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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MAGIC AND RELIGION. By ANDREW LANG. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. x + 316. \$3.50, net.

In his new book Mr. Lang continues the discussion of various topics already considered in his earlier works—*Modern Mythology* and *The Making of Religion*. Ever since the last-mentioned book appeared, the author has been happy in a continuous battle with his critics and anthropological friends. This battle has been waged largely in the meetings of the Folklore Society, and its details are already, for the most part, in print. Since the appearance of *The Making of Religion*, a new edition of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* has appeared. Mr. Lang dissents from many of Frazer's conclusions. *Magic and Religion* attacks Frazer's book and continues the battle with the folklorists.

Probably Mr. Frazer's best friend would agree that the new edition of *The Golden Bough* is no improvement upon the earlier edition. It is doubtful whether the author has done wisely in revising the work. However that may be, Mr. Lang makes a vigorous assault. He begins by a general criticism of the method and results of much of the recent writing upon anthropological subjects. He asserts that it is unscientific in method and fallacious in conclusion. He insists that insecure premises are assumed and astonishing arguments are reared upon them. Examining what Tylor says regarding the "high gods" of lower peoples, he reasserts his claim that many low peoples have had such "high gods." Confining his attention to North America and Australia, he shows, by citation from Tylor's own authorities—and others—that, in both regions, notions existed regarding a creative being who was good, long-existing, and superior to the gods usually worshiped.

He certainly makes a strong point against the idea of "loan gods"—the theory by which Tylor and others have been wont to explain the existence of such conceptions. Later on in his book Mr. Lang presents evidence for the existence of conceptions of "high gods" in South Africa.

Turning then to *The Golden Bough*, Mr. Lang devotes nearly two hundred pages to its criticism. He examines, first, the relation of magic to religion. According to Frazer, magic gives way to religion with advance in culture; magic is the attempt to control supernatural powers by personal acts. It is of two kinds, Lang says: (a) imitation of a desired natural operation, that it may itself be produced; (b) effort by spells to constrain spirits or gods to do one's will. To combat Mr. Frazer's view that the failure of magic drives to belief in gods and the development of religion, Mr. Lang shows that magic often exists, fully developed, among peoples who have well-defined religions. The argument is chiefly drawn from data regarding Australian tribes, as these had been particularly employed by Mr. Frazer himself. Mr. Lang argues that the Australians have now, and have long had, a religion, and that religion, rather than magic (if either), is losing its hold among them. But it is to Mr. Frazer's theories of vegetable deities, of divinities incarnated for a single year—dying and re-incarnating—and to his application of these theories to the stories of Christ, of Mordecai and Esther, of Marduk and Ishtar, that Mr. Lang devotes his closest argument. Here, particularly, he attempts to show that an elaborate but unsubstantiated theory has been erected upon most inadequate assumptions. And it is here that our author appears at his best.

In one of the later essays in the volume Mr. Lang presents some new matter relative to his favorite topic—the fire walk. Some of his new cases are particularly interesting. It is startling to find white Europeans and Americans walking unharmed through a bed of glowing coals just because they have been given "mana" by the leader. Mr. Lang here again shows his lack of interest in American authorities (outside of newspaper reporters). He says he does not know Lafcadio Hearn's book, though he refers to a case mentioned by him; nor has he yet taken the trouble to look up Percival Lowell's account, to which he was referred two years ago.

In so brief a notice it is not possible to discuss the author's argument. We have merely endeavored to indicate his position and attitude.

FREDERICK STARR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LES MALADIES DU SENTIMENT RELIGIEUX. Par E. MURISIER.  
Paris: Alcan, 1901. Pp. 175. Fr. 2.50.

This is not a treatise on morbid religious states, but an essay on the nature of religion. Inasmuch as certain mental diseases decompose the mind, destroying its functions in the inverse order of their evolution, the author believes that analysis of religious maladies will reveal the ultimate elements of religion. The three chapters discuss, respectively, ecstasy, fanaticism, and emotional contagion.

The contrast between the active and the contemplative types of spirituality is reduced to one between egotistic and social impulses. Around this conception the entire essay revolves. Morbid excess of individualism in religious sentiment tends toward ecstasy; corresponding excess in the reverse direction tends toward fanatical desire for extreme social uniformity. Both seek a directing power which shall unify and systematize an unstable consciousness. The primordial factor is a feeling of the need of guidance, a feeling not exclusively egotistic or exclusively social, but normally both at once. The need of adjustment produces feeling, this gives birth to idea, and idea finally reacts upon feeling.

The essay is richly suggestive. Yet why should we desire, in determining the nature of religion, to ignore its normal forms? The reader is not always sure just when the discussion concerns the normal and when the morbid. The data actually selected, moreover, seem needlessly limited. They are derived chiefly from biographical and historical literature, direct observation from the psychologist's point of view supplying only an illustration here and there. In the present state of the psychology of religion, our greatest need is a large amount of first-hand study of phenomena. American readers will smile at the author's not unnatural interpretation of the term "protracted meeting," while his statement of the psychology of sects will reinforce the desire for a more rigidly empirical method.

GEORGE A. COE.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,  
Evanston, Ill.

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PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION. The Laws of Interpretation Treated as a Science, Derived Inductively from an Exegesis of Many Important Passages of Scripture. By CLINTON LOCKHART. Des Moines: The Christian Index Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 306. \$1.25.

This book is a real and valuable contribution to the department of biblical hermeneutics, and is well adapted both for the study table of



the minister and the class-room of the university or the theological seminary. No one can read its sane and sensible discussions of various passages, and follow its reasonable and clearly stated rules, and not become a wiser and a better interpreter of the Bible, unless he has already become, in this respect, the equal of the author of this book. One will find here and there in the book interpretations with which he cannot agree; but even then he will be willing to say that the author has not reached his own conclusion by any fundamentally erroneous method, or without having some good evidence in his favor. With the fundamental position of the book, its general principles of interpretation, and its rules for the guidance of the student of the Bible, the sound interpreter can have only the most profound sympathy.

If one should criticise a book like this, it would be because he would like to see so good a book made still better. It is because of this desire that the suggestion is made that the material of the book is not so scientifically and accurately classified as is surely possible and best. For example, the distinction between axioms, principles, and rules, and also the relation of one of these distinctions to another, are not always clear. Nor does there appear to be any good reason for classifying the rules under the heads of "Rules Based on the General Sense," "Rules for Meaning of Words and Expressions," "Use of Parallel Passages," and "Figurative Language," since the sole object of all rules based on the general sense, as well as the use of parallel passages and the interpretation of figurative language, must be, with only very rare, if any, exceptions, to determine the meaning of words and expressions.

It is also to be noted that, notwithstanding the statement of the title of the book, the inductive method is not always followed. For the examples given are often only illustrations of the value of the rule, instead of being any basis for establishing its validity. The author, moreover, does not in any way show us in his book that he has given us *the* laws of interpretation, that is, that we have all needed laws of interpretation before us in his presentation. But if more laws are possible in any given case, a failure to use them might vitiate all the work. A somewhat confusing misprint of "A. V." for R. V. occurs in the bottom line of p. 143.

S. BURNHAM.

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BIBLE STUDIES: Contributions, chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity. By G. ADOLF DEISSMANN. With an illustration in the text. Authorized Translation, incorporating Deissmann's most recent changes and additions, by ALEXANDER GRIEVE. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901; New York: Imported by Scribner. Pp. xv + 384. \$3.

WE welcome this book in its English dress, and congratulate ourselves and all users of English upon the increased accessibility of Professor Deissmann's stimulating essays and novel lexicographical studies. *Bibel-Studien* appeared in 1895, and *Neue Bibel-Studien*<sup>1</sup> in 1897, while the author was pastor at Herborn. Both these volumes are embodied in the English edition, and the Herborn pastor is now professor of theology at Heidelberg. Of the essays the most considerable is the one on "Letters and Epistles," which opens the volume. Are the so-called epistles of the New Testament really epistles, *i. e.*, conscious literary productions designed for a public, as were the epistles of Horace or Seneca? Or are they, like the letters of Cicero, true letters, evoked by some definite urgent situation, intended for a certain person or group of persons, and written personally, with no thought of addressing any public or swelling any literature? This is not an idle question. An adequate answer to it is really essential to the valid interpretation of any letter or epistle. Professor Deissmann would make all Paul's acknowledged writings letters; he holds that, while letters of Paul are probably wrought into the pastorals, these are in their present form epistles, as are Hebrews, Peter, James, and Jude. But every interpreter of the New Testament will wish to frame his own answer to this suggestive question.

The bulk of the book is devoted to lexicographical studies, which the author calls "Contributions to the History of the Language of the Greek Bible." By the Greek Bible is meant the Septuagint, as well as the New Testament; indeed, the emphasis is rather on the former. The papyri and inscriptions, as well as not a few by-ways of ancient literature, have been delved into in the effort to illuminate obscure words and phrases, and the results have been generally novel and interesting, and often valuable and conclusive. Students of biblical Greek owe much to these learned and critical researches in Greek contemporary with that of the Bible.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

<sup>1</sup>See this JOURNAL, Vol. III, pp. 162-4 (January, 1899).

DIE EINWANDERUNG DER ISRAELITISCHEN STÄMME IN KANAAN.  
Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen. Von CARL STEUERNAGEL.  
Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901. Pp. vii + 131. M.  
3.60.

THIS book, as its author tells us in his preface, was written for the use of scholars who have already worked in its field. It is, indeed, a scholarly and thorough discussion of the complicated questions with which it deals. The author expresses at the outset his conviction that the old Israelite traditions are more trustworthy, and contain more available material, than modern scholars have generally supposed; and announces it as his chief purpose to demonstrate this, showing in the case of the patriarchal stories, in particular, how they may be used as a basis for reconstructing the early history of the tribes of Israel. He accordingly attempts to follow farther and more consistently than his predecessors the theory that under the legends of the patriarchs are to be found, half concealed, the records of races and families; the incidents narrated of Jacob, Joseph, Rachel, and the rest really standing for the movements and migrations of tribes. That this mode of critical procedure is justified, at least to a considerable extent, has long been recognized. The Old Testament writers themselves have unmistakably pointed the way to it. Steuernagel's main results are not different from those which have been reached and recorded by other scholars in recent years. At many points, however, he has thrown new light on details, or opened the way for fresh discussion.

The book contains more than its title indicates. The first section, occupying forty-nine pages, contains a detailed examination of all the available material relating, or thought to relate, to the early history of the Israelitish tribes; the genealogical system, the various groups and their interrelations, the order of the individual members of the groups, and so on. With p. 50 begins the criticism of the traditions relating to the immigration. These he divides into two classes: traditions relating to tribe ancestors, contained in the tales of the patriarchs; and traditions relating to the movements of tribes, found chiefly in the narratives of Joshua and Numbers. In sifting this material, it is not strange that he should come upon some refractory portions of narrative which cannot be made to fit into his historical scheme. Thus he concludes in regard to the anecdotes in which Esau plays a part, in Gen., chaps. 32, 33, and 35, that they must of necessity be regarded merely as creations of the story-teller's art. In discussing the difficult questions relating to the origin of the name "Israel," and the causes of

its ultimate substitution for "Jacob," Steuernagel rejects the theory, which now has so many adherents, that Jacob was originally a Canaanite people, quite distinct from the Israel tribes, which appeared later on the scene. He also suggests (with some hesitation, it should be observed to his credit) that **ישראל** may have been derived from **איש רות**.

As for the general results of the investigation which occupies this division of the book, it must be said that Steuernagel can fairly claim to have made some new and real gains for the history of Israel. At the same time it must be added (what is, indeed, inevitable in such a difficult undertaking as this one) that a part of the distinctly new conclusions will hardly meet with general acceptance. Thus, for example, the ingenious, but extremely precarious, combinations based on Gen., chap. 38 (pp. 79 f.); the conclusions drawn from the mention of Reuben in Numb., chap. 16 (pp. 102 f.); the identification of the Balaam of Numb., chaps. 22-24, with Laban (p. 104); and so on.

In the third and last division of the book, dealing with the chronology, the available material found in the Egyptian records and the El-Amarna letters is carefully sifted. The most important conclusion reached here is the identification of the "Khabiri" with the Leah tribes, which, according to his theory, must have entered the land some time before the Jacob-Rachel tribes.

The book is provided with two indexes; the one of subjects, the other of Old Testament passages.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

CHARLES C. TORREY.

MODERN CRITICISM AND THE PREACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. xii + 325. \$1.50.

"THE eight lectures in this volume—or at least as much as it was possible to read in the time allotted—were delivered before Yale University in 1899. I have thought it best to leave them as lectures; that is, in the style of spoken discourse. With one exception they are printed as they were prepared for delivery, but I have worked into four of them—I, III, IV, and VI—some material from books which have appeared since they were spoken. . . . Obviously eight lectures cannot provide an exhaustive treatment of these themes; but the lectures contain, I trust, enough to serve their purely practical aim, and to exhibit to students and preachers the religious effects of the critical interpretation of the larger half of the Scriptures of the church."

These words from the author's preface state clearly how this volume came into existence, and the limitations under which he worked.

These limitations were not favorable to the production of a "book," using that word in the highest literary sense of a writing that is dominated by one great idea or living principle, and in which the details are so co-ordinated, subordinated, and harmonized that the result may be called an organic unity. We have before us rather eight vigorous lectures, which since their delivery have been to a slight extent modified or supplemented. Nevertheless, since Professor Smith, besides being a scholar of wide range and special skill, has the gifts of a great preacher, men of different points of view may appreciate and be helped by the fine poetic flashes, the fresh, sparkling statements, the tender, sympathetic, and forcible appeals by which he seeks to make the preacher realize the vastness of the spiritual treasure which in Old Testament history, poetry, and prophecy lies waiting for his service.

As regards the substance of the volume, however, we think that it must be admitted that Professor Smith in his endeavor, first to produce a convincing apology, and second to impress upon preachers the vastness and variety of the treasure which the Old Testament still offers to them, has produced a series of striking statements rather than a well-balanced account of the growth of Israel's religion, and has given to many of his illustrations such summary treatment that the result is often unsatisfactory. Hence it would require several essays to traverse, even in a superficial way, the ground covered by the volume, and in a brief review we can only indicate the lines along which we must proceed in order to justify the statement made above.

It is no use attempting to minimize the difference between the traditional view and the critical treatment of the Old Testament. The difference is immense; they involve different conceptions of the relation of God to the world; different views as to the course of Israel's history, the process of revelation, and the nature of inspiration. We cannot be lifted from the old to the new position by the influence of a charming literary style or by the force of the most enthusiastic eloquence. Those who have made the passage know that there is no golden road, but it is rather a way of the cross not to be trod lightly and heartedly, and the goal is reached only through intellectual travail and spiritual pain. This thought is forced upon us when our author in his brilliant, energetic fashion raises so many questions that he cannot adequately pursue, and when it sometimes seems doubtful from what standpoint he is arguing.

"It is plain, then, that to whatever heights the religion of Israel afterwards rose, it remained before the age of the great prophets not only similar to, but

in all respects above mentioned identical with, the general Semitic religion ; which was not a monotheism, but a polytheism with an opportunity for monotheism at the heart of it—each tribe being attached to one god, as to their particular Lord and Father."

A vast field for discussion is opened up by this typical sentence. We take "great prophets" to mean the writing prophets of the eighth century, and the context seems to justify that interpretation. Then we maintain that the form of the statement is too crude to do justice to the real situation, as it is conceived by a criticism which is both radical and reverent. "Polytheism" is not a sufficiently distinctive term for Israel's religious faith at this time ; for we are not speaking of coarse, popular views, but of the highest point that has been reached. Our author affirms that at this stage we have not got beyond "polytheism ;" the only advantage is that this polytheism has "an opportunity for monotheism at the heart of it," and the opportunity is defined to be the fact that each tribe is attached to one god. We need not discuss the view that the union of a number of tribes each having a separate god might at first rather be regarded as an opportunity for "polytheism" than monotheism. We are content now to maintain that at the period mentioned the Hebrew religion in its real representative was far beyond this. Professor Smith himself soon reveals this, and in the course of the lecture he furnishes a powerful illustration of the fact that it is very difficult to carry on, at the same time, a delicate piece of constructive work and a popular apology. The realization of "this opportunity," we are told, cannot be accounted for by *political* considerations, nor by *intellectual* influences. "We turn, therefore, to Israel's *ethical* attainments before the eighth century, and here, in the opinion of all critics, we at last find proofs of the distinction of her religion from that of the other Semites, and the sources of the monotheism which culminated in her prophetic writings." But surely ethical attainments cannot be separated from the religion in this abstract fashion. It was the ethical spirit and no mere opportunity which was at the heart of the religion and gave it its distinctive character and growing power. Besides, this analysis is external and popular in the extreme. We cannot cleave things with an ax in this style. Though the Hebrew genius was not at this stage "metaphysical," with such ethical attainments a very high order of intellectual activity must go, and in the development of both the political circumstances had a powerful influence.

But, to proceed, we have now to account for the ethical superiority.

Critics carry back its origin to the time of Moses. "Israel in the time of Moses enjoyed the same motives to ethical development as we have seen existing in other Semitic tribes." Israel's unique success in taking advantage of such opportunities is not accounted for by her intellectual superiority, or the historical character of her religion; hence we must believe that "this covenanting Deity had from the first revealed his moral attributes." Here we have the same external analysis and a phraseology which has the flavor of the old theological standpoint. If there was revelation of "moral attributes" in the consciousness of a righteous God at that early stage, there was real distinction notwithstanding many external similarities. We are driven to conclude that Professor Smith has not given a satisfactory statement of the development of Israel's religion, and that he has not always distinguished with sufficient clearness between the popular life and the higher religious movement.

If Professor Smith has any defects, lack of courage is not one of them. When extreme conservatives in the northern Presbyterian church were forging new fetters in the form of a strange doctrine of "inerrancy," the Scotch professor was addressing an American audience in this bold style: "Reviewing the whole of this lecture, we may say that modern criticism has won its war against the traditional theories. It only remains to fix the indemnity" (p. 72). And further he charges the highest tribunal of his own church with using ecclesiastical power arbitrarily in expelling an illustrious predecessor from his chair. It is plain, however, that, if the battle is won, the complete victory is confined to a special circle, and there is an immense amount of educational work still to be done in the church. Hence this tone of the conqueror demanding the indemnity is resented by those who occupy the old standpoint and who have never realized the full cumulative force of the arguments for the new construction. The "indemnity" figure of speech is striking enough for rhetorical purposes, but, when it is closely examined, we find that it does not represent very correctly the process of "gain through loss;" we need not trouble about "indemnity" in exchanging a lower for a higher form of truth.

But to proceed to another example of our thesis. Professor Smith has given a brief sketch of the history of Pentateuch criticism—we cannot call it a mere summary, for his genius as an expositor flashes out even in the briefest statement—but we think that this section is too condensed to be of the highest service to those who are new to the subject. We regret this all the more because we are convinced that, if

students are to gain a competent knowledge of and real sympathy with the theory of documents, they must approach the subject through its history, not simply to learn that such criticism is not now a new thing, but also to realize that it has a history which resembles that of every real science, and to perceive how the different stages of its growth were conditioned by the circumstances of the time. There are now many sketches of this kind, including the latest, the neat outline in the first volume of the *Oxford Hexateuch*.

The second lecture deals with "The Liberty and Duty of Old Testament Criticism, as Proved from the New Testament." With its effort to show that strict, courageous investigation is in harmony with the freedom of spirit that Christ inspires, and is of great practical importance from the evangelical point of view, we heartily sympathize. As to the general position that the Savior made large use of the Old Testament in a reverential spirit and at the same time handled it freely, of this there can be no doubt. Further, that the way in which the apostles treat the Old Testament shows the working of a new free spirit in the minds of men who had been trained under the influence of a hard, narrow, dogmatic system of doctrine and ceremonial, this also can scarcely be denied by those who look fairly at all the facts of the case. In dealing with such themes Professor Smith's vigorous antithetic style is appropriate and impressive. But if these and other considerations had to be dealt with in one lecture, would it not have been possible to have dealt with them in a practical manner and popular style, without bringing in the difficult question of the canon? And if the lecturer must discuss the canon, would it not have been better to have given it a more elaborate and careful treatment? We may be mistaken, but our judgment is that this brief, hasty discussion of the canon is not essential to the general purpose of the lecture, and is too slight to be of much service to any particular class of readers.

The lecture opens with this statement: "Few realize that the church of Christ possesses a higher warrant for her canon of the Old Testament than she does for her canon of the New." We cannot enter into an elaborate discussion concerning the correctness of this statement, but we venture to say that it will be difficult for the few to realize this after reading the lecture. The word "canon" had a fairly definite technical sense under the old view; with the old dogmatic method one could at least draw a clear line between books from which "proof-texts" could be drawn, and those which were rejected altogether or used only for "edification." The question arises how far



the idea of a "canon" is affected by the historical method and the all-pervading conception of development. We cannot demand that our author should treat this question for our enlightenment, but we contend that we are well within the lines of just criticism in pointing out that in this volume the new point of view is only half assimilated. "The Old Testament canon is accredited in addition by an authority of which the New Testament is devoid. This is the authority of Jesus Christ himself." Some may think that this lands us in a peculiar position, seeing that we depend upon the New Testament for the true picture of Jesus Christ and the correct reflection of his teaching.

But we must limit ourselves to one point. In spite of Professor Smith's disclaimer, is not this an "external" view of authority? Would it not have been possible to have set forth Our Lord's splendid testimony to and moral criticism of the Old Testament literature without nibbling in this way at the question of the exact limits of the canon? "Christ himself seems to testify to the limits of the Hebrew canon, exactly as they now lie in Genesis and Chronicles." If we are to have Christ as an "authority" for that point, how are we to escape the appeal to his authority when made in support of the traditional interpretation? We have this final authority for the "canon," but yet criticism is justifiable and necessary because "the apostolic writings nowhere define the limits of the Old Testament canon." Surely either the word "canon" is used loosely, or it would have been better to have omitted the appeal to authority. That the books existed then in substantially the same form as we have them now scarcely calls for elaborate proof in a volume of this kind, but the question of the limits of the canon cannot be settled in this summary fashion. It is, indeed, an exceedingly interesting question, how far and in what way the new point of view and method modifies our view of "a canon," but it is not faced here; and in a book that champions the advanced position and volunteers to discuss "the canon" one might reasonably have expected a more thorough discussion.

It is not necessary for us to point out and praise the beautiful passages and suggestive sections of the book. Being asked to give a sober estimate of its character and merits, we conclude that it is at its best where the wonderful expository and preaching qualities of the author can have full play, but that, in regard to the underlying criticism, this is weakened by the fact that too many subjects are discussed, while sometimes there is vacillation as to the point of view and lack of thorough consistency in the treatment. That the book has already

awakened so much interest, and stimulated such keen discussion, is in itself no slight service, and for this we owe to the author our kindly acknowledgments and cordial gratitude.

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TRIGLOT DICTIONARY OF SCRIPTURAL REPRESENTATIVE WORDS IN HEBREW, GREEK, AND ENGLISH. By HENRY BROWNE. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons; New York: James Pott & Co., 1901. Pp. xv+506.

THIS volume contains the results of a physician's leisure hours, and is evidently a labor of love. It represents an immense amount of work. The author has proceeded upon the supposition that every Hebrew word has one equivalent in English and in Greek, and only one. Hence he arranges the English words of the Bible alphabetically in one column on the page and sets the Greek and Hebrew equivalents in parallel columns. It is difficult to see the wisdom of this arrangement; it appears as though an alphabetical arrangement of the Greek or Hebrew would have been preferable, since there is little occasion for translating English into Greek or Hebrew, and much for translating Greek and Hebrew into English. But a more serious defect is the fact that the fundamental principle of the work is weak. Any attempt to limit each Hebrew and Greek word to one unvarying English equivalent takes no account of the progress of human thought. Two thousand years ago many words represented each several sub-concepts which were not yet clearly differentiated from each other in thought, much less in speech. Today these sub-concepts are recognized and each receives its own label. Sometimes when a word was used one phase of its content was dominant in the mind of the writer, at other times other phases were in his thought. Hence when the context clearly indicates what the particular shade of meaning in a word is, does it not seem more accurate to define that meaning precisely by an exact term, than to apply some large and indefinite name which may mean almost anything? What one word, for instance, will accurately represent פֶּקֶד everywhere? Certainly not "to make overseer," the meaning given here. Similar difficulty arises with such words as לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ, רֹחַ, חַכְמָה, נֶחֱם. It is interesting to note that the author regards the meaning of נֶפֶשׁ as having been fully settled in 1866 by Mr. Heard's *Tripartite Nature of Man: Spirit, Soul, and Body*.

He seems to take no account whatsoever of the lexicographical work of modern scholars. The preface to the volume in which the author defines his aim is a strange compound of truth and nonsense—*e.g.*: "Sir David Brewster's three primary colors of the rainbow, and the concurrent testimony of Tyndall and all others, that the heating rays are in the red, the illuminating rays in the yellow, and the electrical rays in the blue, eloquently enforce Ezek. 1: 29, and 2 Cor. 3: 17, 18."

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

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LEVITICUS. Erklärt von ALFRED BERTHOLET. (= "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausg. von Karl Marti, Lieferung 13.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. xx + 104. M. 2.40.

THIS is a volume of 104 pages of closely printed exposition and analyses, preceded by twenty pages of introduction. In the latter the author discourses very clearly and entertainingly upon (1) the name and origin of Leviticus; (2) its original component parts and how they came together; (3) its theological signification and bearing upon the history of religion; and (4) the more recent literature on Leviticus. This introduction is both lucid and instructive.

In the exposition a high standard of excellence is maintained throughout. From the character of Leviticus as a book, which deals so exclusively with sacrifice and ritual, and the great doctrine of the atonement, one comes almost at once upon the author's interpretation of the word כִּפֶּר (pp. 3-5). Of the two root-definitions usually preferred by scholars, viz., (a) that confirmed by the Syriac and followed by Raschi, Haupt, W. R. Smith, and others, which makes it originally mean "to wipe off," and (b) that based upon the Arabic and adopted by Wellhausen, Driver, and many others, which interpret it originally to mean "to cover" (the eyes of the judge or magistrate), Bertholet, on the basis of 1 Sam. 12: 3 especially, unhesitatingly chooses the latter; and, exegetically, this seems the more probable (*cf.* Gen. 32: 20; Exod. 23: 8, etc.). Another very characteristic expression in the laws of Leviticus is "holiness," which, according to Bertholet, is employed in this book in quite another sense than that ordinarily understood to us in modern usage. The Hebrew conception was rather a negative one, he thinks, signifying originally "separation" from everything which would unfit one for acceptable worship and service. Correlative with this he discusses the antipodal thought of

"uncleanness," showing that to understand adequately the Hebrew conception of uncleanness it is necessary to be conversant with the customs of the Semites in general. The word קרבן he associates with the *Hiphil* of קרב, which is the best explanation known. The distinction between "guilt" and "sin" offerings he finds difficulty in tracing. In "Azazel" (= "scapegoat," A. V. 16: 8, 22) he sees a demon, probably the chief demon of the wilderness.

In general, the commentary is compact, critical, thorough, well planned, and, to those who accept readily minute analyses on the principle of chronological development, satisfactory. It is not exhaustive by any means, but crisp and brief, as the name of the series would lead us to expect. It will serve as a companion to the other commentaries on Leviticus by Dillmann-Ryssel, 1897, and by Bāntsch, 1900, and be of real value.

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GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

COMMENTARIUS IN DEUTERONOMIUM. Auctore FRANCISCO DE HUMMELAUER. Parisiis: Lethielleux, 1901. Pp. viii + 568. Fr. 10.

THIS volume, like the preceding ones, by the same author, on the first four books of the Pentateuch, belongs to the famous "Cursus Scripturae Sacrae," published by Lethielleux, of Paris. The authors of this series unanimously claim to give modern science its due, while, at the same time, professing to adhere strictly to the teachings of the Catholic church. Not all, however, seem to understand those two points in the same manner. While some of the volumes, particularly the introductory ones by Fr. Cornely, display the most strict and constant conservatism, others, like those from Fr. de Hummelauer's pen, show a steadily increasing tendency to accept such principles of modern criticism as can be reconciled with Catholic doctrine; which means a great deal, if we judge from the conclusions at which the author arrives, and which we shall sum up briefly.

Moses wrote the two passages, Deut. 1: 1-3, and 31: 14-34: 12. These were originally consecutive, and formed the complement (*coronis*) of what the author calls the "Bipartite Book" (*liber bipartitus* or *Acta Jahve per Moysen*; A, "Sinaitica," i. e., Exodus and Leviticus; B, "Moabitica," i. e., Numbers). Moses wrote also the "Book of the Discourses of Moses," viz., the first discourse (1: 5-4: 44) and the

second (4:44—11:32 and 28:1—29:1, originally consecutive), which contains the Torah proper or the "Book of the Covenant." The "History of the Restoration of the Covenant in the Land of Moab" (29:2—31:13) is also the work of Moses, but 26:16—27:26 must be ascribed to Joshua. The great collection of laws, 12:1—26:15, is from the pen of Samuel. Moreover, the author does not believe that we have Deuteronomy now as it resulted from the joint work of the three prophets. Deuteronomy, he concludes (p. 107), is a book which has been both shortened and increased. It is no longer in its primitive shape. It is a restored book. God could have provided differently. He *has not*, however. That miracle was not necessary to his end. Nay, it might have interfered with it, for he wanted to punish the Jews for the contempt of his law, first given to them in full and clear, by allowing that same law to be mutilated and obscured.

It is clear that in his conclusions the author does not go hand in hand with other critics; he does so, however, in his principles; and this is unquestionably the essential and durable element in his work. Does not many a non-Catholic clergyman envy the freedom with which the learned Jesuit deals with the biblical problems?

H. HYVERNAT.

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THE UNCANONICAL WRITINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus. Translated into English by JACQUES ISSAVERDENS. Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus. Pp. 703. Fr. 8.

THIS volume is a translation of a volume of Armenian apocryphs issued by the same press in 1896. The translation is fairly accurate, and although the translator is an Armenian, his diction is dignified and elegant. His style is modeled on that of the English Bible and Milton.

The following are the apocryphs contained in the volume, arranged in groups as they belong together:

1. The Book of Adam—History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam—Of his Expulsion—Of Cain and Abel—Of the Good Tidings of Seth—Of the Repentance of Adam and Eve—Adam's Words unto Seth—The Death of Adam.
2. The History of Assaneth—Her Prayer—The Coming of Jacob into Goshen.
3. The History of Moses.

4. The Deaths of the Major and Minor Prophets.
5. Riddles of the Queen of Sheba addressed to Solomon—Concerning King Solomon and his Books.
6. A History of Elias—The Preaching of Jonah.
7. Concerning Jeremiah from the Book of Baruch—History of Jeremiah and his Disciples Baruch and Abimelech—From the Book of Paralipomena found in the Books of the Greeks.
8. The Vision of Enoch—The Seventh Vision of Daniel.
9. The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.
10. The Third Book of Esdras.
11. Inquiries made by Esdras of the Angel about the Souls of Men.

Of the above, Group 1 has been also translated by Dr. Erwin Preuschen in a tract entitled *Die Apocryphen gnostischen Adamschriften*, Giessen, 1900. He argues that this class of apocryphs originated among the Sethiani, an early Gnostic sect, of ascetic and anti-Jewish tendencies, who set Seth upon a pedestal alongside of Christ.

The members of Groups 2, 4, and 9 are sufficiently well known. No. 3 has affinities with the account of Moses given by Josephus in his *Antiquities* and with the Assumption of Moses, edited by Dr. Charles. No. 5 is an unimportant group, and the same remark applies to Group 8, in which the Vision of Enoch is not the famous apocryph, but a composition of the age of Heraclius, to which time the Seventh Vision of Daniel also belongs.

Group 6 consists of commonplace documents, which seem, however, to be of pre-Christian origin. The members of Group 7 may be of equal age, with the exception of the last, which is Christian. The story related in them all is nearly identical with what is given in the Apocalypse of Baruch, edited by Dr. Charles. The Armenian book of Esdras is well known. Dr. Issaverdens prints the old Armenian text opposite the English. No. 11 is a Christian compilation, and contains an account of the seven heavens similar to that found in the Slavonic Enoch. It is read in the burial service of a priest as given in a ritual of the year 1208 preserved at Venice. Much of it is also found in an earlier Armenian document, the Acts of St. Callistratus, translated in my *Monuments of Early Christianity*.

It is to be wished that this volume may meet with so favorable a reception as to encourage the learned Mechitarist Fathers of Venice to publish in Armenian at least the many valuable New Testament apocryphs contained in their manuscripts.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

LES EXPÉRIENCES RELIGIEUSES D'ISRAËL. Par GEORGES FULLIQUET. Paris: Fischbacher, 1901. Pp. 254. Fr. 3.

THE author of this book endeavors to relate the history of Israel according to the notions of the destructive critics. He says that he fully adopts the critical conclusions of Kautzsch, whom he styles a master. He reduces the supernatural of the Old Testament almost to the vanishing point and characterizes its miracles as legends or myths. He declares himself anxious to give to the churches a renovated Old Testament, an Old Testament purged of its fables. To this work of purging he proceeds vigorously. He demolishes, to his own satisfaction, every miraculous incident in the history of God's chosen people. From a large number of the author's criticisms, which we noted as we read his treatise, we will mention, as specimens of the whole, but three or four:

When Joshua defeated the five allied kings of the Amorites at Gibeon, and chased their routed forces down by Beth-horon, the Lord, the historian says, cast great hailstones upon them from heaven. Our author explains the passage by declaring that what slew so many of the fleeing soldiers was a landslide from the mountain.

In giving an account of Elijah's conflict with the priests of Baal on the slopes of Carmel, he says that no fire descended from heaven to consume the sacrifice offered by Elijah. But when the priests of Baal had failed, Elijah sent his servant to the top of the mountain to watch for signs of rain; and when the servant reported that rain was coming, then the prophet prayed for a tempest and a thunderbolt. The heavens were now black with storm-clouds, and when the rain poured down, the people, without waiting for the lightning to consume the sacrifice, cried: "Yahweh is God, and not Baal."

Referring to the earthly end of Elijah, he ignores the record of the prophet's ascent into heaven by a chariot of fire, and declares that Elijah always had a predilection for tempests and finally perished in one.

In the judgment of the author, Jonah is a "poetical legend," and Noah, Daniel, and Job, mentioned by Ezekiel, are merely legendary personages. The book abounds in such extreme, unscientific statements. Does such writing merit criticism? Does it not refute itself?

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By B. W. BACON. ("New Testament Handbooks," edited by Shailer Mathews.) New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xv+285. \$0.75.

THIS wonderfully compact little book is a genuine contribution to the literary and historical study of the New Testament writings. It is at once learned and independent, showing constant traces of first-hand study of the books it handles, notably the historical ones. In dealing with these our author has felt forced by want of space into an absoluteness of statement, for which he makes apology in his preface. And certainly some things, especially in the notes, do sound overconfident "in matters dubious." But, on the whole, an unusually candid and judicial spirit pervades the book. This objectivity is at once cause and effect of his attitude to early tradition, which is one of the chief merits of the book. His motto is "*through* tradition back to fact." But he sees the limits of what criticism can reasonably ask of tradition. "Tradition retains only that element of the truth with which it was directly concerned." Thus, as regards the five historical books, "the names attached by early report . . . represent in each case the first and most important link in the long process" by which these records of the church's heritage took final shape. "The tradition is partly historical, partly inferential and theoretical, with a liberal element of legend. It is for the modern critic to analyze and interpret it." "Back," then, "to second-century tradition: for its testimony will repay another sifting" (pp. vii, 53, 274, 277 ff.).

The following are his results: Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 50 A. D. (Corinth); 2 Cor. 6: 14-7: 1, and 1 Corinthians, 53-4 A. D. (Ephesus); 2 Cor. 10: 1-13: 10 (Ephesus), fragments in pastoral epistles (Troas?), 2 Corinthians, 54 A. D.; Romans, and letter of commendation to Ephesus (Rom. 16: 1-23), 55 A. D. (Corinth); Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, 58-9 A. D. (Rome); Philippians and 2 Timothy (additions excepted), 60 A. D.; Mark (Rome), 75-80 A. D.; Hebrews (to Rome), 1 Peter (from Rome), 75-85 A. D.; Matthew (Jerusalem?), 80-90 A. D.; James (Rome?), Jude ("Asia"), 85-90 A. D.; Luke-Acts (Antioch?), 85-95 A. D.; Revelation (Ephesus), 95 A. D.; 1-3 John (Ephesus), 95-100 A. D.; John's gospel (Ephesus), 100-110 A. D.; 2 Peter, 100-150 A. D.

Here the gap 60-75 at once challenges attention. It probably points to a real defect in our author's views. Indeed, as to 1 Peter he himself has qualms. He considers it written by Silvanus "with the



*imprimatur* of Peter," yet cannot decide to accept the tradition (as he should on his principles) that the apostle suffered under Nero — seemingly in 64 (1 Clem. v, vi) — and date the epistle about 63-4.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, Professor Bacon assigns to this epoch, 60-75, the silent growth of the sources of the synoptics and Acts, which he views as "the outcome of a longer and more complex growth than most critics admit." Yet his observations on this topic, acute and suggestive as they are, hardly warrant his conclusion that even Mark is not earlier than 75 A. D. Holding the "two document" theory to be, broadly speaking, justified, he proceeds to qualify it by making Mark itself a compilation from written sources, embellished with graphic touches from Peter's own discourses. This work John Mark issued for readers already familiar with the *logia*, as a sort of supplement to the same (hence the slight logian element in Mark). Our Matthew is the third stage in a process starting with the Aramaic *logia* (Matthew<sup>2</sup>). Matthew<sup>3</sup> was "an edition in Greek supplied with an outline of the public ministry and passion, and a very sparing enrichment of the discourses;" while Matthew<sup>4</sup> is "a complete recast, grouping the discourse material (with additions) into five great masses, taking up the additional material of Mark, retouching much of the parallel material of Matthew<sup>2</sup>, and supplying some legendary accretions in connection with the external envelope formed by chaps. 1, 2, 28: 9-20, and some kindred matter (14: 28-31; 17: 24-27; 27: 3-8, 19, 24 f., 51b-53, 62-66). Here the evidence for Matthew<sup>3</sup> is very shadowy, especially in view of its supposed dependence on the source specially apparent in Luke. To this "proto-gospel," combining narrative and discourse (*c. g.*, the parables peculiar to Luke), our author devotes much attention. By it he explains the one-third of the discourse material common to Matthew and Luke which has most verbal identity, and which "by its content and character is unlikely to have ever formed part of the *Logia*." But when he says that the presence of this element in Matthew<sup>3</sup> is thus accounted for,<sup>3</sup> one feels that he has largely removed the need of assuming Matthew<sup>3</sup> at all. Again, "the remarkable tendency of Matthew<sup>4</sup> to reproduce Mark in a simplified form, *with variations coincident with Luke*, finds explanation in the influence of an earlier source which all our evangelists employ, but

<sup>1</sup>As he makes the "two years" of Acts 28: 30 end early in 60, and does not admit any subsequent release, he is the freer to accept such a date, save for his views on the persecution involved in the epistle.

<sup>2</sup>Also the parallel narratives: Matt. 8: 5-10 = Luke 7: 1-9; Matt. 8: 18-22 = Luke 9: 57-62 (*cf.* 14: 26-35).

only Luke has utilized in its most fully developed form." That is, the "secondary features of Mark" represent deviations from this proto-gospel (*i. e.*, its narrative material, of which Mark makes "meager use"); and this, "when used as the groundwork of Luke, was at an advanced stage of development, some parts being far later than others in origin, and the narrative was already supplied with its sequel on the preaching of the gospel to the nations" (p. 224).

Here the author follows Feine in supposing a single document to underlie Luke and Acts, chaps. 6-12. Whether this be so or not — and a close study of Acts has left me more doubtful than before — one may well doubt two assumptions connected with his treatment of the sources of Acts. These are (1) that similarity of standpoint between Luke and Acts must needs be due to a document or documents used in both, and (2) that what Luke 1: 1-4 implies as to the use of documents for the story of Christ's ministry applies equally to the story of the apostolic church. But (1) the author of Acts would naturally write the Palestinian part of his second book in the spirit which he had learned from his favorite source for his first book, even though now he had no such document to guide him, but only oral accounts gathered from persons more or less sharing that standpoint; and (2) oral traditions might well be all that was to hand for the later history, which had not the value for Christian piety attaching to the words and deeds of the Messiah. No doubt the force of the latter consideration depends largely on the date of Acts; and this Bacon gives as "late in the reign of Domitian," say 90-95. But for one who sees no clear sign pointing beyond 75 as the lower limit for Acts, it has a good deal of value. In any case, he has made his view of Acts largely determine his dating of the synoptics; and for those who, like the present writer, regard his handling of Acts as the section least free from bias, this will make his dating of Mark at least very doubtful. The notes on pp. 213-17, dealing with Acts, show that "vigor and rigor" which Matthew Arnold deprecated in some German criticism. Statements such as these will win the assent only of minds of rather a formal order. "Personal interest in [Paul] the missionary hero had disappeared behind reverence for the apostolic function." Paul "is not even reckoned an apostle, save in the broader sense, along with and after Barnabas, but a subordinate."<sup>3</sup> Peter receives the special Pauline revelation, the true apostle of the gentiles [only if there be

<sup>3</sup> Imagine a partisan of "the apostolic function" making the gospel reach the gentile world and its center (1: 8) through "a subordinate."

no historic *progress* in Acts, but only the play of categories]. Yet the writer is anything but unfriendly to Paul" (pp. 216 f.). A sentence like the last must needs make one doubt whether our author has rightly caught the spirit of Acts, even on his own theory that its writer was "a Hellenistic Jew of the same type and period as the author of our Matthew, though a far more skilful and cultured writer." He finds the formative spirit of Acts to be typically Jewish; "the traces of working over attributable to a gentile hand, if any exist, are extremely slight, superficial, and doubtful." This is paradox. Ramsay may not be right in all he has said about Acts and its author; but surely the "Travel Diary" is not the only thing that gives Acts its gentile and Pauline flavor. It extends far beyond the limits of that source, which Bacon confines to the "we"-passages. This restriction seems to the present writer quite arbitrary. Their vividness and interest in concrete details are paralleled by passages in every part of the latter half of Acts. It looks, then, as if it all originated in the experience of one mind, Luke's. We have only to change the relation of the Jewish and gentile elements in Bacon's assumed Hellenistic author, and say that Luke had been a Jewish proselyte, to be able to do justice to the Jewish element in Acts other than what is due to its sources of information in large parts of chaps. 1-12. Paul's companion, who was able to appreciate and report Jewish Christian thought and feeling as he does in Acts, chaps. 22-26, was quite able to compose chaps. 1-12.<sup>4</sup>

We have dwelt on Acts because it is crucial for many problems of the apostolic age. Thus Bacon feels free to solve those touching Acts, chap. 15, and Gal., chap. 2, in the most arbitrary way, separating Acts 15:1-18—a conference on gentile freedom in general, followed by Peter's accompanying Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, Gal. 2:1-11—from the substance of Acts 15:19 ff., a garbled account of a second conference occasioned by complaints that Peter and others were disregarding the "law of meats" in mingling with gentile Christians. In the latter conference "the elder brethren" in Jerusalem, in the absence of Peter and Paul, framed what they thought a fair compromise for mixed communities, "to which all the Jews at Antioch save Paul gave in." This is subjective criticism, indeed, and serves only to show how difficult it is logically to work out any theory which identifies, as Bacon does, Acts, chap. 15, with Gal. 2:1-10. On the other hand, Bacon's criticism of the pastoral epistles is on sound lines, since he

<sup>4</sup>A detailed exposition of the position here outlined may be seen in the commentary in Acts shortly to appear in the *Century Bible*.

starts from the objective historical notices in 2 Tim., chap. 4, shows that these are not homogeneous, and, placing 2 Timothy as a whole just after Philippians, argues to earlier Pauline letters upon which 1 Timothy and Titus, as well as most of 2 Tim., 4: 9-end, are based.

His discussion of the Johannine writings is very searching and instructive, quite apart from the exact conclusions reached. Holding strongly to the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, *ca.* 90-95 (the aged seer, perhaps, using the help of another to reduce his visions to writing), he naturally assigns the almost contemporary epistles to an unknown Ephesian elder (not the elder John, whose presence in "Asia" he disputes), to whom he also credits the first literary form given to the Johannine gospel material (*esp. Logia*). Our present gospel is a working over of this first sketch (with dislocations as well as additions) by a less gifted member of the same Ephesian circle, whose hand is specially manifest in the appendix (chap. 21).

Many other points call for notice, such as his late dates for several sub-apostolic writings—*e. g.*, *Didaché*, 120-50, or 131-60 (its present form); Papias's *Expositions*, 145-60—and his reading of several parts of the latter's famous preface, including a dubious emendation of the text (p. 42). But space fails. We can only add that the book will richly repay study (notably its descriptions of the various religious ideals operative in the later apostolic age), and not least by those who differ most from its conclusions, provided they are ready to use and abide by strict literary and historical methods.

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NOTICE SUR UN TRÈS ANCIEN MANUSCRIT GREC DE L'ÉVANGILE DE SAINT MATTHIEU en onciales d'or sur parchemin pourpré et orné de miniatures conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale (No. 1286 du Supplément grec). Par M. H. OMONT. (Tiré des *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, Tome XXXVI.) Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900. Pp. 81. Fr. 4.

In December, 1899, a French officer, Captain de la Taille, found in the possession of an old woman at Sinope a considerable manuscript of the gospel of Matthew in gold letters on purple parchment. He purchased it, and from his hands it passed into the Bibliothèque nationale. It contains about one-third of Matthew, chaps. 7, 11, and 13-24 being

represented. There are forty-three large leaves inscribed in uncials in single columns, and adorned with five painted miniatures representing scenes from the gospel history. The gold letters, purple parchment, and painted miniatures recall the Vienna Genesis, the Zürich Psalter, the Rossano Gospels, and a very few other manuscripts in which one or more of these sumptuous characteristics are present.

M. Omont, with the text in uncial type, printed according to the lines and columns of the manuscript, and followed, for greater convenience of reference, by the text reduced to words and provided with accents, breathings, and punctuation. The text is thus rendered perfectly accessible, and the textual evidence of the manuscript is further made intelligible by the presentation in the lower margin of the variants of the Rossano and St. Petersburg Gospels, the two great purple uncials with which it most clearly allies itself in form, probable date and source, and type of text. The miniatures, reproductions of four of which are given, especially resemble the famous miniatures in the Rossano codex. The manuscript was thus probably written in the time of Justinian or his immediate successors, under the influence of Constantinople, if not in that city itself. But, despite its age, the interest attaching to the manuscript is artistic rather than textual, as the text preserved in these sumptuous uncials is of little critical value.

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THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By K. LAKE. ("Oxford Church Text Books.") London: Rivingtons, 1901. Pp. 104. 1s.

MR. LAKE's book is the most concise little volume on textual criticism that has yet appeared. Such a book is clearly intended as the merest introduction to the subject. Eleven of its hundred pages are devoted to the object and method of textual criticism. An equal space is given to the uncials, twice as much to the versions, and there are chapters on the history of modern criticism and on the Western text. There seems to be no section on Greek palæography, doubtless through limitations of space. Yet into these narrow limits Mr. Lake has gathered a great deal on the history, method, and materials of criticism. While his English is not always of the smoothest, the book is distinctly readable, the difficulty of presenting technical matters in a way free from technicality having been pretty successfully met. His knowledge is thoroughly up to date, and in the movement toward the

Western text he is keenly interested. One misses Professor Gregory's name from the index, and his *Textkritik*, now appearing, from the short bibliographical list. Dr. Resch should not be styled professor (p. 90), and it is hardly adequate to say that "there are apparently no manuscripts extant" of the Philoxenian Syriac (p. 39), unless Pococke was wrong about the manuscript now in the Bodleian, and Dr. Hall about the Williams manuscript. "Evangelium dampharsa Mattai" (p. 33) should probably be read "Evangelion damēpharrēshē [da] Mattai" in transliterating the title of the Cureton gospels. But Mr. Lake's book is a good one and will help many to an understanding of problems and progress in the study of the New Testament text.

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Das EVANGELIUM DER WAHRHEIT. Eine neue Lösung der Johanneischen Frage. Von JOHANNES KREYENBÜHL. Erster Band. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1900. Pp. 752. M. 20.

WHERE indefinite time and patience are available it may be worth the reader's while to sift these mountains of words. But only the author's unquestionable learning and originality can palliate his absolute imperviousness to the claims of other subjects and other views of the same subject on the reader's attention.

The theory that our fourth gospel is an ecclesiastical loan from the camp of second-century Gnosticism, the work principally employed by Basilides and Valentinus, and sometimes designated "Evangelium Veritatis," adopted, however, with slight changes by Irenæus and later fathers as the work of John the Apostle, although in reality a production of Menander, the follower of Simon Magus, has abundant originality; and under the given conditions of our almost entire ignorance of what these Gnostic leaders really taught, and our author's very remarkable familiarity with the sources, skilfully and ingeniously employed to prove the representations of Ignatius, Irenæus, and Hippolytus mere ignorant caricatures of the more mystical and spiritual conceptions of Gnostic Christianity, it admits even of a certain approximation to plausibility. Unfortunately, to Dr. Kreyenbühl "criticism" means no more than ingenuity, and "demonstration" than plausibility. Hence these mountains of baseless special pleading, while such prodigious objections as are involved in the assumption that 1 John is not only from a different hand, but an actual polemic against the gospel, are passed over as trifles, that we may be hurried on to inferences and corollaries from opinions that are far from having won our assent.

Literally one-tenth part of this prodigious space would be ample for a concise and readable presentation of the theory, including all that could fairly be treated as evidence pertinent to the subject. And the author has in preparation a second volume possibly as bulky as the first! It is to be feared that a combination of such exasperating faults, prolixity and partiality, both in so extreme a form, will deprive the author of the hearing he really deserves. Within decent limits of space, and with less intolerant infatuation with his own opinion, so much erudition and enthusiasm might have served a useful purpose in correcting our one-sided ideas of Christian Gnosticism and its great founders, Simon of Gitta and his successors, in opening our eyes to the fact that Gnosticism must be treated not so much from the polemic point of view of the Fathers, but as an esoteric tendency in Christian thought, of which all shades could doubtless have been found within and without the church, from simple Pauline mysticism to extreme libertine antinomianism. The rise of the Johannine literature marks the period of discrimination between legitimate and illegitimate Gnosticism. However absurd, therefore, the supposition that the church of 150 A. D. and later could have taken over as its own the actual published and widely known system of its chief antagonist, we have much to learn from the critic who can assign to this literature its proper place in the gamut. This author in his independence, his first-hand acquaintance with the often obscure and inaccessible sources, his wide reading, and especially his enthusiastic sympathy for the much-abused, grossly misrepresented Gnostic, has admirable qualifications for the task. Were it possible for him to join with his erudition something of the judicial spirit, not merely in estimating the relative weight of argument and counter-argument, hypothesis and objection, but in eliminating obstructive masses of irrelevance and premature deduction, we might look for his further productions in this field with other sentiments than mere resignation to the inevitable. At least let there be some means in Vol. II, besides the bare table of contents covering a single page of Vol. I, for finding our way through this labyrinth.

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THE FIRST INTERPRETERS OF JESUS. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. x + 429. \$1.25.

"WHEN Paul speaks of being free from the law, it is the law as an institute of righteousness which is meant, not the Old Testament as a

body of moral and spiritual truths." This sentence, chosen at random, illustrates Dr. Gilbert's admirable qualities. He has a fine power of discrimination and a fresh, direct, terse, and clear expression. He makes the learner understand; and the treatment of some matters, as for instance the words on "God is light" (p. 302), will stimulate many to homiletic application of the thought. Dr. Gilbert is resolved upon an impartial and historical determination of the contents of the New Testament, and the clearness and directness of apprehension and expression are congruous with the perfect sincerity of his purpose and method. The opening chapters present Paul's view of Christ, with a suggestion of polemic against older interpretations; but the adoption of this manner has obviously no other motive than that of securing perfect distinctness as to Paul's meaning. With possible dissent from some of Dr. Gilbert's critical views as to authorship and authenticity, one may gladly recognize in this work and the same author's *Revelation of Jesus* a valuable treatment of New Testament theology.

Nevertheless, this book follows the older type of such works, with methods which that branch of biblical science is now learning to discard. Paul is studied too much as if he were a scholastic writer. We hear, for example, of a "doctrine" of hope, and get all too much of patient detail and discrimination on the topic, as if Paul's joy in hopefulness of faith constituted a specific and differentiated notion in a system of ideas. A comparison of pp. 121 and 114 shows, however, that Dr. Gilbert cannot always differentiate it from a "doctrine of faith." An even more artificial result is a Pauline doctrine of prayer. To some extent, thus, the contents of epistles are presented in relations foreign to the apostle's mind. It is, indeed, a scientific method which is used, but not the method of that historical psychology which can make us see and feel as Paul saw and felt. It is an inductive study of the contents of documents, but it yields only materials for such a historical construction as restores the original impact of the thought.

Dr. Gilbert cannot admit antinomies in Paul's ideas. The new creation of the Christian is "a strong figure." The Christian's righteousness is the beginning of a career which ends in righteousness. This is put in a way which helps to a comprehension of the religious problem itself, but it is more than doubtful if it reproduces things as they lay in the mind of Paul. In some instances the meaning of Paul is settled by the use of a logic which he may not have shared. "If the sins which are transferred to Christ are forgiven to the sinner, they cannot also be *punished*." This is surely a Socinian method of exegesis,



and it results in a version which modernizes and even neutralizes the ardent apostle. The violent overstatement that Paul "explicitly sanctions" second marriages in 1 Cor. 7:8 is used to support the explanation of 1 Tim. 3:2, "husband of one wife," as forbidding unchastity in a bishop! Such a method easily finds election conditioned by foreknowledge, and, following Beyschlag, Dr. Gilbert softens the Pauline thought still further by a distinction between messianic privilege and eternal salvation. Some details seem to the reviewer clearly erroneous, as that Christ is the specific *object* of Christian faith (p. 113), or that "I" in Romans, chap. 7, is for Paul rather than an ideal argumentative "I," or the phrase "eloquence of angels" for 1 Cor. 13:1.

The main dissent, however, must be from the effort to harmonize by means of a rationalistic exegesis, and by the use of the *Lehrbegriff* method, with its artificializing, scholasticizing misconception of the biblical writers. The latter method confuses what is homiletic and what is doctrinal, what is religious and what is theological. It forgets that rhetorical feeling may change the word without changing the idea. The harmonizing exegesis seems to be influenced by interests that belong to apologetics or systematic theology. The more radical treatment that leaves inconsistencies to a modern reader need not impair the religious value of Scripture.

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THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By EZRA P. GOULD. ("New Testament Handbooks," edited by Shailer Mathews.) New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xvi + 221. \$0.75.

AN OUTLINE OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. By DAVID FOSTER ESTES. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1900. Pp. vi + 253. \$1.25.

THESE two books cover practically the same ground, but in a strikingly different way. Dr. Gould's is more comprehensive in its treatment and more vigorous in its style of thought. In fact, it is much more of a book than we should look for after working through his commentary on Mark.

It is a clear illustration of the principle that biblical theology, as a historical science, depends for its conclusions on the results of a historical criticism and a historical exegesis of its sources—a principle

which the author openly avows in the opening pages of his book. Unfortunately, however, the criticism and the exegesis which he employs are antiquated, making it thus almost inevitable that his theological conceptions of the writings discussed should be open to question.

This is seen especially in his tendency to assign to an anti-Pauline theology such writings as Ephesians, Colossians, the Pastorals, Hebrews, 2 Peter, Jude, and the Johannine literature on the basis of an exegesis which interprets them as dominated more or less by an Alexandrian philosophy, and of a criticism which relegates them to a second-century date.

The book is also a clear illustration of the fact that a man's criticism and exegesis are controlled by his philosophical ideas.

This is evident from the fact that fundamental to his conception of New Testament theology is his belief that there have passed over into the writings of the newer dispensation the essential contrasts which classify the literature of the older period—the contrast of prophet and priest, of prophet and scribe, of prophet and philosopher, the growth and contrasts of the messianic idea.

In these contrasts the prophet stands for that which is spiritually ideal and finds its highest manifestation in the teaching of Jesus. (Logia and Mark.)

This spiritual teaching of Jesus reacts in the early teaching of the Twelve toward a Jewish messianism (early chapters of Acts); is partially recovered by Paul to spirituality and catholicity, but in the process becomes mixed with dogmatic and priestly elements (Pauline epistles); is later, through the consequent debate of the Twelve with Paul, brought into clear statement by them (James, 1 Peter, and later synoptic additions); and finally, under the influence of Alexandrianism, goes out almost necessarily into a system of speculative philosophy.

To those who follow carefully Dr. Gould's detailed working out of these regulative ideas it will not be difficult to discover that he is largely in the grasp of an immanistic metaphysics.

Dr. Estes goes to the opposite extreme from Dr. Gould, accepting all the canonical New Testament books as authentic documents and so distinguishing among them rather as to stages of apostolic thinking than as to classes of apostolic and non-apostolic thought.

Following the strict idea of biblical theology, the author might be expected to develop these stages historically; but he has evidently confused his conception of biblical theology with that of biblical dogmatics, giving up the sequential treatment and insisting, as

characteristic of his method, on a unity of treatment, as not only presupposed by the nature of the science, but as demanded by the "historic and demonstrable unity of the New Testament itself" (p. 11).

The book is admirable for its clearness and conciseness of style, but we fear it will prove as unsatisfactory through the evident presence behind it of an apologetic motive as Dr. Gould's through the clear presence there of a motive which, if termed at all, must be considered rationalistic.

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DIE NEUTESTAMENTLICHE LEHRE VON DER SELIGKEIT UND IHRE BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE GEGENWART. Dargestellt von ARTHUR TITUS. 4 Bände. Tübingen: Mohr, 1895-1900.

I. Jesu Lehre vom Reich Gottes. Pp. xii+199. M. 3.60.—II. Der Paulinismus unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Seligkeit. Pp. ix+290. M. 6.40.—III. Die Johanneische Anschauung unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Seligkeit. Pp. viii+143. M. 3.20.—IV. Die vulgäre Anschauung von der Seligkeit im Urchristenthum, ihre Entwicklung bis zum Uebergang in katholische Formen. Pp. xi+250. M. 5.80.

THIS is a work of more than ordinary importance. Such is the opinion of the German university authorities, for the publication of the first volume in 1895 was followed by the call of the author from his place as Privatdocent in Berlin to an extraordinary professorship at Kiel, and between the third and fourth parts (the last three being all published in 1900) he was made doctor of theology by Berlin. A careful examination of the work bears out this official judgment. Titus possesses the gift of speech in a remarkable degree, reminding one of Harnack in this respect. There is everywhere the copious flow of a mind alert and fully informed as to what it wishes to say. Every sentence is full of matter, and the whole presses onward with the irresistible current of a great stream of systematic truth.

The work is of great importance, as it seems to this reviewer, because marking, in conjunction with Kaftan's *Dogmatik*, a high point in the re-establishment among Ritschlians of the great evangelical positions which Ritschl himself somewhat obscured. In a sense, this is a book of extreme radical positions. The criticism of the New Testament is given the fullest play. The Apocalypse, Hebrews, 1 Peter, and Acts are all reckoned to the postcanonical writings, and put on

quite a level with the Shepherd of Hermas, etc. But the outcome of the criticism is, on the whole, to establish the unity of the great elements of the New Testament in their essential teachings, the unity, that is to say, of the synoptics, Paul, and John. And, in minor positions, old evangelical points of view and conclusions which have for quite a while been "buried beneath the rubbish-heap of time" are brought out and shown to be the necessary result of the most recent examination of the facts.

The spirit of the book may be imagined from the dedication of the first part to Professors Kaftan and Bernhard Weiss. It has been so long the custom in certain quarters to adopt a supercilious attitude toward this latter teacher, the unequaled master of the science of biblical theology, which he himself may be said to have created, and to imply that anyone who sees unity in the New Testament, as Weiss does, is deficient in true historic penetration, that it seems a distinct act of courage—a flinging out of a banner—to put his name at the front of the work. But there is nothing partisan in what follows. Weiss is not accepted slavishly. We have here throughout an independent and exceeding fresh study of biblical theology. The writer has weighed all that others have had to say, and his scales have borne the weights of truth alone. The result is an exceedingly well-balanced and comprehensive view of that phase of truth which forms the theme. A scholar who rejects Titius's critical positions may generally rely upon his exegetical processes and results. We think that we mark also a growing conservatism and soundness as the work proceeds.

Turning now to the first part, we find it divided into three subordinate parts, treating of "The Kingdom of Glory," of "The Kingdom in its Inner Constitution and the Comparative Value of its Different Portions," and of "The Death of Jesus in its Significance for the Kingdom." We must content ourselves with noticing special and isolated points rather than describing the general current of the book, which would overstep the limits of a review, and which may be in a large measure anticipated by the specialist. Thus the introduction is largely engaged upon the rise in the mind of Jesus of the expectation of death. "In the first joy of his work he may have hoped that his work for the whole people would substantially succeed, although he never concealed from himself the great difficulties. The more openly, then, his failure with the great mass of the people appeared, the nearer the thought of death approached him" (p. 18). Still, he thinks this expectation formed "surprisingly early," and has little agreement with those who find in Jesus a disappointed enthusiast.

The idea of the kingdom of God rests upon old Jewish notions, but it is at once enlarged in Jesus' conception by other elements. It is a "kingdom of glory" from the first. That is, it is "mightier than all the kingdoms of the earth, of eternal duration, without limitation by any other kingdom, founded by God himself, and at its head stands Jesus as King, a Lord over heaven and earth" (p. 29). The transcendent character of Jesus is thus indicated from the start.

The second subordinate part is by far the most important, both for length and matter. Titius comes early to the consideration of miracles. He assumes, without the slightest hesitation or ambiguity, the reality of the biblical miracles. He views them, by a turn of thought not common, not so much as signs and proofs of Jesus' messianic office, nor merely as deeds of mercy naturally flowing from such a person as Jesus, but in the light of acts of power, which are single exemplifications of what the whole coming of the kingdom of God is, of the entrance of omnipotence into the affairs of men. "The most weighty result of our investigation seems to me to be that the supernaturalistic conception of miracles which Jesus had was inseparably interwoven with his ethical and religious consciousness, and contributed to the increase of his religious certainty, and to the warmth and power of his love of his neighbor" (p. 55). Much attention is paid to the ethical teachings of Jesus, with valuable results. Jesus' freedom from all false asceticism is emphasized. "He sought to produce an inner spiritual, not an external, separation of his disciples from the world" (p. 69).

Contemporary discussions in America lend interest to what Titius has to say about the pre-existence of Christ. "The title 'Son of God,' in its proper signification, denotes not merely, according to the favorite conception, a religious and moral, but a metaphysical, relation of essential likeness with God. . . . I cannot regard it impossible that the general New Testament idea of the pre-existence of Christ goes back to expressions of Jesus himself, that in particular really historical material lies at the basis of the discourses of John. . . . The synoptic accounts contain, it is true, nothing of the idea of pre-existence, but they lead to an analogous idea," as, for example, the account of the baptism, where Jesus is at once acknowledged as the "Son of God" and anointed with the Holy Spirit (pp. 118 f.).

The discussion of the death of Christ, in the third subordinate part, is the least satisfactory in the volume. It comes out with nothing more than the old Socinian view, utterly irreconcilable with the

general drift of the New Testament, that Jesus' death is "the means of hastening his coming, since he is thereby endowed with eternal life, exalted to God, and furnished with the power to establish the kingdom of God upon earth in an adequate form" (p. 169). The previous discussions are much influenced by the recent publications of Harnack and others upon the Lord's Supper, in which, for the purpose of avoiding certain extreme positions of high Lutheran orthodoxy, they have gone to the opposite extreme of an entirely subjective interpretation of the evangelists. Titius thinks that Jülicher has "shaken the tradition that Jesus himself established a memorial supper for his death" (p. 153). But to follow the line of the discussion more directly: There are two passages in Jesus' own words referring to the value of his death, Mark 10:45 and 14:22 ff. Of these, the first refers to "deliverance from the destruction of eternal death" (p. 148). But this is not gained by a "vicarious suffering of punishment," but "ransom from death positively considered is nothing else than introduction into the kingdom of God." This idea receives no correction from the second passage cited, for "the most important and surest result" of the investigations of Harnack and others is "that one must explain the meaning of the words of the Lord's Supper, not as pertaining to the forgiveness of sins, but to the impartation of life" (p. 150). The phrase in Matthew, "for the remission of sins," is rejected as not being authentic, because the rest "could" not have let so important an element drop, and because, if Paul had known of it, he would have been sure to put it in, because strongly supporting his own idea. The blood is the "blood of the covenant," and that has nothing to do with the forgiveness of sins. Such criticism will ultimately be regarded, we think, as purely subjective and valueless. But the outcome is somewhat improved by the later volumes.

We leave the first part of the work, therefore, with the impression that we have here a multitude of fine, detailed discussions of various important points in Jesus' teaching, and, in the midst of the most perfect critical freedom, a decided return toward older standards of orthodoxy; but in the second part, Paulinism, this impression is greatly increased. The successive chapters are: "The Idea of God," "The Completion of Salvation," "The Fundamental Religious Tone," "View of the World and of Life," "Religion and Morals," "The Idea of Justification," "The Idea of Salvation in its Pneumatic Form." In respect to the particulars of the volume we shall say little. But we wish to call especial attention to certain contributions in the introduction

which are as valuable as they are timely. A section "To Orientation" precedes the formal "Introduction," and in this we have the following important observations: "We possess authentic writings from no Christian circle which was entirely uninfluenced by Paul. . . . For the courses of thought to which our investigation is directed a great continuity may be shown. . . . This far-reaching uniformity, with all the actual variation and difference, allows us to view this literature as one whole, and what, consequently, in any single presentation might become a torso, becomes in various ways a constituent member of one great system" (p. 4). Within this unity there are three distinguishable groups — Paulinism, the Johannine group, and the "average view of the common man" till the change toward Catholicism began, in the presentation of which last, however, extra-canonical works are brought into the consideration.

Coming now, in the "Introduction," more particularly to Paulinism, Titius calls attention to Paul's apparent neglect of the historical teaching of Jesus, which he explains by the assumption, on Paul's part, "that the deepest meaning of the death and exaltation of the Messiah . . . must reveal itself to the careful student of the Old Testament under the guidance of the Spirit even without the personal instruction of Jesus" (p. 9). The question must now arise whether this Paul, resting upon such assumptions, was in fact acquainted with the preaching of Jesus and loyal to it. Hereupon follows a most minute investigation, the result of which is that Paul shows, in the form of his instructions, in their language, and particularly in their underlying thoughts, the most intimate acquaintance with the form of Jesus' teaching as we now have it in the three synoptic gospels. It is, of course, impossible to cite examples here. The next step is at once taken by Titius: "All agreement with the teaching of Jesus denotes at once agreement with the original apostles. . . . A new element is added to the view of the original apostles only by the reference of salvation to the death and resurrection of Jesus. This is, certainly, of the greatest importance, because here appears the element which gives Paulinism its characteristic stamp in distinction from the teaching of Jesus. . . . But, on the other side, the proposition that Christ died for our sins, for which the Scripture proof from prophecy is cited, belongs to the original apostolic deposit of doctrine. The permanent celebration of the Lord's Supper points to the worth of the death of Christ. We cannot fail to note that all these are thoughts, by the emphasizing of which the original apostles came more than half way

to meet the Pauline type of doctrine" (pp. 18 f.). The reflex operation of this style of thought, with the clear acknowledgment of the place of the death of Christ in the system of Paul (pp. 168 ff.), will do much, undoubtedly, to place the doctrine of the atonement, when the promised systematic part of Titius's work shall appear, in a much more satisfactory light.

The third, Johannine, part discusses in successive chapters "The Eschatology," "Eternal Life in the Present Time," "Grace," "Sonship with God," "Morals," "Communion with Christ and with God," "The Spirit," "Knowledge." The author takes no definite position upon the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel. This, he thinks, will favor objectivity in the presentation of the contents of the gospel. The unity of the gospel, so that separation between Jesus' words and the writer's conception of their meaning is impossible, is emphasized. In like manner is its dependence upon the main premises of the Pauline way of viewing things. While it has risen far above the concrete controversies in which Paul was engaged, and pays no attention to the entire Jewish circle of thought, but is rather influenced by Hellenism, it is engaged upon the purely spiritual conception of salvation. "An inner modification of the spiritual position of Jesus we do not find here, but, on the contrary, one may say that the spiritual manner of the religious doctrine of Jesus first found its congenial expression in the Hellenic philosophical atmosphere, in its idealism" (p. 5). In complete contradiction to the favorite position of Ritschl and Harnack, Titius maintains that "there exists a deep-going, inner relationship between the spiritual faith of Jesus and his apostles with the Hellenistic, yes, with the Hellenic, Socratic-Platonic idealism" (p. 7).

To notice some single points: The office of the death of Christ gets fuller recognition than in former parts of the work. Even the utterances of Jesus about freedom through his word are not to be brought up against the "propitiating power" of his death. Such expressions "have a provisional character, while the complete work of Jesus, inclusive of his death, is not yet brought into the account" (p. 47). The complete abandonment of the Ritschlian position, by which all personal communion with God and Christ was denied out of fear of pietism, is another point of excellence in this volume. "The being of Christ in the believer must be understood as a supernatural dwelling and operating of the Exalted One in his disciples" (p. 68), "a relation with the living, glorified Christ by person to person" (p. 69). The pre-existence of Christ is most definitely accepted (pp. 73 ff.).



Of the fourth part, which pursues the theme under nearly the same rubrics as the two foregoing, I will note only what it says about the death of Christ. Speaking of the view prevailing in the common circles of the early Christianity after it passed out from beneath the personal influence of the apostles, Titius says: "The original Christian reference of the death of Christ to the propitiation of sin has become uncertain. There are circles in which this reference is wholly lacking. There are others which hold fast to the relation of the death of Christ to baptism, and derive the sin-forgiving power of this sacrament from it, but know nothing of a relation of that death to the continuous sinfulness of Christians. . . . In Ignatius there are again strong references of the death of Christ to forgiveness, and here the influence of Hebrews may be traced. Hebrews took up again the original apostolic reference of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins, perfected it, and made it influential in a way the effects of which are plainly traceable in the documents of this period" (p. 173).

Altogether, then, the work shows a great advance in objectivity and comprehensiveness upon many of the workers in the field of biblical theology, who have often been so "undogmatic" that they have failed to see the peculiar character of the whole evangelical period. Titius is certainly as "free" as any of them; but has vastly more sense of what will ultimately be clearer yet, the essential unity of the New Testament period. For a rich mine of special and detailed discussions we know no recent work superior to this. It is indispensable to the thorough student.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

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DE HEILIGE DOOP NAAR HET NIEUWE TESTAMENT. Door G. VELLINGA. Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1901. Pp. 88. F. o. 90.

THIS is not an interesting book to read. Its style is scrappy, and it contains a great many minute distinctions which are altogether needless. There is also much repetition, and several of the sentences are not grammatically constructed.

The matter of the book, although the book is not a great one, is much superior to its form. The author is a good scholar, and deals with every passage in the New Testament that bears upon his subject.

The book has five chapters, entitled (1) "Matthew 28:19;" (2) "The Gospels;" (3) "The Acts;" (4) "The Epistles;" (5) "Baptism

according to the New Testament." Chaps. 2, 3, and 4 amplify and elucidate the conclusions obtained from a careful study of Matt. 28:19, and the last chapter is a summary of obtained results. Of Matt. 28:19 the author says that βαπτίζειν and διδάσκειν are co-ordinate and are the subject of μαθητεύειν. Baptism as an institution is a command of Jesus Christ. It must be administered to all who profess belief in him. Its effect is that it puts the person baptized into a new relation to God. It incorporates him into the church, but does not change his nature. It has absolutely no mystical value. Baptism may be defined as a pledge of repentance on the part of the sinner, and a promise of forgiveness on the part of God. Neither the significance of baptism nor the practice in the New Testament justifies the baptism of children.

The person who performs the act of baptism must be a believer in Jesus. It was usually left to evangelists and helpers, and is inferior in importance to the work of teaching. The material used was water, and the form was generally immersion, but in some cases immersion is hardly conceivable. Our modern baptismal formula is incorrect. In Matt. 28:19, with which it is connected, we do not read ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, but ἐς τὸ ὄνομα; it is nowhere used in the New Testament; and since baptism is commanded by Jesus, it can be done only in his name. "I baptize thee in the name of Jesus Christ unto God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," would be more nearly correct.

WENONA, ILL.

GERALD D. HEUVER.

THE CHURCH (ECCLESIA). By GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 217. \$1.50.

THE author of this book traces in a simple, lucid way the evolution of the apostolic church. He carefully ascertains and states just what the New Testament says—no more, no less—and sharply discriminates between what Scripture declares and inference from Scripture. He holds that the mission of the church is "to serve God by serving man," but that the church, up to the present time, "compared with her mission and resources," has been "a tragic failure." To secure success, she must have a clearer view of her mission, must readjust her methods, and follow Jesus as her only captain. While ritual and creed are important, the pre-eminent need is Christ-like work for men.

Several modern problems that confront the church are discussed in an interesting way; such as church membership, baptism, the Lord's

Supper, creeds, worship, polity, lay missionaries, and church unification. What he says on the last subject is specially discriminating and forceful.

In the third and last part of the volume he sets before us "The Church as a Divine Ideal," and makes the church as the bride of Christ his climax.

He does not regard the church polity of the New Testament as binding on us. It was only a beginning, and was destined to further growth. But the churches of the New Testament were unquestionably pure democracies. Changes wrought in them destroyed their primitive character. What is called growth is rather displacement. Oligarchical and hierarchical governments were substituted for them. These governments overrode and repressed individual freedom, and produced long and bitter conflicts that ended in manifold schisms. It at least becomes doubtful to the average mind whether such displacement of the primitive church had the divine approval. So far as theological thought is concerned, our author justly thinks that it would be an immense gain to get back to Christ and the apostles; but why would it not be an equal gain to get back of all ecclesiastical hierarchies to the pure democracy of the apostolic churches? Nor should we be oblivious of the fact that in our own day the strong drift, both in civil and ecclesiastical governments, is toward democracy.

With consummate rhetorical skill the author paints a dark picture of the faults of the apostolic churches, and urges these faults as a reason why we are not bound to accept the polity of those churches. But that polity was not the cause of their misdemeanors; their wrong conduct did indeed put a great strain on the simple democratic polity under which they acted, but the fact that it worked so well in such adverse circumstances is its decisive vindication.

The author also ably discusses the question as to whether baptism is a prerequisite to the Lord's Supper, and concludes that the Scriptures fairly interpreted do not teach that it is. But in this contention he does not seem to us to give sufficient place to apostolic example, and to the inherent relation of the two ordinances.

The author's style is peculiar to himself; this is as it should be; but the superabundance of his brilliant antitheses is at times somewhat wearisome.

The book is irenical. It is a strong plea for Christian "unification." Any writing or any act that will help Christendom on toward that goal we hail with delight.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

PLOTINUS STELLUNG ZUM GNOSTICISMUS UND KIRCHLICHEN CHRISTENTUM. VON CARL SCHMIDT.—FRAGMENTE EINER SCHRIFT DES MÄRTYRERBISCHOFES PETRUS VON ALEXANDRIEN. VON CARL SCHMIDT.—ZUR HANDSCHRIFTLICHEN UEBERLIEFERUNG DES CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. VON OTTO STÄHLIN. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, N. F., V. 4.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. xi + 90; + 50; + 8. M. 5.

SCHMIDT examines a somewhat neglected aspect of the system of Plotinus: its conscious relation to Christianity as encountered in a Gnostic form. Porphyry's life of Plotinus mentions the presence (in Rome) of many Christians and of other heretics who are perverts from the ancient philosophy. They use works of authors whose names suggest Alexandrian origin and apocalyptic works ascribed to Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Nikotheos, Allogenes, Mesos, and others. Apparently Plotinus had among his hearers personal friends of long standing addicted originally and still to Gnostic speculation, and successful in making converts by their disputations. Plotinus not only commissioned Amelius and Porphyry to examine the genuineness of these apocalypses, but combated the doctrine himself with the arguments preserved in the ninth book of the second *Ennead*. Plotinus represents his opponents as compounding a special philosophy out of Plato and new-fangled oriental notions. Fascinated by the latter element, they disparage the blessed ancients of thought. The polemic against the sect is so confined to the main points at issue between them and Platonic monism that the special place of the sect among Gnostic schools is not at once clear. There are resemblances to the Valentinian mythology, but the apocalyptic literature, hardly to be expected among later Valentinians in the West, furnishes another clue. Data in Clement of Alexandria show like speculations and similar repudiation of the moral law and the use of an apocalypse of Zoroaster among the followers of Prodicus, who were not a distinct sect like the Valentinians, but belonged to the large group of Gnostic conventicles originating in Syria and widespread in Egypt under various names (Sethians, Ophites, etc.). In this general group, according to Epiphanius, "Seven Books" of Allogenes had currency, and the Coptic works of the Bruce codex attest also an apocalypse of Nikotheos. These and other facts seem clearly to identify the Roman group disputing with Plotinus as a later manifestation of the earlier known Egyptian party.

In this discussion Schmidt adds nothing of substance to his work

on the Codex Brucianus (1892), but he presents the materials freshly in relation to a topic suggested in his former work. He conceives the epoch as one in which three systems of Alexandrian thought compete for supremacy and mutually affect one another. These systems are typified by the names of Plotinus, Valentine, Origen, and have their ultimate roots in Greek philosophy, oriental myth, and Jewish monotheism. They have ideas alike in form, but totally unlike in value and in the correlated practical ideals. Gnosticism and Christianity made compromises—they were Hellenized; but the exact manner in which this process went on is not yet so clear as the fact itself. Schmidt arouses interest in this historical problem without as yet furnishing an exposition. His special object is to show that the Neoplatonic school, even from its beginning, was largely shaped as a reaction against Christianity, and that Plotinus, not Porphyry, began the Neoplatonic polemic against the new religion. In all this Schmidt's enthusiasm carries him too far. He does not succeed in showing on the part of Plotinus any consciousness of Christianity proper. He contributes only an ampler consideration of the fact that Plotinus had to combat Gnostic utterances in his own conferences. While it is probable that the arguments of *Enn.*, III, ii and iii, are prompted by the Gnostic ascription of the world to an evil demiurge, the extent of the polemic outside of *Enn.*, II, 9, is exaggerated. The defense of free will against fatalism, for example, is surely aimed at the Stoics, and the repeated attack on the idea of deliberate creation of the world in time by a conscious exercise of power can hardly be traced so confidently and exclusively to the Christian provocation. By making the primal absolute unity above consciousness, Plotinus was compelled, by needs of his own speculative system, to antagonize a conscious production of the manifold from the one. Schmidt's point of view is justified only in the larger relation in which Kirchner has already exhibited the system of Plotinus as an expression of a classical revival against the inroads of oriental influences.

In his second contribution Schmidt draws a long bow. The fragment published from a Coptic manuscript is plainly from Peter of Alexandria, but the editor is not content without thorough detail concerning the career of Peter in the Diocletian persecution. A doubt of the authenticity might appeal to the common notion that strict observance of Sunday began with the legislation of Constantine, while here, ten years earlier, a strict observance is enjoined. It is prudently suggested, however, that imperial legislation would correspond to

Christian preferences already expressed. Subsequent church arguments, furthermore, appeal to the sabbath laws of the Old Testament, a norm that had long been operative. The fragment is of interest only when, as here, a competent scholar brings its details into relation with the full apparatus of his knowledge.

Stahlin shows that of the texts used for the *editio princeps* of Clement's *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus*, P (Paris 451) is the original source, and that deviations from it are due to the carelessness or arbitrary corrections of copyists and printer. Other Paris MSS. ("vielleicht nicht belanglos," Harnack, *Altchr. Litt.*, I, p. 316) are reported as valueless for the construction of the text of Clement.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DIE GRIECHISCHEN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFTSTELLER DER ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERT, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Das Buch Henoch*. Herausg. von DR. JOH. FLEMMING und DR. L. RADERMACHER. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. P. 171. M. 5.50.

THE appearance of a new edition of the book of Enoch in a series professedly devoted to the works of the Greek Fathers may reasonably occasion something like surprise. No doubt its admission into patristic literature is meant as a recognition of the Christian interpolations it contains, but even as such it must be deemed unwarranted. But if it is not patristic, neither is it Greek in any but the most partial and secondary sense; and the propriety of its appearance in the series of the Prussian Academy is left more than questionable.

The present editors have undertaken two things. They present a German translation of the Ethiopic version, the only even probably complete form of the work, and side by side with this they present the Greek text as far as it is preserved. The Ethiopic text underlying the German translation is not that of Dillmann, but a new one of Fleming's own creation; and, while no Ethiopic characters appear in the volume, this translation seems to have been, in the minds of the editors, the most important, as it is the most extensive, part of their work. Thus in the introductions concise but complete descriptions are given of the known manuscripts of the Ethiopic Enoch. But, inasmuch as the volume is designed obviously for men who do not use Ethiopic, this catalogue, valuable as it is, seems out of place. It

properly belongs in the edition of the Ethiopic text of Enoch promised by the same editor for *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Of the twenty-six Ethiopic manuscripts catalogued by the editors, however, they seem to have used but fourteen, and one is tempted to ask whether the need for a new German translation or Ethiopic text of Enoch was so urgent as to justify the neglect of nearly half the manuscript witnesses.

For the Greek part of the work Radermacher is responsible. The scanty and inadequate character of his introductions, as compared with those dealing with the Ethiopic text, reinforces the conviction that the editors regard this as distinctly a subsidiary part of their work. Of these introductions it is enough to say that the manuscript descriptions are so meager as to convey no hint of the date of the Akhmîm parchment, the principal and often the sole witness for the Greek text. In dealing with this manuscript, the editor assures us that he has proceeded on the basis of the photographic facsimile published by the French Archæological Mission at Cairo. Yet all his application to that reproduction has not saved him from the egregious error of uniformly speaking of the Akhmîm parchment as a papyrus. There is, indeed, an Akhmîm papyrus, but it is mathematical, and has nothing to do with the book of Enoch. This little confusion is certainly calculated to stagger one's confidence in Radermacher's palæographical skill, and one cannot repress one's wonder that some initiated friend in the Royal Prussian Academy should not have rescued the editor from crystallizing in type so amazing an inadvertence. This mistake is continually emphasized in Radermacher's apparatus by the repeated appearance of the letter P ("P = Papyrus," p. 16) as the symbol for the Akhmîm codex. P is, indeed, the technical symbol for the Akhmîm manuscript, but as representing, not papyrus nor even parchment, but Panopolitanus, Akhmîm being the ancient Panopolis. But the hopelessness of naming manuscripts by the first letters of their materials—papyrus, parchment, paper—is obvious enough, and Professor Swete's style and symbol, P = Codex Panopolitanus, must still command our preference as the only scientific designation of the Akhmîm parchment. Radermacher's text differs very frequently from that of Professor Swete. For the Greek text no new witnesses are adduced, however, and Radermacher's changes are professedly due, for the most part, to the influence of the Ethiopic, to which he feels Professor Swete has paid too little heed. The indices seem to be good. There are a few omissions: *χίων*, xiv:20; *φωστήρ*, xx:4; *δυσμαί*, xxii:1. Salomon and Enoch, in the English title to Professor Swete's work (p. 14), are misprints for Solomon and Enoch.

On the whole, it is difficult to feel that this volume marks a great advance upon previous works on Enoch, or even that it represents the high-water mark of present-day Enochic scholarship. The translation may prove useful to German workers, but English-speaking scholars will probably prefer to await the promised edition by Professor Charles, whose Ethiopic learning and unsurpassed conversance with Jewish and Christian apocalyptic unite to distinguish him as the logical editor of the book of Enoch.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RABANI MAURI DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM LIBRI TRES textum recensuit adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis illustravit, introductionem atque indicem addidit ALOISIUS KNOEPFLER. Monachi: Sumptibus Librariae Lentnerianae, 1901. (= "Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar," München, No. 5.) Pp. xxix + 300. M. 5.

PROFESSOR KNOEPFLER presents in this volume a new edition of the "De Institutione Clericorum" of Rabanus Maurus (776-856 A. D.), monk of Fulda, friend of Alcuin, and archbishop of Mayence. The experience of Knoepfler's "church history seminar" at Munich showed the insufficiency of all former editions, hence the present one that is based on seven manuscripts, five of which contain all the writings of Rabanus, and two of which (Munich and St. Gall) are of the ninth century. An Asburnham codex of the same date exists in the Laurentiana at Florence, but was not accessible by loan, as is usually the case in Europe for most manuscript material. This "libellus" was a beloved manual of clerical instruction in the Middle Ages, though one must not seek in it for much independent learning; it was written "secundum auctoritatem et stilum majorum," on the broadest lines of literary plagiarism. Partisan of the Karlings, and of the *Reichseinheit* as against the sons of the old emperor Ludwig, Rabanus was earnest in carrying out the wishes of Charlemagne and the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (813, 816) relative to the liturgical discipline. His tireless industry, and the large library collected by him at Fulda, enabled him to dispose of a learning that was phenomenal for those days. Few of the early mediæval writers were more productive. His writings fill five folios in the (complete) Cologne edition of 1626, but the editor is of opinion (p. xvi) that a new critical edition of these "Opera Omnia" will leave very little to the personal credit of Rabanus.



That would probably not offend him, could he know it ; the good old Benedictine surely looked at himself as a mere channel, a link in the tradition of knowledge, a pedagogue repeating the teachings of better men amid the confusion of war and the rudeness of German social life in the early decades of the ninth century.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

LE QUATTROCENTO. Essai sur l'histoire littéraire du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle italien. Par PHILIPPE MONNIER. 2 vols. Lausanne : F. Payot et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1901. Pp. 341 and 463. Fr. 15.

THIS work follows in the main the path of investigation auspiciously opened by Burckhardt more than a generation ago in his suggestive *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*. It claims, like Burckhardt, to be no more than an essay, but amply justifies its appearance by embracing a much more considerable segment of Renaissance life than its prototype, and by a complete and remarkable assimilation of the almost interminable publications in this field which during the last few decades have seen the light, largely through the impulse given by the older work. In thorough keeping with the spirit of an essay, Monnier does not concern himself with communicating new and unpublished material, but with the task of grouping and analyzing the masses of fact accumulated in every department of Renaissance thought and action, in such a way that the reader will seem to hear the age speak in its own voice and idiom. This sort of work requires much more than the virtues of mere scholarship ; to be done well it requires a sympathetic intelligence and artistic skill with which to give verve and ornament to the solid matter of the argument.

The first division of the work is a general characterization of the man and the society of the period. As this has been done so often that it is hopeless to add a new touch to the picture, the author wisely refrains from an extensive treatment, and hurries on to his main theme : the humanistic and the popular influences in the peninsula and their two literatures in Latin and Italian. Here falls the stress of his effort, and here lies the strength of his work. The stiff, formal Latinizing movement of the university doctors is brought into striking contrast with the unchecked vigor and the simple naturalness of the unschooled lower orders of society ; and, although the author preserves a friendly neutrality, the mere juxtaposition suffices to prick the immensely inflated reputations of the pedants and schoolmasters,

who, because they had a little Latin and less Greek, called themselves poets and the peers of Homer and Virgil. Nowhere in history has a great renown so little to show for itself as in the case of the Italian humanists, who once more illustrate the truth that literature has nothing in common with the university ideal of the savant. Monnier probes through the crust of pedantry that settled with the humanists upon Italian life to the living sources of national vigor, and in such admirable chapters as "L'esprit populaire dans le Latin" and the poetic, religious, and artistic sentiment of the people (Vol. II) makes it plain whence came those rare and varied products of the Renaissance which have become permanent contributions to the human spirit. Still it would be misleading to suppose that these results are presented in the spirit of a polemical self-consciousness. The author preserves a scholarly attitude throughout, presents his material in its proper order, together with his criticism upon it, and leaves you the freedom to take it or leave it with a manner which is the essence of urbanity.

The work closes with the most complete bibliography of the quattrocentist authors which has ever been published.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

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DIE MOSAIKKARTE VON MADABA UND IHR VERHÄLTNIS ZU DEN ÄLTESTEN KARTEN UND BESCHREIBUNGEN DES HEILIGEN LANDES. VON ADOLF SCHULTEN. Mit drei Kartenbildern und einer Figurentafel. (= "Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Philologisch-historische Klasse, N. F., Bd. IV, No. 2.) Berlin: Weidmann, 1900. Pp. 121. M. 10.

AS THE oldest map in existence the mosaic map of Palestine and adjoining districts discovered by Pater Kleophas at Madaba, east of the Dead Sea, in 1896, is an object of very great interest; and this is enhanced by the associations and geographical problems of the land it represents. A small library of books and articles is gathering about the mosaic, and among these the present work of Schulten is the most considerable. The facsimile reproduction published in Paris in 1897, with notes by Germer-Durand, is the basis of Schulten's work. He dates it, probably with good reason, much later than did its discoverers, putting it in the time of Justinian. A comparison of it with the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius proves its dependence upon that work, while

comparison with the map in the London manuscript of Jerome and other ancient maps involving the Holy Land yields no evidence of direct connection between them and the mosaic; and the mediæval itineraries seem equally independent of it. These conclusions are not startling, and one shares M. Clermont-Ganneau's wish that Schulten had devoted his labors to topographical identifications. But he has produced a work of great erudition, and has gathered into it a great deal of material which will be useful to further workers upon this fascinating subject.

Without undertaking a critical verification of all the readings of the author, a few inaccuracies may be noted: ΓΑΡΙΖΙΜ (p. 7) should be ΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ, as a comparison of the Paris facsimile shows. ΓΙΔΙΘΡΑ (pp. 17, 93) should be ΓΙΔΙΡΘΑ. ΠΛΟΙ]ΟΙC (p. 20) should be ΠΛ]ΟΙΟΙC. ΑΙΜ[ΥΗ ἦ (p. 23) should be ΑΙΜΝΗ[ ἦ. For Φυλισταίων (p. 25) the map clearly has ΦΥΛΙCΤΙΑΙΩΝ, and for Χανααίων ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΙΝ in the same connection. ΓΙΔΙΡΘΑ is hardly recognizable in Schulten's Γιδιθρα (p. 34), and the misreadings of ΦΥΛΙCΤΙΑΙΩΝ and ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΙΝ are repeated on the opposite page (p. 35). Other more serious inadvertences have been pointed out in a recent *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (July, 1901), by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in a paper advancing the ingenious view that the map was placed at Madeba because of its proximity to the mount of Moses's vision, and is thus meant to represent the Promised Land as he beheld it. 1 Macc. 6:22 is evidently a misprint for 6:32 (p. 21). One observes with surprise Schulten's disregard of the writing 'i for 1, frequent in the mosaic. The entire absence of indices is an almost incredible defect in such a work, and the author must expect to pay the penalty in the comparative neglect bound to attend his labors. One wishes that the Paris facsimiles might have been included in this volume. They, or better ones, would have added greatly to its value, for they are now practically inaccessible to most students, and yet they are absolutely necessary for any independent study of the mosaic.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LE INVASIONI BARBARICHE IN ITALIA. Di PASQUALE VILLARI.  
Milano: Hoepli, 1901. Pp. xiii + 480. L. 6.50.

THE period from Constantine to Charles the Great is one of great interest and at the same time of great difficulty for the historian. The unsettled and changing condition of society and the consequent

suffering of the people make a subject that is tragical in the extreme. Italy was one of the chief sufferers during this stormy period, and much of the best material for a proper understanding of the times is to be found there. Italian scholars have done much in the way of bringing out documents of historical and palæographical interest. Foremost among these scholars is the distinguished Professor Villari, of Florence, so well known through his great "Life and Times of Savonarola," and his "History of Florence," and numerous other works. He has not only the gifts which make him an investigator of the highest order, but he has popular gifts of equal merit—a rare combination in any age.

The book before us is a popular story of the invasions of the barbarians between 300 and 800. It embodies the wealth of scholarship which resulted from the latest and most exhaustive investigations. The story is told in the simple, lucid, energetic style of which Professor Villari is so complete a master.

Three excellent maps add much to the value of the work. We wish that it might be given to the English world in a translation.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

L'ORIGINE DE L'ÉPISCOPAT. Étude sur la fondation de l'église, l'œuvre des apôtres et le développement de l'épiscopat aux deux premiers siècles. Par L'ABBÉ ANDRÉ MICHIELS. Louvain: Van Lithout, 1900. Pp. 450.

CONSTITUTION DE L'ÉGLISE. Conférences apologétiques. Par L'ABBÉ R. PLANEIX. Paris: Lethielleux, 1900. Pp. xvi+414. Fr. 3.50.

In large part these two authors discuss the same subjects. In presenting his views of the origin of the episcopate, Michiels describes the constitution of the church, and in explaining the constitution of the church Planeix treats of the origin of the episcopate. Both are dealing with fundamental tenets in Roman Catholic church polity.

Starting with the thought that Christ himself is the founder of the church, and that, therefore, in principle, its organization exists by divine right, Michiels seeks to discover how it was actually constituted by a study of its first establishment in Jerusalem. After a minute examination of *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* in the first century, he reaches his conclusion concerning the formation and form of the churches in the apostolic age. That this organization perpetuated itself is seen in

the episcopate of the second century, and in the lists of bishops of prominent churches, which in each case run back to the apostles. Finally, by way of general synthesis, there emerges the doctrine of apostolic succession and of the divine origin of the episcopate.

In a somewhat more general way Planeix explains and vindicates the papal constitution of the church by showing how Christ's idea exactly realizes itself in the Roman hierarchy—in the several functions of ordinary priests, bishops, and an authoritative and infallible pope. That the power of the sovereign pontiff is of divine origin is evidenced by Scripture, tradition and reason, by the papacy's glorious achievements in religious history, and by its conflicts with the material and intellectual powers of an unfriendly world.

The papal scheme of ecclesiastical polity is set forth in these volumes with great perspicuity, with evident sincerity, and with wholehearted enthusiasm. The very thoroughness and honesty with which the thing is done, however, make all the more clear the total unlikeness of the Catholic and Protestant conceptions of the Christian church. The ideas and arguments with which these pages are filled seem simply incredible to readers who know the history of the Roman church; who refuse the authority of the papal hierarchy; who disown an external, visible organization ruled over by bishops claiming to be the legitimate successors of the apostles; who repudiate the supernatural character of its priesthood and the divine efficacy of its sacraments; who deny any mediary of any sort between the soul and Christ; and who affirm the universal priesthood of all genuine Christians. The Catholic program outlined in these volumes will interest and instruct believers in the Protestant system, but the chasm between the two is so wide that the thought of crossing over will not once enter the mind.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

TYCONIUS-STUDIEN. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts. Von TRAUGOTT HAHN. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1900. Pp. vii + 116. M. 2.50.

Published separately, and also as Heft 2, Bd. VI, of *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, herausgegeben v. N. Bonwetsch u. R. Seeberg.

In 1886 Dr. Haussleiter published in the *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft* cogent reasons for believing that a large part of the lost

commentary of Tyconius on the Apocalypse could be identified through its use by subsequent writers, especially Beatus, a Spanish presbyter and abbot, who compiled a commentary on the same book about 784 A. D. This was published by Florez, Madrid, 1770. The edition was very small, if we may judge by the rarity of known existing copies. The Bodleian, it is stated, has one, but not the British Museum nor the Cambridge University Library.

In 1894 Mr. F. C. Burkitt (in Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, Vol. III, No. 1) published from MSS. a carefully edited text of Tyconius's *Liber Regularum*. In the preface Burkitt expressed a hope that this better text might "induce some scholar to investigate Tyconius' methods and ideas."

In the autumn of 1898 a student in Göttingen interested himself in the history of Donatism, and particularly in Tyconius. In May, 1899, he took up pastoral work in Reval, Russia, but was encouraged by Professor Bonwetsch to gather up the results of his studies. Aided further by the counsel of the same teacher, and also of Professors Haussleiter and Bousset, and by permission of the directors of the royal library in Göttingen to use in Reval its copy of Beatus's commentary, he is able, though with much modesty, to publish a fresh and important contribution to church and doctrinal history. After adducing evidences of Tyconius's influence upon leading writers—Augustin, Primasius, Bede, Cassiodorus—he gives a sketch of the sources and critical method by which most of the lost commentary can be recovered and a correct understanding obtained of Tyconius's theological conceptions, particularly his view of the nature and mission of the Christian church, or the way in which God works in and on humanity for its redemption (p. 23). This introduces a clear and skilful exposition of Tyconius's teaching, accompanied by numerous citations, in footnotes, from Beatus and from the *Liber Regularum* (pp. 23-116).

The author refers to unpublished investigations, by Professor Bousset, of Tyconius's commentary and its use. It is much to be desired that a critical text be published of Beatus's commentary. We can but hope, also, that our author, who has done so good work in epitomizing, on the basis already won by him, Tyconius's teachings, would carry out his original thought of comparing these with those of Optatus and Augustin.

Within the space of this notice it is possible only to suggest the value of this fresh study of Donatism. It is evident that Tyconius

deserves greater attention than he has received, that through him a better understanding can be gained of the better side, the purer and deeper motive, of the Donatist movement, especially in its beginnings. I may also add that in the rewriting of its history, for which such studies as those before us are preparative, the line of investigation pursued by Mr. Hahn in his essay on "The Extinction of the Christian Churches in North Africa" will be found of special importance. Tyconius opens to us the nobler motives of Donatism. The racial and social characteristics of the Berbers and their political relations to the Roman dominion explain much that is darkest and most repulsive in its development.

EGBERT C. SMYTH.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY. By JOHN MACPHERSON. Paisley and London: Gardner, 1901. Pp. viii + 458. 7s. 6d.

THERE is nothing prosaic about the church history of Scotland. Intense vigor and energy of action have always characterized the religion of that country. In early times the missionary zeal and activity of Columba and his disciples were something phenomenal. The period of the Culdees, extending from the seventh to the twelfth century, is shrouded in darkness, but the succeeding Romanizing period, inaugurated by Queen Margaret and King David, is full of event and movement. The period of the Reformation brings to the front such intense spirits as Hamilton, Wishart and Knox, Beaton, Mary of Guise and Mary queen of Scots. The Stuart period sees Scotch Presbyterianism and English Episcopacy in hot and bloody conflict, connected with which are "Black Acts," "Articles of Perth," St. Giles tumults, solemn leagues and covenants, civil wars, and the horrible cruelties of Turner, Dalziel, and Claverhouse. Succeeding the fall of the Stuarts and the permanent establishment of Presbyterianism there comes that long period in which internal dissensions and open ruptures and secessions play so lively a part. Through all her history dulness is the last sin that can be laid to the charge of the Scottish church.

The man who writes this history has a magnificent opportunity to infuse a present spirit and vigor into the struggles, the reverses, and the triumphs of this militant host of God's elect, but not yet has the Scotch church found the historian with something of the force and fire of

Carlyle to mold into living shape the material at his disposal. The work under review is an accurate, painstaking, straightforward narrative, never impassioned, and sometimes wearisome. The reader cannot help feeling that this methodical, matter-of-fact way of describing the soul-stirring scenes of Scottish history is ill-suited to the theme. The defect is to be attributed in part to the author's ill-advised distribution of his matter. If, instead of following the chronological, annalistic method, he had grouped the material around significant and determinative events, somewhat in the manner of Green's *Short History*, the merit of proportion, emphasis, and animation would have been less difficult to realize. Then, again, in a minor way, this defect, with its consequent ill effects, obtrudes itself whenever a new character is introduced, for in almost every instance a biographical sketch immediately follows, which breaks the continuity, brings in a distracting digression, and checks and weakens the reader's interest.

Regretting that an antiquated method robs these pages of that perspective, color, and glow which ought to characterize a church history of Scotland, we nevertheless welcome this volume as an orderly and trustworthy account of ecclesiastical affairs. The thought is expressed in clear narrative prose, with little variety in style. The temper of the partisan and advocate is nowhere manifest. In connection with each chapter the original and secondary sources are indicated. The account reaches down to the present day, describing the most recent ecclesiastical developments and religious movements, including the union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian in the United Free Church of Scotland.

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ZAUBERWAHN, INQUISITION UND HEXENPROCESS IM MITTELALTER  
UND DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER GROSSEN HEXENVERFOLGUNG.  
Von JOSEPH HANSEN. München und Leipzig: Oldenbourg,  
1900. Pp. xv + 538. M. 10.

This volume is a valuable presentation of the dark arts and the persecutions to which persons accused of sorcery and witchcraft were exposed in the Middle Ages. I do not know of any other treatment so thorough and satisfactory. In spite of a style not always clear, the interest is sustained on every page. The author seems to be fully conversant with the sources. He traces the history no farther than the opening years of the Reformation, and omits all reference to Great Britain and Salem.



If one portion of the work were to be selected as more worthy of special commendation than others, it would be its presentation of the demonology built up by the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century, and the powerful influence that demonology exercised upon the prosecution of sorcerers and witches in the courts, civil and ecclesiastical. Soldan, Lea (in his *History of the Inquisition*), and Dr. White (in his *Warfare of Science with Theology*) do not pass over this influence of scholastic metaphysics, but they ascribe the persecutions for witchcraft and sorcery chiefly to the office of the Inquisition for heresy, and to the popes. So also does Zöckler in his article on witchcraft in the new edition of Herzog (Vol. VIII, pp. 31 ff.). Hansen, on the other hand, lays stress, and I think justly, upon scholasticism as the leading one of these three forces, in developing and establishing this persecuting activity (pp. 146, 211, 328, 535, etc.). When the galaxy of profound theologians, beginning with Albertus Magnus and the Lombard, began to shine, the Inquisition established by the fourth Lateran council in 1215 was already in full force and its execution familiar to Europe. Nevertheless, it was the curiously wrought scholastic doctrine that established on a firm intellectual basis the doctrine of demonic agency upon the thoughts and activities of mortal men. The popular belief of the Christian world was a legacy handed down by pagan society. The theological belief had behind it the authority of Augustine. The penitential books are full of warnings to the *malefici* and penalties for their baneful acts. The theologians of the early Middle Ages never express a doubt of the reality of the compacts between men and devils. But when the schoolmen, with Thomas Aquinas at their head, had announced their matured statements, there could be no longer a question of doubt as to what the church believed and the tribunals, both civil and ecclesiastical, ought to do. The elaborate and careful definitions of the Seraphic Doctor, laid down in his *Commentary* on the Lombard and in his *Summa*, were confirmed by the statements of his great Franciscan contemporary, Bonaventura, by Duns Scotus, Durandus, and a host of others of the later periods in the use of the scholastic method.

According to these definitions, the demons are everywhere, by their overmastering influence over men and women, engaged in their hellish work. This influence is the result of a definite pact entered into by human beings with them. The demons assume bodies, create storms and tempests, blast harvests, produce sickness and death, impotence and sterility. They cannot transport bodies through the air, as

popular belief and the later Spanish theologians and commentators affirmed, but the soul may be transported through space while the body is asleep. To the monstrous doctrine of the *succubus* and the *incubus* Thomas and the other schoolmen of his age lent the weight of their names; the doctrine of the *succubus*, that demons cohabit with men, and the *incubus*, that they lie with women. Yea, though the demons cannot produce offspring, they may carry the seed from the man and transfer it to the woman. Even Gabriel Biel, the Tübingen theologian at the eve of the Reformation, held to this carnal communion. Thus, by this unimpeachable authority, the popular superstitions were accredited. The popes accepted the conclusions and reannounced them. To courts was left no other course than to take cognizance of this diabolical agency and the crimes which were committed in obedience to it. One of the most serious questions involved was whether malific influence, or *maleficium*, as it was called, exercised upon the marriage bed was a proper cause for divorce. Thomas and his contemporaries gave an affirmative reply.

Hansen finds three periods in the history of sorcery and witchcraft. From 400–1230 the demonic agency was accepted by all, but the civil punishments were light. From 1230–1430 the scholastic dogma was formulated. The trials passed from the civil courts to the courts of the Inquisition. In Frederick II.'s code, constructed after the establishment of the Inquisition, sorcery is still included among the crimes against the state. The oldest ecclesiastical Interrogatories for sorcery date from 1270. In the third period, from 1430–1540, the witches are regarded as a distinct sect, meeting in fixed assemblies, presided over by the devil, and attended by demons and human beings, principally women. A large literature on the subject is developed. Both the civil and the ecclesiastical tribunals originate and try cases, until in 1520 in France and Germany the prosecution of witchcraft is confined to the civil court. Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X., and Adrian VI., 1523, find it necessary to urge on the flagging zeal of the civil courts of Italy in the good work of clearing the land of demonic influence.

It almost passes credence that, after twelve centuries of Christian life in Europe, the belief should have prevailed with the educated, as well as among the mass of men, that carnal intercourse was carried on between demons and human beings, lasting often through a long period of years; that human beings at the assemblies or "sabbaths" watched the devil descend a ladder in the form of a tom-cat, tail fore-

most, and then proceeded to kiss his posterior parts; or that they did homage to him in the shape of a great goat, or in some other form, and then, after self-indulgence at the table and the extinction of the lights, they yielded themselves in wild orgy to the passions of the demons. But it is scarcely less difficult to understand that these beliefs were accepted at the time of the Renaissance, and that the shocking punishments were then numerous, and that the Reformers, even of England, did not denounce the delusion of such demonic influence, long established as it was, or cry a halt to the burnings to which the victims were subjected. A recent writer, Diefenbach, in the unwholesome spirit of Janssen, in his *Zauberglaube des 16ten Jahrhunderts nach den Katechismen des Dr. M. Luthers*, has ventured to affirm that the faith in demonic agency had a firmer hold among the Protestants than among the Catholics, and the executions were more numerous. However, the figures of Hoensbroech, the converted Jesuit, amply answer the charge.

The notorious bull of Innocent VIII., of 1484, and the equally notorious book, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, receive their proper share of attention in Hansen's work. The papal bull recognizes the reality of the several shapes in which the devil was said to appear, and the prevalence of demonic influence. Pastor, in his *History of the Popes* (Vol. III, pp. 250 ff., Germ. ed.), seeks to answer the objection drawn from this document against the doctrine of papal infallibility on the ground that Innocent does not formulate a doctrine on the subject. His bull proceeds upon the basis of former papal deliverances from Gregory IX. down to Sixtus IV. At any rate, contends Pastor, Innocent's judgment is no more binding upon the church in this case than would be a papal document on any non-theological question, say, for example, a controversy over a benefice. Whether the well-known distinction which some Catholic writers in these recent days make between papal deliverances on doctrinal and administrative questions is a sound one or not, Hansen does not pretend to discuss. But he emphasizes the fact that Innocent's bull was prefixed to all the twenty-nine editions of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, and that meant a good deal. This pestilential book, adopting the wildest beliefs regarding witches and demonic agencies, might well head a revised list of the index which might be expected to commend itself to all rational minds. It is, perhaps, the most unblushing insult ever pronounced in serious publication upon women, their insatiable lust, and their malific influence. The authors had the most convincing proofs of the *succubus*

and *incubus* in their own experience as inquisitors. Had it not come out in forty-eight trials under their jurisdiction, and by the confessions of the women themselves, that they had practiced cohabitation with demons for from ten to thirty years?

The reader rises from the perusal of this vivid presentation, thankful to God for the better times in which it is the lot of this generation to live, and convinced that our modern enlightenment, mixed with some unbelief, much to be lamented as the unbelief may be, is immeasurably better than the mediæval faith with the horrible delusions plastered on to it, which the church sanctioned, and the gory persecutions which it mistakenly organized and mercilessly pushed.

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THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION. By HERBERT B. WORKMAN.  
Vol. I: The Age of Wyclif. London: Kelly, 1901.  
Pp. xv + 310. 2s. 6d.

READERS of Workman's pleasant volumes on *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages* will be glad to have another volume from his pen. In the treatment of such a subject as the dawn of the Reformation the author has an opportunity to follow the converging lines of influence to the meeting-point and to group his materials around a few great characters. This first volume is concerned with the age of Wiclif and the events that led to this age. In a popular style the author traverses the whole field of Wiclif discussion. He realizes from the beginning that Wiclif and his age are not well understood. For instance, the best edition of his English works, by Arnold, he thinks needs a careful revision. He almost entirely despairs of an entirely satisfactory edition of the English works. He believes that the student is much safer in the use of his Latin treatises, which, in his opinion, are well authenticated. He has "a deep suspicion that Wyclif was rather the head and inspiration of a school of workers than himself actually responsible for all that passes under his name." The inconsistencies of the great man are distinctly seen, and he says that to make him consistent would require the constant use of the pruning knife.

But do we want to make him consistent? Do not the inconsistencies in his various writings show the profound consistency of a great man earnestly seeking the truth, ever coming a little nearer to it, and with each step modifying his views until at last the views of his

later life squarely contradict the views of his earlier life? Real consistency does not consist in always saying the same thing, or in always saying things that harmonize. It rather consists in such modifications, or even radical changes, of view as come with larger and clearer light.

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TEN NEW ENGLAND LEADERS. By WILLISTON WALKER. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1901. Pp. 471. \$2.

THIS volume contains ten lectures recently delivered on the "Southworth Foundation" at Andover Theological Seminary. They are a distinct contribution to the history of Congregationalism in New England. Professor Walker leaves Hartford Theological Seminary to become Professor Fisher's successor in Yale Divinity School. By his *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism, History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, and these "Southworth Lectures," together with his service as an instructor, he is entitled to be regarded, with the possible exception of Professor Fisher, as the most competent living historian of American Congregationalism. Moreover, his later work on *The Reformation* in the "Ten Epochs of Church History" has been justly pronounced the best among ten volumes of very unequal merit. His volume, like that of Professor Fisher on the same subject, should be in the hands of every English-speaking student of the Protestant Reformation.

In the *Ten New England Leaders* we have not simply valuable biographical sketches of important men: each man represents a type of doctrine, life, polity, or practical activity which contributed to an organically connected history; and the history of American Congregationalism is a foremost element in the religious history of the country.

The ten leaders are: William Bradford, the first governor of Plymouth colony; John Cotton, the leading minister of the Puritans in Boston; Richard Mather, who formulated the principles of Congregationalism; John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians; Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, and Cotton's successor to Puritan leadership; Jonathan Edwards, the great theologian of the eighteenth century and of all American history; Charles Chauncey, the opponent of Edwards's doctrine and methods; Samuel Hopkins and Leonard Woods, typical theologians; and Leonard Bacon, one of the most versatile and forceful personalities of his generation.

It is easy to suggest additional names, like that of Thomas Hooker, whose literary service resembled that of Richard Mather, or that of Horace Bushnell, whose independent, if not strictly scientific, contribution to American theological thought has greatly stimulated many men; yet had twelve men, instead of ten, been selected, the eminent foreign missionaries among whom it would have been difficult to select a single name, and educators like Mark Hopkins and Professor Park, must have been omitted.

The author has successfully fulfilled a definite purpose. He has made available in compact form material not easily accessible heretofore, and has placed both students and general readers under renewed obligations for the results of faithful and prolonged research.

Some years ago George Frederick Boehringer and his son Paul, from a careful study of the sources, wrote a voluminous and useful church history in the form of biographies. Many of the most valuable modern contributions to ecclesiastical history are biographical monographs. The *Ten New England Leaders* admirably illustrates the skilful combination of such related sketches.

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CARDINAL ALBRECHT VON BRANDENBURG UND DAS NEUE STIFT ZU HALLE, 1520-1541. Eine kirchen- und kunstgeschichtliche Studie. Von PAUL REDLICH. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1900. Pp. viii + 361 + 264. M. 12.

ALBRECHT OF BRANDENBURG is one of the picturesque figures of the early Reformation time. Second son of the elector John Cicero of Brandenburg (b. 1490) and brother of the elector Joachim, he was given an ecclesiastical office in the Mainz cathedral when only eighteen years of age. He seems to have been entirely innocent of any religious inclination and equally so of theological learning. Without undergoing any transformation of character, he was appointed archbishop of Magdeburg and administrator of the affairs of the bishopric of Halberstadt in 1513, and a year later, as a youth of twenty-four, he succeeded to the archbishopric and electorate of Mainz. In consideration of his appointment to the latter office he had personally assumed the payment of the great sum of 20,000 gold florins to the pope, and had thus involved himself hopelessly in debt. To pay this amount and to meet other expenses, he had borrowed 30,000 gold florins of the Fuggers of Augsburg, and it was to satisfy this obligation that he arranged with

Leo X. to sell the indulgences that under Tetzel's direction called forth Luther's theses and precipitated the Protestant Revolution. In 1518 he was elevated to the cardinalate. Albrecht had been brought under the influence of Humanism, and had little inclination for religious controversy or for persecuting measures. As far as he could safely do so, he kept himself neutral on the questions that were agitating Germany and the religious world, following in this the advice and the example of Erasmus. In 1525 he was on the point of secularizing his archbishopric, marrying his mistress, and joining hands with the Lutheran princes in opposition to the Roman Catholic church and the empire. This course had been suggested to him by Luther, and the revolt of his peasantry seemed to make this course politic. But the subjugation of the peasants and the establishment of advantageous arrangements with the Catholic princes of Germany determined him to adhere to the old faith.

The volume before us treats of Albrecht's pet enterprise of building and equipping a cathedral and a residence at Halle. Here for years he spent most of his time, incurring thereby the disfavor of Mainz, which, as the more important ecclesiastical center, felt entitled to the personal presence of the cardinal-archbishop-elect. Redlich's book describes minutely the circumstances that led to the establishment of the new cathedral, gives the papal and other correspondence connected with the inauguration of the enterprise, and describes in detail everything connected with the architecture and adornment of the buildings, including all that has been preserved or is known regarding the mausoleum prepared by Albrecht for his own sepulture, the choir, the nave, the mural paintings, the carpets, tapestries, liturgical books, etc. A separate chapter is devoted to the sanctuary, with its sanctuary book, the reliquary and its varied contents of bones, fragments of the cross of Christ, etc. The origin of this large collection, which cost the cardinal much money and to which he devoted much time, is traced with a painstaking care worthy of a better subject. He was as enthusiastic over the acquisition of a rare relic as is the modern bibliophile over the acquisition of a unique copy of a first edition. The extensive catalogues of relics and works of art in the "Beilage" will prove of considerable interest to the antiquarian. By 1536 the Reformation was pressing so irresistibly upon Halle that Albert felt it advisable to remove most of his works of art and relics to Halberstadt and Mainz. In 1541 Halle accepted the new faith under the leadership of Justus Jonas, and the Catholic establishment was

brought to an end. He became greatly embittered against Protestantism because of the losses that he suffered through the Reformation, and encouraged the Jesuits in their early efforts to inaugurate the Counter-Reformation. His last years were spent in Mainz, where he was harassed by accumulated debts and was able to exercise little influence. He died in 1545. Redlich has performed well his task, making, as it would seem, an almost exhaustive use of the extant materials.

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THEOLOGY AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By J. V. MORGAN (editor). Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1901. Pp. 560. \$2.50.

*Theology at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* is a book which every minister should have on his study table for doctrine, reproof, and diversion. It is intended to be a conspectus of the Christian opinion of the present time; but it omits the important topics: the ethnic religions, the incarnation, the resurrection of the dead, and the second advent of our Lord; for the competitors of Christianity appear to be the author's occasional address on *isms*. The book will have a large circulation among conservative preachers. Their representatives have presented their views in agreement with each other by a uniform method, strict construction in interpretation of the Scriptures, and have not demanded a revision of common logic. The representatives of liberal views are impressionist, eclectic, oracular, and believe in the inerrancy of all proof-texts which "look" toward the universal fatherhood of God and love as the fundamental attribute of the divine nature. The Christian consciousness is made both the rule of interpretation and the judge of the text. The doctrine is left undefined, but is supported by evolution, immanence, the universal fatherhood of God, and radical criticism. One releases it from authority; another justifies its optimism; a third sanctifies it as an independent organ of revelation; and evolution serves as a mode of exposition.

But immanence is argued on transcendent grounds for transcendent results. The fatherhood argues retribution, correction, and impunity. One author proposes to rediscover hell; but when he finds it, Red Leary, the burglar, could not break and enter. "It might have been" is "the eternal worm" and, in strict logic, will



torment the saved as well as the lost. Professor Smith's "Reminiscences of Hebrew Life and Politics" is interesting and final. By "the literary view" he sees in the same glance a literary unity which dates the historical books later than 561 B. C. and a literary diversity which dates the severalty of their sources. The darkey said to Satan, when he saw the art of the tempter: "Gimme your side er de game, and I'll bet er million." The important subject, "The Moral Influence of the Atonement," deserves better treatment than it receives in the present article. This poetical gem fairly represents the author's logic and taste:

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,  
They are souls who stood alone,  
While the men they agonized for  
Hurled the contumelious stone.

The article by President Eliot should have been the last. As the liberal contention is passed on from man to man, it assumes its final form in the superior, deliberate, and masterful essay on "Progressive Liberalism." It contains several misstatements, as that "the Golden Rule occurs in writings earlier than the gospels." It was candid, but scarcely kind, to point out the fact that the universal fatherhood of God is not of biblical origin. This clear and finished paper presents the conclusion of the whole "progressive" matter. It is the residuum, a gray, earthy precipitate, somewhat iridescent, and of a sweetish taste.

About all the fallacies and sophistries of the platform are embodied in the volume. Evident misstatements abound. Contrary facts yield uniform conclusions, and diverse conclusions are adduced from the same fact. "They perish forever" is regarded as teaching eternal punishment by one progressive author. Another assures us that "propitiation" occurs but twice in the New Testament. The introduction by the editor is fair, just, and comprehensive. One thing is clear, if this book is evidence, that is, that progressive evangelical theology is without an objective basis, a rational method, or permanent results.

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DIE IDEE DES REICHES GOTTES IN DER THEOLOGIE. VON  
JOHANNES WEISS. Giessen: Ricker, 1901. Pp. 155. M. 3.

THIS volume is the expansion of an address made to the theological conference at Giessen in June, 1900, and supplements the author's

work, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, which was reviewed in the April, 1900, number of this JOURNAL. The author traces historically the idea of the kingdom, and especially examines, and in part defends, the views of Ritschl, who brought it into a central position in theology.

So complex and elastic is the idea of the kingdom of God that it has been as wax in the hands of theologians. The author, owing partly to an arbitrary use of the sources, assumes that Jesus viewed the kingdom wholly on its eschatological side, rather than primarily as a society of men, and hence that the primary idea has undergone complete transformation. He also thinks that, even in New Testament times, there was expectation of the individual entering the kingdom at death.

His references to the kingdom in the Fathers, while of great interest, are of necessity meager, these, in fact, numbering several thousand, and meriting a separate treatise (soon to appear from the University Press). We should question the statements that Augustine "generally reserves the conception of *regnum* for the condition (*Zustand*) of the promised dominion," and that "in proportion as the kingdom is already contemplated in the presence of the church, it is called, not kingdom of God, but kingdom of Christ." Augustine evidently has the church in mind when he says: "The martyrs have suffered, and the kingdom of God has made much progress from thence, and advanced throughout all nations" (*On the Psalms*, 45, 12).

Little evidence is available as to whether in the Middle Ages the assumption of the papal church to be the kingdom of God on earth was contested by Savonarola and the reforming parties generally. The multiform views of the kingdom in Reformation times are indicated, and the fact noted that the orthodox system makes the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ a part of Christology—in the state of exaltation—while the doctrine of the kingdom of God appears in eschatology. Ritschl thinks that the reformers treated the kingdom too largely on the religious side, a lack which Cocceius in a measure supplied.

Spener and Moser represent pietism in general, Tauler and Arndt its mystic side, and Bengel and Crusius expound the idea in its biblical setting. Hëss holds an important place between pietism and rationalism. This circle of ideas has been fruitful in Hofmann, Ewald, Schultz, and others. The author accords scant justice to the conception, "The kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17: 21), of which he says: "It has been largely employed simply as watchword for an

earnest inner Christianity of heart and deed (Tolstoi) whereby the name 'kingdom of God' appears completely volatilized" (p. 51).

Among the theologians of the *Aufklärung*, the views of Hobbes, Leibnitz, Semler, Herder, Lessing, Reinhard, Kant, Tieftrunk, Stäudlin, and De Wette are treated in a valuable section of the book. The author thinks that many of their views are still working hindrance to a right understanding of the proclamation of Jesus.

Ritschl gives Schleiermacher the credit of first rightly applying the teleological nature of the kingdom of God to the conception of Christianity. Of special interest to the student of sociology is Schleiermacher's remark (p. 102) that the animating spirit of the kingdom is not merely "the pure consciousness of kind awakened through Christ," but this when it has "become a powerful impulse together with the consciousness of God."

Ritschl joins his endeavor expressly to that of Theremin, who subordinates all Christian doctrine to the idea of the kingdom of God. The author shows how Ritschl in later editions modified his statements, apparently influenced by Kaftan's eudæmonistic view of the kingdom as the highest good, in a different sense from that of Kant. Ritschl likens Christianity to an ellipse, the two foci of which are the ideas of the kingdom of God and of redemption. The author thinks of these two points rather as centers of intersecting circles, and sees an antinomy between them. He points out the difficulty in any "completed" kingdom of God, whether in the form of Lotze's ever-progressing humanity or Ritschl's ideal generation of men, and thinks the biblical idea of the completed kingdom has its place in the individuals of all ages who have reached the goal of their development. "Between the pessimistic view of Lotze and a superficial optimism, Jesus, as ever, has sounded the right note in the parables of the sower" (p. 150). It is to be regretted that the author has not always allowed the "right note" of Jesus to be the norm of his very suggestive treatise (*cf.* pp. 112 f.). Jesus somehow refuses to be classed among those who "builded better than they knew."

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THE ETHNIC TRINITIES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY. By LEVI LEONARD PAINE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 378. \$1.75, *net*.

THIS is a polemic treatise, with the excellencies and defects of its kind. It reads like the utterance of a soul long held in the trammels

of traditional theology, but at last free. Its subtitle calls it "A Chapter in the Comparative History of Religions," and we took it up under the impression that it is a scientific discussion. Such a notion brings us at once into conflict with the author. For example, when on p. 6 one reads, "The new researches, however, go much farther. They reveal trinities of varied forms and developments in almost all the ethnic religions," and finds a long list of these ethnic religions following, including the Chinese, he looks instinctively, but in vain, for chapter and verse. Later he finds that the citation of authorities would not comport with the author's method, and that the reader must take statements, both general and particular, on faith.

This goes well with a second characteristic, the neglect of definition. Trinity, for example, has many meanings on these pages, and its precise value is undiscoverable. It is interchangeable with triad and duad and quaternity; *e. g.*, p. 221: "In fact, the ethnic trinities are shown to be in a constant state of flux, not only from duality to trinity or quaternity, or to multiples of a triad, but also from one triad to another. . . . The remarkable thing about it all is that the idea of trinity is so persistent, holding its ground tenaciously, while so Proteus-like in the shapes it assumes." Manifestly citations are needless.

Another undefined something "Proteus-like in the shapes it assumes" is the word "evolution." It appears, on the whole, to be the law of continuity with the notion of progress appended, but the progress is sometimes left out, and it seems to mean change, or anything, indeed, which is opposed to miracle. The subject is mixed up here and there with Darwin's name, his use of the term being noticeable as omitted. "Evolution," as a charm to conjure with, is out of date with scientific men, but unfortunately is taken up by popular writers who make up for the lack of scientific method by the misuse of scientific terms.

But we need not dwell on points like these. The author himself would laugh were one to take him scientifically. For has he not given on an early page an illustration of his reasoning, which leaves us without excuse if we persist in misunderstanding him? P. 20: "God as a person is a social unit, and needs no trinity of persons in order to the exercise of his social nature. Man certainly is not a 'social trinity,' yet the first man Adam seems to have been very sociable with himself before Eve was created to be a helpmeet to him. When Robinson Crusoe, in the realistic story of Defoe, was cast on a desert island without human companionship, was it necessary that his nature should

be trinitarianized in order to the continued exercise of his social, moral instincts? The simple suggestion of it carries on its face its utter absurdity. . . . Did it ever occur to anyone that Crusoe was in danger of losing his mind or capacity of self-consciousness during those twelve years of complete isolation? Rather, in fact, were not his faculties of personality quickened into more vigorous activity by his lonely experience? Such certainly is the impression made by the story, a story so artfully told that it has all the verisimilitude of historical autobiography. And must we regard the divine personality as deficient in those qualities of persistent self-consciousness which are so plainly inherent in human persons?" Was there ever a more striking and convincing use of the argument *a fortiori*, from the consciousness of Defoe's creature to the consciousness of the Infinite Creator? The preface (p. vii) refers to the author's previous book as follows: "If there are any who have been indisposed to accept the statements and conclusions of my previous book, I cannot doubt that the perusal of this one will overcome such indisposition, unless indeed their minds are proof against all purely historical evidence;" and in like strain we may conclude: all who are disposed to accept this luminous argument as to the divine self-consciousness may, likely enough, be convinced by the statements and conclusions of the remainder of the volume, but those who reject it are proof against our author's style of reasoning and his conception of "purely historical evidence."

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THE ATONEMENT IN MODERN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. A Theological Symposium. By FREDERIC GODET, ADOLPH HARNACK, AUGUSTE SABATIER, LYMAN ABBOTT, WASHINGTON GLADDEN, T. T. MUNGER, F. W. FARRAR, W. H. FREMANTLE, W. F. ADENEY, R. J. CAMPBELL, A. CAVE, MARCUS DODS, P. T. FORSYTH, SYLVESTER HORNE, R. F. HORTON, JOHN HUNTER, BERNARD J. SNELL. London: Clarke; New York: Whitaker, 1900. Pp. 376. \$1.50.

TO GIVE distinct, articulated, and intelligible summaries and criticisms of the views of the seventeen eminent divines who enter into this symposium on the great and important subject of the atonement, within the compass of a single brief notice, would be a hopeless undertaking. All that we may hope to do in calling attention to this book

is to indicate in general the trend of the symposium and the manner in which it has been conducted. It was planned by the editors of the *Christian World*, the essays appearing first of all as articles in the columns of that journal during the season 1899-1900. The views expressed are, as might have been expected, as many and diverse as the men who contribute to the symposium. It is not meant that these do not often approach each other in standpoint and evince certain affinities according to which they might be classified into groups, but that, on closer examination, even those nearest akin to one another part and develop radical differences. Many, for instance, agree that a theory of the atonement is an inevitable and necessary part of the religious faith of the Christian; but when they come to express themselves on how that theory is to be framed and what it is to be, they fly to the opposite ends of the diameter of the circle. Others agree that such a theory is an altogether superfluous element, and that the fact alone of the atonement need be accepted to make a consistent Christian. And yet each of these (with the exception of Dean Farrar) gives his own doctrine on the subject, or at least furnishes the materials out of which, and the method by which, such a doctrine must be framed. Mr. Campbell tells us that the atonement is the expression of the truth that evil is necessary to moral development, and has its root in the Divine Will; for this reason it was just and needful that God should become man and take upon himself the sufferings produced by sin. Principal Forsyth asserts that the sufferings and death of Christ were penal, but not penitential. Dr. Lyman Abbott contends that the object of the atonement is the purification of man, not the appeasement of God; that it is made by God, not by man, nor by anyone acting in the place of man; that the inspiration of it is the love of God, not his law, his justice, or his wrath. Professor Harnack teaches that the atonement belongs to the prophetic aspect of Christ's work; that its object is to overcome the wrong and terror-inspiring conception of God which the sinner must necessarily entertain as the hardest and most real part of his punishment. Dr. Horton declines to say what the atonement is, but believes that out of the contributions furnished toward the subject by Christian thinkers, past and present, a doctrine may be framed in the future. Professor Sabatier gives a historic sketch, and reaches the conclusion that the atonement consists, not in the endurance of penalty, but in the deliverance of the sinner and the annihilation of his sin. Dr. Cave advocates a phase of the governmental theory, and Mr. Snell of the moral theory of the atonement. Mr.

Horne attempts an induction of the biblical data, and Dr. Hunter aims to correlate the fact of the atonement with the modern evolutionary philosophy. Professor Godet approaches, without reaching, the vicarious sacrificial theory, and Dr. Munger presents the life of Christ in the world as the essential feature of his atoning work. All this is interesting and instructive, but we cannot fail to notice the total absence of representatives of the older views on the subject. Professor Warfield, of Princeton, and President Strong, of Rochester, are known to hold views on this subject which would not only be interesting, but, we venture to say, necessary to a perfect symposium on the subject which constitutes the title of the book. The absence of these or of others of the same general type must be regarded as a serious blemish in the symposium.

A. C. ZENOS.

THE MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
Chicago, Ill.

**DIE CHRISTLICHE LEHRE VON DER GNADE.** Apologie des biblischen Christentums, insbesondere gegenüber der Ritschlschen Rechtfertigungslehre. Von AUGUST DIECKMANN. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901. Pp. xvi + 421. M. 8.

In this book Dr. Dieckmann gives an exhaustive study of the Christian doctrine of grace. His point of view may be gathered from his sub-title, which describes the work as an "apology of biblical Christianity, with special reference to the Ritschlian doctrine of justification." The introduction shows that the author regards his book as a tract for the times, and hopes to appeal to a wider than a theological public (see p. 3). We fear that in this he is oversanguine, as the length and technical character of his treatment are such as to make no light demands upon even the professional reader. The book is too long for a tract, too polemic for a treatise. It is sufficient to say here that his criticism of Ritschl's doctrine of justification is twofold: (1) that by its rejection of natural theology it destroys the basis for God's redemptive purpose, in the nature of things; and (2) that by an undue emphasis upon the Pauline type of thought, and the neglect of other aspects of the New Testament teaching, it gives the doctrine of justification an exclusively juridical character, and overlooks its ethical significance. Against these errors he proposes the reconstruction of the entire doctrine of the divine grace, on the basis of a complete induction of the biblical teaching, which shall have for its result the separation of the

doctrine from its exclusive association with salvation, and its restoration to its true place as the fundamental theological conception. In the larger sense, grace is "the essential attitude of God to man as such" (p. 29). Apart from the introduction, which discusses—among other matters—the present theological situation in Germany, the book falls into four parts, of which the first treats of the central importance of grace in the kingdom of God; the second, of faith as the counterpart of grace; the third, of sin in the light of grace; and the fourth, of redemption through the grace of God in Christ Jesus. In the last we find the author's detailed criticisms of Ritschl's doctrine of justification.

WM. ADAMS BROWN.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
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ETHIK. Von W. HERRMANN. (= "Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften," fünfter Theil, zweiter Band.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. x + 200. M. 3.40. Zweite Auflage, M. 3.60.

RÖMISCHE UND EVANGELISCHE SITTlichkeit. Von W. HERRMANN. Zweite Auflage, durch die Besprechung einer römischen Gegenschrift vermehrt. Marburg: Elwert, 1901. Pp. xii + 66.

THESE two books on ethics are welcome contributions to the subject both because of the high reputation of the author and because they discuss certain vital aspects of morality in relation to religious faith. The first volume has been long awaited in the series of theological text-books to which it belongs. In spite of its brevity it is packed full of close argument, and contains a masterly analysis of the moral consciousness. It presupposes an acquaintance with the history of ethical theories, and devotes very little attention to a criticism of current treatises, save where such criticism will serve to make clearer Dr. Herrmann's own view. It is a solid piece of constructive work. The first part (pp. 1-71) is devoted to a keen analysis of the character of the ethical consciousness. The second part (pp. 72-200) considers Christian morality as a normal outgrowth of Christian faith.

In the first part the following points are deserving of attention: (1) The moral sense cannot be derived from any natural impulses. All forms of eudæmonism and utilitarianism are thus rejected. We must begin, not by asking how morality is possible, but by asking



concerning the nature of the ethical relations in which we stand. (2) Eudæmonistic theories, however, are nearer to the truth than legalistic conceptions which embody the moral law in arbitrary external precepts. The content of morality must always be that which the soul pronounces inherently right. (3) The origin of moral consciousness is traced to the experience of trust in a person. The person whom I trust assumes for me a value other than mere utility. This new sense of value evokes the feeling of obligation. (4) In accordance with this emphasis on personality, the Kantian maxim is translated into terms of personal communion. "Thou shalt so order thine entire existence that thou mayest reach the deepest and most comprehensive communion (*Gemeinschaft*) possible with other men," and thus "thou shalt become inwardly free" (p. 33). (5) "Moral thinking involves the abandonment of a monistic conception of the universe" (p. 55). We are conscious of personal freedom in a world of universal law. No logical speculation can resolve this dualism into a unity. The only relief is furnished by religious faith which recognizes that the good toward which as free agents we strive is identical with the power which rules the universe. Such faith, however, gives a practical rather than a speculative solution. (6) Moral reflection, if followed to its logical conclusions, involves one in hopeless pessimism. On the one hand, the sense of the eternal reality of the good and of the eventual defeat of evil becomes increasingly prominent. On the other hand, the sense of personal guilt and of hopeless alliance with evil brings despair. If this inner contradiction were not experienced, Christianity would have nothing to offer us (p. 72).

The second part begins by setting forth the nature of the redemption which Christianity offers. The essential features of Dr. Herrmann's doctrine are familiar to readers of his famous *Communion with God*. "The Christian life rests on the simple fact that the person of Jesus can mediate the forgiveness of God to the individual who has experienced the power of that personality" (p. 103). This forgiveness of God through faith brings also the realization of a new moral power. Christian faith becomes "the power to do the good." The essence of morality, according to the theory in the first part of the book, consists in the creation of a permanent moral disposition (*Gesinnung*) which shall unswervingly direct our volitions. Such a disposition is created by Christian faith, which recognizes the good, not merely as a categorical imperative, but as a personal power which helps one to do the good. Christian morality thus differs from legalism in that it is the

expression of an inner disposition rather than obedience to external precepts. It differs from any form of naturalism in the recognition of religious experience as the source of moral power. The practical application of the principles of the book to moral problems occupies the last sixty pages.

The organic connection of morality with Christian faith is too often asserted by Protestants without any clear conception as to how faith and works are related. Professor Herrmann's careful study of this relationship is therefore of great value. The query arises whether he has not overemphasized the pessimistic outcome of natural moral reflection in order to assert that morality demands the recognition of religion. Yet if Paul, Augustine, and Luther are normal types of Christian experience, the emphasis on the necessity for divine power seems justified. The religious fervor and sincerity of the book make it spiritually edifying as well as intellectually suggestive.

The brochure on *Römische und evangelische Sittlichkeit* is a scathing arraignment of Jesuitical casuistry and probabilism. With the vigor and insight of a prophet the author shows the essential immorality of accepting as right any course of conduct the inherent rightness of which is not clearly perceived. If the church insists that duty involves the abdication of personal judgment in favor of external authority, it cuts the nerve of vital morality, and demoralization is certain. "Jesus would irrevocably cast out a church which *for the purpose of preserving itself* deliberately holds men fast to this stage of ethical immaturity" (p. 40). The *Moralphilosophie* of the Jesuit Cathrein and the rejoinder of the Catholic Professor Adloff<sup>1</sup> to the first edition of the book are quoted to show that the author is not pummeling any man of straw. Everyone inclined to look with favor on ecclesiastical attempts to prevent men from squarely facing facts should read this masterly defense of the sacredness of personal honesty.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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THE HIGHEST LIFE. A Story of Shortcomings and a Goal. By E. H. JOHNSON. New York: Armstrong, 1901. Pp. xi + 179. \$1.25.

In the analysis of the "Keswick Movement" which Professor Johnson has given us in this book we have a piece of thoroughly sane and

<sup>1</sup> *Römisch-katholische und evangelische Sittlichkeitscontroverse. Katholische Antwort auf einen protestantischen Angriff.* Strassburg: Le Roux; pp. 23; M. 0.30.

wholesome work. Concisely, tenderly, wisely, but in a most effective way, he has laid bare the fallacy which lurks in the movement and shown the peril to which its adherents are exposed. It took both grace and courage to say these things as they are here said; but strictures of this gentle, honest sort are what the hour demands. If those who belong to this school of thinking were only less worthy, the task of criticising them would be easier. But the ability and character of the leaders in this new crusade for a perfect adjustment of the life to the will of God are such, their aims are so commendable, and many of their statements are so sound and helpful, that it seems an ungracious business to raise objections either to their system or methods. This is what has always been the special embarrassment in attempts to controvert the views of the Guyons and the Uphams and the Finneys, and others of like purpose and spirit—the lofty and earnest devoutness of their souls. It is to the credit of our human nature that, when renewed by the grace of God, it reaches out after something better than has yet been attained. But aspirations, even the best, must be kept within the limits of the truth, and they must move on lines which are in accord with the revelations which God has made in his Word and in a long succession of trustworthy experiences. Tested in this way the Keswick program, with all its excellencies, yields and breaks. Our author does not say this, but, tested in this way again, the men who are at the front in this movement do not appear to have any more power in their own home pulpits and in their regular work than other ministers of exceptional gifts and consecration. The book under review is an admirable one, and the subject with which it deals is handled in an admirable temper. Were there space for further treatment of the matter submitted to us in Professor Johnson's book, it might be pertinent to ask whether he himself has not put an overstrain on the simple, natural, and obvious meaning of statements in the gospel, in some of his own propositions. For instance, is it exactly the right view to take of the case, is it an adequate summing up of the relation our Lord sustains to souls and of souls to him, to say that we are to trust in Christ because he deserves it? Of course, he is to be trusted; and he is to be trusted because he is trustworthy; but is not that statement of it a bit too refined? On the face of it does it mean—at the heart of it can it easily be made to mean—just what is meant, and nothing other than is meant, when we are urged to accept and follow Christ? It is foolish to be alarmed at new phrases. On the contrary, they are to be welcomed. But when

used we have a right to insist that they still hold in them all that the old contained.

F. A. NOBLE.

BOSTON, MASS.

**MINISTERIAL LIFE AND WORK.** Being a Second Series of Lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered at all the Scottish Universities. By JAMES STEWART WILSON. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901. Pp. 192. 3s. 6d.

THE author of these lectures has been a pastor and preacher for nearly forty years. For the second time he was appointed by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland to lecture to the students for the ministry in the Scottish universities. He speaks to them out of his experiences in a "long and unspeakably happy ministerial life." His thought is fresh and at times profound. In it there is not so much the flavor of books as of life. What he has seen and felt he declares. Such testimony by one who has been in the battles of ministerial life is just what those peering out into the coming conflict need to brace them for the good fight.

The author's scheme of thought is very simple. God would express his love and mercy to men. Men in their need reach out toward God. An agency is demanded to bring the two together, to carry God's love and mercy to men, and to lead men to God. Jesus Christ first is the channel between the two, and after him the genuine preachers of the gospel, who are his representatives. On that framework he hangs all the manifold duties of the Christian pastor. As the pastor publicly reads the Scriptures, preaches, and administers the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, he is expressing God's thought to men; as he publicly prays with and for the people, and unites with them in praise, he brings them before God and to God; and in all pastoral work he strives to make known to men God's love and mercy, and to bring men into fellowship with God.

A small part of the thought of these lectures is simply local. The special duties of ministers to the established Presbyterian church of Scotland are pointed out and enforced; but most of the thought of the author is applicable to all ministers and ministerial students. The book is brimful of common-sense, and every man in the ministry or studying for it would be greatly helped by reading it.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND THEOLOGY. Or the Contribution of Christian Experience to the System of Evangelical Doctrine. By FRANK HUGH FOSTER. Chicago: Revell, 1901. Pp. ix + 286. \$1.50.

THIS book consists of the *Stone Lectures* given before Princeton Theological Seminary, 1900. It is a study of Christian experience with the endeavor "to ascertain first what Christian experience really is, and then what naturally flows from it in the way of fundamental views of God, man, and salvation." The "ultimate fact" of Christian experience is found to be "the permanent choice of duty as such," as this is wrought by the personal power of God. From this central fact the doctrines of God, of the person and work of Christ, and of the church are developed, with an interjected chapter on "The Scriptures and Church History as Sources of Christian Experience Outside of the Individual."

The real purpose of the work is to meet Ritschlianism in its own field and to ground the orthodox system of doctrine on the basis of Christian experience. Opinions will differ as to whether this end has been attained. The book well emphasizes the importance and clearly states the task of the study of Christian experience, and is pervaded with a deep devotional spirit. The following defects may be pointed out: (1) There is no distinction between Christian experience and the rational explanation of this experience; this failure gives the term a varying significance. (2) In the emphasis laid on knowledge there is no distinction between knowledge which demands proof and intellectual assent, and that which demands an attitude on the part of the will. (3) The interest in grounding the orthodox system as a whole warrants the suspicion that its deduction from Christian experience is not thoroughly scientific.

E. A. HANLEY.

CLEVELAND, O.

THE UNACCOUNTABLE MAN. By DAVID JAMES BURRELL. Chicago: Revell, 1901. Pp. 310. \$1.50.

THIS volume contains twenty-nine sermons. The title of the book is the subject of the first discourse. The topics discussed in all the rest are both popular and important. Such sermons as, "What Would Jesus Do?" "The Potter and the Clay," "The Perfect Law of Liberty," "The Privilege of the Strong," "Back to Christ," and "Church Unity," catch and hold the attention by virtue of the living, practical questions unfolded in them.

These sermons deserve high rank. The preacher's thought is incisive and suggestive. It is clothed in a style clear and terse. Those who heard these discourses could not have failed to understand what was urged upon them, and to be deeply impressed by it. In every paragraph we find the accent of conviction. The preacher evidently unshakably believed what he said. He spoke out of the depths of his experience. What he had seen and felt he declared. He is familiar with the Scriptures of both Testaments, and often quotes from them with rare aptness and felicity. He is also broadly read in literature, and lays it under tribute to the cross of Christ. Sometimes, indeed, his quotations, especially from the poets, seem to us excessive.

His style is also direct. He is a real preacher. His discourses are not essays, but genuine sermons. He talks straight to his audience. Hence he is often interrogative, asking questions that grip the conscience.

At times he is dramatic, just as the Scriptures are. He has a sermon on John the Baptist, the title of which is "A Tragedy." He first presents the *dramatis personae*, and then follow five scenes. The effect is cumulative. We feel at each step an increase of power and impression. And the lessons which flow from the tragedy form the fitting and forceful climax.

The preacher is at times spontaneously humorous, which is an element of power; but his sermons are marred by an occasional sarcasm which is a little too bald and obtrusive. Moreover, here and there through these sermons are found Latin phrases which could have no other effect on the average hearer than to obscure the preacher's thought. Sermons so good ought to be freed from even these petty faults.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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CHRISTIAN ORDINANCES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, being the *William B. Noble Lectures* for 1900. By WILLIAM HENRY FREMANTLE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1901. Pp. 278. \$1.50.

THIS volume is a welcome emphasis upon the social character of Christianity and its ordinances. Social progress is the end held up as the aim of sacraments, church organization, creeds, and pastoral work. Broad common-sense and high and exact scholarship mark the pages, and render these lectures notable in every way. Those who

think "high" churchmanship is exclusiveness, aristocracy, individualism, and ceremony will call the point of view "low" church. As a matter of fact, however, the book is a plea for the highest type of real churchmanship; the churchmanship that demands all life as its field and all Christians as workers in that field. The influences of Hatch, Harnack, and Sabatier are noticeable upon the thought of the book, but the development of the social conception of Christianity is bold and striking. It is a suggestive contribution to the literature of the new and quiet reformation at work in our church life. Our institutional Christianity must be reformed and transformed in the spirit of these lectures, or God will raise up another institution to do Christ's work. Common-sense and Christian grace mark these utterances which, coming as they do from the Dean of Ripon, will surprise many a "dissenter," who has prided himself on a breadth of view not to be found in the Anglican communion.

THOS. C. HALL.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
New York, N. Y.

A STUDY OF SOCIAL MORALITY. By W. A. WATT. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Imported by Scribner, 1901. Pp. xiii + 293. \$2, *net*.

THE editors were doubtless without conscious irony when they assigned this book to a sociologist. That more than Delphic word "social" enables the writer who lays hold upon it to flatter his soul that commonplaces so labeled mysteriously acquire peculiar merit. It also serves admirably as a clue to ready classification of a book in the capacious category "sociology." The consequences of this ambiguity are apt to be both humorous and tragic, but these diverse aspects of the case do not often present themselves to the same persons. In this instance the author may well think of himself as having fallen among the Philistines. The reviewer finds it impossible to deal sympathetically with the book, for its criteria of morality seem utterly nebulous in comparison with those by which the sociologist attempts to determine the values of conduct.

As a confession of ethical faith the volume is respectable. The author has dignified and worthy views of the relations between certain phases of conventional moral conceptions. This does not afford a sufficient reason, however, for the appearance of his views in print. They add nothing to the force or vividness of our traditional moral

statements. They certainly open no new outlook for closer criticism of conduct.

The author seems to be half-conscious that his discussion has very remote relations to actual problems of conduct. On p. 285, for example, he concedes by implication that what he has written has little "direct bearing upon life," and he refers to the study of comparative jurisprudence as one of the pursuits that would yield more concrete ethical results. He cannot be said, therefore, to have done much toward accomplishing his purpose of "helping the reader to classify his conceptions of the whole" (Preface).

One must choose today between purely formal ethics and a theory of conduct which distinctly presupposes a sociology as its setting. One may speculate about "justice" or "benevolence" or "truthfulness" without knowing or supposing very much about actual reactions between human beings, and the speculations will be correspondingly worthless as guides of conduct. If we are to get a critique of actual conduct, we have to begin with insight that every human act is in large part a consequence of the acts of all the persons who had previously lived, and it is a condition of all the conduct of all the persons who will subsequently live. The laws of genuine morality are expressions of the relations of cause and effect between actions. There can be no moral code, at once coherent and available for concrete application, that does not posit an analysis of the functional relations of all classes of acts within the whole human life-process. A discussion of the type contained in this volume seems to the sociologist merely a profitless organization of words. There may be persons to whom it would be edifying, but they cannot be people who are in very close touch with concrete problems.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ALBION W. SMALL.

LABORATORY AND PULPIT: The Relation of Biology to the Preacher and His Message. The *Gay Lectures*, 1900. By WILLIAM L. POTEAT. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press,<sup>1</sup> 1901. Pp. 103. Cloth, \$0.50; paper, \$0.25.

From the laboratory, in three charmingly written lectures, Professor Poteat tells some plain truths which it were well the pulpit should heed. The biological revolution "imposed the necessity of revision:

<sup>1</sup> Though bearing the imprint of this firm on the title-page, the copyright is by the American Baptist Publication Society, which is probably the publisher.



upon every formulated body of doctrine." The revision demanded of theology is still in progress. The present situation of Christianity, which is indubitably critical, shows symptoms whose causes the lecturer finds in "the strain of the divergence of the old dogma and the new knowledge," and particularly in "the pulpit's attitude of resistance to science." This attitude is shown to be not only irrational, but ineffective. Professor Poteat pleads with those preachers in whom the *odium scientiae* has become chronic to open their minds to the truth, even though its garb be strange and its tongue unknown; and asks for those in training an opportunity for the cultivation of the scientific spirit.

This message of the laboratory to the pulpit is admirable both in form and spirit. It is conservative without being cowardly, reverent without being pietistic, and virile without being violent. Its keynote is sounded in this:

The intelligence of the world is growing too acute and wide, and the moral sense of the world is too much heightened and cleared by the teaching of Jesus, to submit to the usurpation and arrogance of an alien logic. If your message essentially involve subscription to the items of a particular theological formulæ, the world, which is fast winning its emancipation from authority, will not so much as hear your formulæ. If you insist, it will bid you go, and take your religion along with your theology. And Christ will be crucified afresh by the hands of his friends.

CHARLES REID BARNES.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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*Brahman: A Study in the History of Indian Philosophy.* By Hervey DeWitt Griswold. (= "Cornell Studies in Philosophy," No. 2.) (New York: Macmillan, 1900; pp. v + 89; \$0.75.) After a chapter on the history of the word "Brahman," the author traces the growth of monism from Vedism through the Upanishads and the Vedānta-Sūtras. He reduces the philosophic meanings of Brahman to three: the objective word (the sacred hymn), the subjective word (theology), and the immanent word (absolute energy). Both transmigration and *māyā* he considers logically implied in the Upanishads. He draws occasional suggestive and helpful parallels between biblical thought and that of Indian philosophy. One hesitates, however, to assent to the proposition that the famous *Tat tvam asi*, "That art thou," is "not essentially different from" the biblical doctrine of man as the son of God and made in the image of God. Certainly, neither Christ nor the Hebrew

prophets had in mind any such identity of created and creator as the Upanishads teach. The book on the whole is an excellent study in a field not overcrowded.—IRVING F. WOOD.

*Introduction à la psychologie des mystiques.* Par Jules Pacheu. (Paris: Oudin, 1901; pp. 107; fr. 2.) This is the first of a projected series of volumes embodying lectures now in progress at the Catholic Institute at Paris. Vol. II will deal with contemporary mysticism as seen in the religion of humanity, Nietzscheism, Tolstoiism, etc. A discussion of Christian mysticism will follow, and the series will conclude with a volume on the specific psychology of mysticism. The introduction examines the term "mystic" and its cognates, and explains the author's plan and point of view. He declares his point of view to be strictly psychological, yet he transcends psychology at the outset by assuming the objective truth of mystical impressions—they are "relations of the soul with God." Mystic experiences are defined, in the strict sense, as states of consciousness that are "absolutely independent of the human will and produced directly by a divine act." This is poor psychology *plus* theology. Again, theology is made, for believers at least, an authoritative interpreter of psychological facts. It is "a guide, an aid, a limitation." The real purpose, indeed, is religious, not scientific. M. Pacheu will persuade men back to the church by showing that the characteristic soul-struggles of the age are unconscious efforts after the union with God that constitutes the inner side of Christianity. From this point of view the book is delightful for its candor, its liberality of spirit, its insight into the soul, and its spiritual warmth.—GEORGE A. COE.

*Prolegomena zur Bestimmung des Gottesbegriffes bei Kant.* Von Kumetaro Sasao. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1900; pp. 71; M. 2.) This monograph belongs to the series of "Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte," edited by Benno Erdmann. Its aim is to bring together from the pre-critical writings and the *Critique of Pure Reason* those statements of Kant which throw light on his conception of God. Following along the line of Erdmann and Kiedel, he points out the affinity between Kant's views and those of Leibniz, and maintains that the earlier conception of God as the ground of the interaction or *communium* of substances survives in the *Critique* behind the conception of things in themselves, transcendental objects, etc. This leads the author to emphasize, like Paulsen, the metaphysical as opposed to the

alleged purely phenomenalist character of Kant's thought. The monograph contains nothing new to the Kant student, but it is, nevertheless, a well-executed and scholarly outline of this aspect of Kant's thought, and shows promise of further good work in the future.—J. H. Tufts.

*Göttliche Weltordnung und religionslose Sittlichkeit.* Zeitgemässe Erörterungen von Wilhelm Schneider. (Paderborn : Schöningh, 1900; pp. vii + 600; M. 10.) This volume bears on its title-page "Mit kirchlicher Genehmigung," and its final paragraph is an extract from a papal encyclical. Moving thus wholly within the boundaries of the Roman Catholic church, it is a learned and broad survey of its subject, free from the extreme partisanship which too often disfigures similar apologetic works. But that it should add little or nothing to our information, or to our insight, is inevitable in view of the author's manifest limitations.—GEORGE WM. KNOX.

*Behá U'lláh* (The Glory of God). By Ibrahim George Kheiralla, assisted by Howard MacNutt. (Chicago : I. G. Kheiralla, 1900; pp. 545; \$3.) This well-printed book contains the theological system of the principal propagandist in the United States of the Mohammedan sect started by the Bab who appeared in Persia in the middle of the last century and suffered martyrdom there. The Bab was succeeded by one Beha who professed to be he whom the Bab prophesied as to come, and who was able to rally the majority of the sect to his side. Exiled by the sultan to Acre, he died there in 1892. Mr. Kheiralla proclaims Beha as the true God for whom Jesus Christ prepared the way. He has gathered circles of believers in various cities. His book is a well-meaning production which, however, is so lamentably weak in scientific character as to be practically worthless except as a religious curiosity. The sect which he represents is already split into two or more divisions by internal dissension, and the propagandists of the several branches are industriously proselytizing from each other. There is much that is interesting and admirable in the life and teachings of the leaders of Babism, but of the theological reasonings of this author one cannot say as much. If he is to be the Melanchthon of this reformation, its intellectual basis will not attract thinking minds.—*The Evolution of Immortality.* By S. D. McConnell. (New York :

\* See also VATRALSKY, "Mohammedan Gnosticism in America," pp. 57-78 of this number of the JOURNAL.

Macmillan, 1901; pp. 204; \$1.25.) The author believes that the Christian doctrine of immortality must be revised in the light of modern biology and psychology. These sciences cannot allow so sharp a line to be drawn between man and beast as to ascribe an essential immortality to the one and not to the other. Indeed, the hope of immortality is but the instinct of self-protection carried to its highest term. To attain it one must be worthy of it. This worthiness is moral: righteousness is potential immortality. Such was the central thought of the gospel of the resurrection preached by the apostles—immortality through goodness. We are afraid that all this reverses the true order of values; not goodness in order to live forever, but righteousness though the heavens fall, has been the high call to the noblest souls. Further, on the author's hypothesis, how much goodness is necessary? Is there any man altogether lacking? And how about the lower creation? The study is interesting and stimulating, but we fear it does not clear up the question in any perceptible degree.

—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*Wesen und Principien der Bibelkritik auf katholischer Grundlage*, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der officiellen Vulgataausgabe, dargestellt von Michael Hetzenauer (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1900; pp. xii + 212; M. 3.60), is an introduction to the textual criticism of the New Testament, published in response to the wishes of the reviewers of his *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (1896), in which the author indicates the principles underlying his publication of the Greek text and the Latin translation of the New Testament. Of the methods of criticism we hear very little; for the book is intensely Roman Catholic in its contents and spirit. The rules and decrees of the church are the determining factors and guide in the criticism of the sacred text, scientific or historic principles only of subordinate importance.\* The author discusses at length the rules which he followed in his Latin text, which is a collation of the three Clementine editions of 1592, 1593, and 1598; and he claims to have reached results even better than those of Vercellone (1860-64). The book being only "a sketch," as the author says, it is surprising that so much space is devoted to the discussion of the history and condition of the Latin text, and comparatively small consideration given to the discussion of the matter of criticism of Greek manuscripts, early quotations, and the ancient

\* "Jenes Buch oder jener Text ist echt, den die heilige Kirche als solchen bezeichnet" (p. 47).

versions other than Latin. The history of criticism is almost entirely neglected. In the chapter on the praxis of criticism, twenty pages out of twenty-three are taken up with a discussion defending the genuineness and authenticity of the so-called *comma ianneum* (1 John 5: 7, 8).<sup>2</sup> This passage must be genuine, as well as authentic; for, "einer unfehlbaren Kirche ist ein so grober Irrthum geradezu unmöglich."<sup>3</sup> The book will undoubtedly be read much by Roman Catholic readers, for whom it is primarily intended. It might be compared with Warfield's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, although the latter surpasses it greatly in thoroughness and fairmindedness.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Glaube nach der Anschauung des Alten Testamentes.* Von Ludwig Bach. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," IV, 6.) (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 96; M. 2.80.) This book maintains that *אֱלֹהִים* signifies "to have a support" ("einen Halt haben"), viz., for one's life, the support being in God; and that it is regularly used of deliverance from death. The case is not made out. Some exceptions are admitted; in many other passages there is reliance upon forced exegesis and remote inference.—GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

*Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos.* Von Leopold Cohn. (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899; M. 1.30; = pp. 387-435 of the VII. "Supplementband" of the *Philologus*.) There are few scholars more competent and better fitted to write on subjects touching Philo and his writings than Cohn, the editor, with Wendland, of *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, a publication ranking with that masterly edition of the works of Josephus by Benedictus Niese. The author begins with an interesting résumé of all that is known of the manuscript tradition of Philonic writings, and then divides the list of the genuine works into three main groups. The first comprises the four writings of a purely philosophical character,<sup>4</sup> all of

<sup>2</sup> See WESTCOTT AND HORT, *The New Testament in Greek*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 103-5.

<sup>3</sup> This spirit pervades the whole manual, and we are not surprised that the editions of Tischendorf, v. Gebhardt, and Theile are not recommended to Roman Catholic students (p. 186). What, we may well ask, would be the author's verdict, had he knowledge of KUENEN AND COBET'S *Novum Testamentum*?

<sup>4</sup> "De aeternitate mundi;" "Quod omnis probus liber sit," being the second part of a writing dedicated to Theodotus; the first half, still extant during Eusebius's time, is now lost; "De providentia;" and "Alexander sive de eo quod rationem habeant bruta animalia." The Latin translation of the titles is used here because they are more familiar than the original Greek titles.

which were written by Philo in his younger years, and are genuine beyond doubt. Some of these are preserved only in Armenian translations. The second and main group consists of the exegetical writings, namely: (1) The "Allegorical Commentary to Genesis," chaps. 1-20. This was the chief repository of Philo's philosophical views. It consists of some twenty-two separate books, some of which have been lost completely, while others are preserved only in Armenian and other translations. The titles are mostly preserved in the list given by Eusebius. (2) The "Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim et in Exodum," a short commentary, literal as well as allegorical, to Genesis and Exodus. (3) The "Historico-Exegetical Delineation of the Mosaic Legislation," the best preserved of all the works of Philo.\* The chronological order of these three great works seems to be the same as that observed in this enumeration, although there are evidences that indicate that the author planned them all at an early date, and probably worked on them, at times, simultaneously. On the whole, it appears that the third work of this second group was completed last; for in it there are reminiscences of and allusions to the troublesome times in Alexandria during the reign of the emperor Caligula. To the third group belong the historico-apologetic writings intended to acquaint the Greek and Roman gentile readers with the spirit pervading the Jewish religion, and to defend Judaism against the attacks of its opponents. Here we have (1) "The Life of Moses," which, though begun after the work on the Mosaic legislation, antedates its completion; (2) the "Hypothetica," of which but two fragments are preserved by Eusebius; (3) "The Apology in Behalf of the Jews," only one fragment extant, to which the famous treatise "De vita contemplativa" seems to have belonged originally. These two writings were composed quite late; but earlier than (4) the tracts "Contra Flaccum" and "Legatio ad Gaium," which were perhaps the last writings of the aged Jewish philosopher.— These works, representing the genuine writings of Philo, are preserved only in part. Most of them are completely lost, and of one, *Περὶ ἀριθμῶν*, it cannot even be said when it was written. All other

\* The following writings belong to this great work: (a) "De opificio mundi": the creation and the fall; (b) "the biographies of the patriarchs living before the time of Moses," a history of seven heroes of early Bible times; (c) "the great explanation of and commentary on the several commandments of the decalogue." Appended to this were chapters on special virtues, and a book detailing the rewards promised by Moses to them that keep the law as well as the punishments to be measured out to such that fall away from it.

writings attributed usually to Philo are to be rejected as spurious.<sup>3</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*The Ethics of Judaism.* By M. Lazarus. Translated from the German by Henrietta Szold. In four parts. Parts I, II. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1900, 1901; pp. 309; 301; \$0.75 each.) It is with pleasure that we welcome the admirable English translation of the great work of Lazarus to be published complete in four parts. At the present time two parts have appeared, dealing with "The Foundation of Jewish Ethics" and "The Sanctification of Life the Aim of Morality." While it was impossible that the author should not have written with a spirit of warm admiration for the faith which he professes, the total impression of his work is one which goes far toward effecting a better understanding of historical Judaism. We have had so many interpretations and references to Jewish literature from those who utterly failed to present the conscientious, if indeed overzealous, legislation of the rabbis that it will be to many something of a revelation to read an exposition of the talmudic ethics at its best. We would advise every student of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, to read this work as it appears, and if at times he may feel that the presentation gives an occasionally too favorable interpretation of certain elements of the rabbinism, one will at least recognize the scholarly attainment and the breadth of view of the author. We would especially commend the various appendices, notably that upon the rabbinical references to the *'am haarets*. We await the appearance of the other two parts with interest.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Books for New Testament Study*, Popular and Professional. Recommended by the Council of Seventy. Prepared by Clyde Weber Votaw and Charles F. Bradley, at the request of the Council of Seventy, and in consultation with the other members of the New Testament Chamber. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1900; pp. 79; \$0.50.) Eighty per cent. of these books are in the reference library of Union Theological Seminary, for which I am responsible. This expresses my practical judgment upon the value of the contents of the

<sup>3</sup> These are "De mercede meretricis;" "De mundo," a late compilation; the sermons "De Sampson" and "De Jona;" a "Book on Etymologies of Hebrew Proper Names;" and a late "Antiquitatum biblicarum Liber," this last being an apocryphal work on biblical history to the death of Samuel.

list. Any limitations are due to its composite character, corresponding to the constituents of the committee which compiled it. Under the avowed principles which have been followed, it is difficult to see how different results could have been reached. The division of the list into two parts, containing "popular" and "professional" sections, is a mistake, particularly when just 50 per cent. of the "popular" titles are repeated under the "professional" headings. A single list, with asterisks, would save room and would afford glimpses beyond to the "popular" person without putting up "professional" bars to keep him out. The line of division is arbitrary anyway. The attempt at uniformity in regard to commentaries is too apparent and forced. A minimum of two is well enough, but it is misleading to exclude a third or a fourth. To mention a "series" is not enough. Series are mechanical devices, and are of varying merit; the best only should be recommended. Lists like this are always useful, and each decade calls for a new compilation. They are good and commendable in the proportion in which they hold up the mirror to fact and reflect the changes which the years bring with them. The present list will attain an increased value when it has received the annotations which a future edition promises.—CHARLES R. GILLETT.

*Authenticité et date des livres du Nouveau Testament. Étude critique de "L'Histoire des origines du christianisme" de M. Renan. Par Gustave Desjardins. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1900; pp. 215; fr. 4.)* The author's *étude* applies to Renan only. He has given no study to the books of the New Testament capable of throwing any light whatever upon their authenticity or date, nor to any of the scholarly researches of ancient or modern times. The "study" which he has given to Renan is the reverse of "critical"—a trifling polemic against a caricature of his own making. His qualification is his colossal ignorance. This becomes not only "mother of faith," but gives the courage proverbially ready to rush in. For logic: Hebrews is "Pauline or a forgery," because it mentions Timothy (p. 128); the authenticity of 2 Peter is vindicated by the simple process of contradicting two statements of Renan (p. 154). For knowledge of the subject, this from p. 198: "Is not Revelation in Greek, and in very good Greek? Are those characteristic expressions frequently found in it which betray the stranger unfamiliar with the words and syntax of a language not his own? No, one is far from finding in it the Hebraisms which abound in St. Paul" (!) Such a nugget as the following (p. 42), however, is



perhaps worth the price of the book: "M. Renan has been pleased to confuse the chronology of the beginnings of the church. The general opinion was that St. Paul's conversion took place in the year 34 or 35." This accepted chronology, wantonly disturbed by Renan, a footnote informs us, is to be found in Lenain de Tillemont, *Mémoires, etc.*, Paris, 1700!—*Unsere Evangelien, ihre Quellen und ihr Quellenwerth*, vom Standpunkt des Historikers aus betrachtet. Von Wilhelm Soltau. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1901; pp. vi + 149; M. 2.50.) Our author, favorably known through his *Eine Lücke der synoptischen Forschung*, deems the time ripe for popularization of "the excellent researches of Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, von Soden, Hawkins, and Wernle," since "they have reached a degree of certainty which makes this possible, if it does not demand it." Documentary criticism has progressed so far that its results are now ready for application by the historical critic. The familiar outlines of the two-document theory of the synoptic gospels are accordingly again set forth in intelligible and easy style, with serviceable tables for comparison of the sources attached in an appendix. Naturally "the gradual growth of the first gospel" (Matt., I, ca. 75 A. D., expanded ca. 110 by Matt., II, the author's special contribution to the subject) figures prominently as "the only possible solution of the synoptic problem." This, as well as the more popularizing purpose of the book, makes room for it beside even Wernle's admirable work. Moreover, we have in addition a very judicious discussion of the fourth gospel, which Soltau shows to be dependent upon all three synoptists. The independent element he divides into (1) discourses for edification and (2) brief paragraphs embodying *logia* with their occasion. The discourses are of very late origin, by the author of 1 John. The peculiar narratives (Johannine *logia*) stand in some unexplained relation with the apostle John. But the fourth evangelist wrote long after John's death, probably under Hadrian. Perhaps more is assumed as "already demonstrated" than English readers would be inclined to grant, but both the exposition of current critical results and the author's personal modifications and additions are welcome and serviceable.—BENJ. W. BACON.

*Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus.* Von Richard Drescher. (Giessen: Ricker, 1900; pp. 65; M. 1.80.) In this little pamphlet we have an objective presentation of the material which is to be found in the Galatian, Corinthian, Roman, and Philippian letters of Paul. The work is done with great thoroughness, the discussion of the death of Christ

being especially worthy of consideration. Also important is the discussion of the various names which are applied to Jesus. The author recognizes the importance of the term "Christ," and very properly finds the idea of his pre-existence deep-seated in the Pauline thought. The essay is a good illustration of present methods in biblical theology.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Handschriften des Clemens Alexandrinus* (1895); *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus* (1897); *Clemens Alexandrinus und die Septuaginta* (1901). Von Otto Stahlin. (Nürnberg: Stich; pp. 35; 48; 78; all three published as "Beilagen zu den Jahresberichten des K. Neuen Gymnasiums in Nürnberg.") The author of these three important contributions has been intrusted by the "church father commission" of the Royal Academy at Berlin with the preparation of a new edition of the writings of the great Alexandrian church father, Clement, and a study of the three "Beilagen" demonstrates beyond doubt the wisdom of the great head of the committee; for in them are treated, in a very satisfactory and scholarly way, three of the most important points which help to establish the text of Clement's extant writings, viz., the manuscript tradition, the scholia, and Clement's use of the Old Testament. A journey to Italy in 1893-94 enabled Stahlin to examine the principal manuscripts. The results of these investigations he published in the first "Beilage" (pp. 1-21), where he also published (pp. 21-35) a special treatise on Clement's *Τὸ ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*; To the study of the manuscripts the author has also lately contributed a short notice of eight pages to the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., V, 4.<sup>1</sup>—The second brochure gives most instructive notices concerning the scholia, which are, comparatively speaking, as numerous as the MSS. of Clement's writings. He discusses (1) the scholia in P (Paris), (2) those in M (Modena), and (3) those in F (Florence), pp. 8-15; pp. 15-44 are devoted to a discussion of these scholia according to their authors: (1) the Baanes scholia (pp. 16-19), whose author was a Christian grammarian of the fifth century; (2) the Arethas scholia (pp. 19-32), with a most interesting biographical sketch (p. 46) of the great archbishop Arethas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; here Stahlin proves, contrary to former views, that Arethas lived during the first half of the tenth century of our era; (3) the scholia of M<sup>1</sup> (pp. 33-8); (4) the scholia of M<sup>2</sup> (pp. 38-40); (5) notes in M<sup>3</sup> (p. 40); and (6) the scholia of F. Throughout the

<sup>1</sup>Noticed by F. A. CHRISTIE on p. 147 of this number of the JOURNAL.

author is striving after corrections of and additions to the text of Clement. We notice here with great satisfaction the correct text of the large Arethas scholion, so faultily published by Dindorf (1869; Praef., pp. xiv ff.).<sup>2</sup>—The third contribution is devoted to a study of Clement's use of the Septuagint. This subject has attracted editors and translators of Clement's works since Gentianus Hervetus, who wrote the first translation of and commentary to the great church father's work. The later results of Sylburg (1592) and Le Nourry (1703) were carefully used by J. Potter (1715), who himself made valuable additions. Later editors, Klotz (1831) and Dindorf, copied Potter most faultily and carelessly. Stählin gives on pp. 12–74 a long list of quotations from the LXX found in Clement, and discusses many of these. The results attained are rather negative, in general. None of the extant MSS. of the LXX text can be shown to have been used by Clement in his quotations; it can only be said: (1) that Clement is familiar with all the Old Testament books found in the LXX. The fact that some minor books are not quoted proves nothing. (2) No distinction is observed between canonical and deuterocanonical books.<sup>3</sup> (3) In many quotations, especially from the prophetic books, Clement's text agrees with that of Theodotion and the other revisers. (4) Throughout there can be seen a difference between the Bible text of Clement and the text of Codex B.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Titus von Bostra.* Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien. Von Joseph Sickenberger. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, N. F., VI, 1.) (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901; pp. viii + 268; M. 8.50.) This minute and laborious, yet valuable, work consists of two main parts: first, a series of text-critical studies of the commentary on Luke, which bears the name of Titus, bishop of Bostra; and, secondly, a critical edition of the genuine fragments which that commentary preserves, together with a few of the scholia on Daniel, which the editor thinks may also be accepted as genuine. Sickenberger confirms the opinion, long ago expressed, but not based upon any such

\* Dindorf's edition was severely criticised by PAUL DE LAGARDE in the *Göttische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1870, pp. 801–24; republished in LAGARDE's *Symmetica* (1877), pp. 10–24. It was this scathing review which brought about an acquaintance between Stählin and that great Semitic and Septuagint scholar, whose influence one can detect in Stählin's admirable work.

<sup>3</sup> In his quotations from the New Testament Clement appears to have drawn a distinction between canonical and apocryphal books. This, at least, is the opinion of KUTER, *Clemens Alexandrinus und das Neue Testament*, Giessen, 1897.

amount of scientific evidence as is here marshaled, that the so-called commentary of Titus on Luke is, in fact, a compilation. He shows that it was made in the sixth century, and that the chief homilists drawn upon, besides the real Titus, were Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, and Origen. Titus chose the favorite method of biblical exposition in the early church and cast his teaching into the form of homilies, which were written, probably, between 364 and 375 A. D. Why he should have won the distinction of having his name given to the whole commentary, rather than Cyril, who furnished a much larger share of the material, is not entirely clear. Our author believes that among the Milan manuscripts described by Mercati in 1898 there is a palimpsest fragment of one of the original homilies of Titus. But, speaking generally, we must arrive at the text through indirect means. The extensive introductory section contains some instructive remarks upon a different side of Titus's activity, viz., his work against the Manichæans, and attention is called to the new edition of his polemic, now being prepared by August Brinkmann, of Königsberg, and Ludwig Nix, a Privatdozent in Bonn.—JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

*Abriss der Kirchengeschichte.* Von Joh. Heinr. Kurtz. 15. Auflage. (Leipzig: August Neumann, 1901; pp. vi + 228; M. 2.20.) The fact that this little volume is now in the fifteenth edition shows that it has met a pressing need. Its general conception and arrangement are precisely the same as those of Kurtz's large church history in three volumes. Indeed, but for the fact of greater condensation, one feels that one is reading the larger work. It is a collection of the leading facts of church history clearly stated and tabulated, with no attempt at interpretative arrangement. Most of the statements are admirable in their comprehensiveness and lucidity; but occasionally, owing to the necessities of condensation, the statements are somewhat obscure: a fault perhaps impossible to avoid entirely in a work of this kind. The matter of proportion in general history is always a difficult one. In the case of the Germans it seems impossible for them to see that Calvin and the Genevan Reformation and the English Reformation were much more than sideshows. We see this when we compare Dr. Kurtz's account of the German Reformation with the accounts of those just mentioned. This book would go finely as a companion volume to Sohm's *Outlines of Church History*, to supply the facts, a knowledge of which is assumed in that masterly work.—*St. Augustine's Treatise on The City of God.* By F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. (Lon-

don : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; New York : Young, 1900 ; pp. xvi + 115 ; 1s. 6d.) This little volume is an excellent selection of gems from Augustine's immortal work, *The City of God*. These selections are accompanied by notes and explanations, and condensations which add much to their value. The author's preface is really a valuable introduction and should have been so named.—*Charlemagne (Charles the Great)*, the Hero of Two Nations. By H. W. Carless Davis. (New York : Putnam, 1900 ; pp. xvi + 338 ; \$1.50.) The object of this volume of the "Heroes of the Nations" series is to set out in clear relief the personality of the great western emperor and to show his influence upon European history. In the accomplishment of this end the author has used only such facts as would serve his immediate purpose. But he has necessarily been led into the leading facts of the social, religious, and political institutions of the eighth and ninth centuries. He has not only used the best secondary sources of information, as Waitz, Gregorovius, Coulanges, Mombert, and Hodgkin, but above all he has based his narrative on a study of the chronicles, diplomata, and literature of the period. The book contains many illustrations and several valuable maps. The opening sentences are : "It is hard to picture the state of Europe eleven hundred and fifty years ago, when Charles the Great was a boy at his mother's knee. Since that date even the obdurate facts of physical geography have been altered in themselves or in their significance to man. Provinces now among the most productive in the west were then clothed with dense forests or intersected by pestilent marshes. . . . Roads were few and seldom used for peaceful traffic : the fear of thieves and toll collectors kept would-be travelers at home." The reader who begins with these easy but graphic sentences will read on. The author, while appreciating the difficulties of the legend that Charles was buried sitting in a chair of state, and the statement that in the year 1000 Otto III. found the body as represented in the legend, seems inclined to the belief that it may not have been impossible.—*De l'authenticité de la légende de St. François dite Des trois compagnons*. Par Paul Sabatier. (Paris : Alcan, 1901 ; pp. 43.) The legend of the three companions of St. Thomas was pronounced by P. Van Ortrov to be, in its traditional form, an imitation, the work of a forger of the end of the thirteenth century. Sabatier, the author of the well-known life of St. Francis, takes issue in this pamphlet of forty-two pages and seems to make out a very good case.—*Johann von Wiclifs Lehren von der Einteilung der Kirche und von der Stellung der weltlichen Gewalt*. Von

Hermann Fürstenau. (Berlin: R. Gaertner (Hermann Heyfelder), 1900; pp. 117; M. 2.80.) We have in this pamphlet a careful review of Wiclif's doctrines of the division of the church and of the establishment of the secular authorities. The author is upon the whole inclined to minimize the importance of Wiclif as a reformer. He thinks that Wiclif did not have a very clear conception of the difference between *ecclesia*, *regnum*, and *respublica*, or church and state. He was still on mediæval ground. At best he was only feeling his way toward the great movement which was finally to come in the sixteenth century. Although his efforts were without immediate consequence in England, yet through Hus and his followers they became widely known on the continent and exercised an important influence upon the German reformers. Just to what extent this is true, he says, should be the subject of a special investigation; and he thinks of the present study as a preparation for such an investigation.—*Savonarola*. By George M'Hardy. ("The World's Epoch-Makers.") (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. x + 273; \$1.25.) The biographies of great men are never finally written. They are subjects of abiding and ever-deepening interest. Their personalities strike new affinities in each new student. While the central facts remain about the same, they appear in new relations, and these new relations show the character of the hero in a somewhat new light. This is true in the case of Savonarola. There are many new lives of him, and there will be many more, and all of them will, as they are true, be well received by the reading public. So, in addition to the incomparable work of Villari and the valuable work of Clark, and others, we welcome this little volume of M'Hardy. Necessarily dependent, in a very large measure, upon his predecessors, he has given us a fresh and fascinating account of the great Florentine preacher. Many general readers, who would not have time for the two large volumes of Villari, will find in this little volume exactly what they want: a short, complete, vivid, accurate account of Savonarola and his environment at Florence. The author has what we think the common misapprehension of a reformer, namely, that he only becomes a reformer when he openly attacks the structure of some existing organization, whereas this is the very last thing that he does. He has become a reformer as soon as his heart has met with a radical change, and this often takes place without the reformer being conscious of it. The outward acts of reformation follow often considerably later. In the two well-known accounts of Savonarola at Lorenzo's deathbed, the author takes the one that gives the prince the preacher's blessing.

This is rather more in line with the present tendency to recognize Lorenzo's real merits and mitigate the frate's harshness.—*Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated? An Inquiry*. By J. L. O'Neil. (Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1900; pp. viii + 202; \$0.75.) At the time of Savonarola's death the question as to the reality of his excommunication was warmly debated. But since the event, for four hundred years, it has been assumed by most historians. But in connection with the celebration of the fourth centenary of his martyrdom the question has been reopened. First of all, Savonarola's successor, Father Lottini, the present vicar of St. Mark's congregation, "simply but clearly draws attention to the nature of the pontifical command, and of the censure attached, and claims that the friar did not commit the prohibited acts, and that consequently he did not render himself amenable to the penalty of excommunication." Careful study of this work has led the author of the book before us to certain definite conclusions of his own. In five chapters he gives the facts, briefs, and letters; treats the question of censures; and discusses whether the friar really incurred the censure of excommunication, and whether he gave scandal. After sifting all the evidence, he concludes that Savonarola was not really excommunicated. The book makes an interesting chapter in church history.—*Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli, 1484-1531*, the Reformer of German Switzerland. Edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1901; pp. 258; \$1.25; sold by Longmans, Green & Co.) One of the most hopeful signs for the future of historical scholarship in our country is the growing desire to get knowledge at first hand. Interpreters may not intend to twist or overlook facts, but very few of them fail to do so in all matters where their favorite theories are involved. To meet this wholesome demand the press is putting out a large variety of translations and reprints from original sources of information on subjects in which wide differences of opinion have obtained. The University of Pennsylvania has been among the foremost promoters of this new diffusion of light. The book before us is one of the best contributions to the subject. The university was fortunate in securing Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson to edit the book. While he claims that his own part is "very modest," it is really very important. The value of his general oversight, his introductions and notes, can hardly be overestimated. The book contains five selected works of Zwingli: the visit of the episcopal delegation to Zurich, April, 1522; the petition of the eleven priests to be allowed to marry; the acts of

the first Zurich disputation, 1523; the Zurich marriage ordinance, 1525; the refutation of the tricks of the catabaptists, 1527.—*Richelieu and the Growth of French Power*. By James Breck Perkins. (New York: Putnam, 1900; pp. xiii + 359; \$1.50.) This is another volume in the series, "The Heroes of the Nations." It has the same general characteristics, such as maps and illustrations, and is, we think, worthy to rank with the work of Mr. Davis. The author, it will be remembered, had already written a *History of France under Mazarin*, and in this work had necessarily reviewed the administration of Richelieu. Thus out of abundant knowledge, gained from long familiarity with the best sources of information, Perkins has contributed an important chapter to European history.—*Papsttum und Kaisertum*. Universalhistorische Skizzen. Von Richard Schwemer. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1899; pp. 158; M. 2.50.) In this brochure we have a very clear and succinct statement of the relations of the papacy and the empire in the Middle Ages, and an outlook as to future possible relations. The author shows these two central powers in their united growth, and in their separate developments before and after the Reformation. He shows, too, their differences in nature and purpose, and the fixed determination of the papacy once more to subordinate the empire. He says we may smile at the thought, as we confidently rest on the conviction that the empire is to endure forever; but that the curia, which reckons not by years, but by centuries, sees in all independent states only phases which pass by. A real peace between the modern state and the papacy is not possible, because they are radically opposed; and the papacy has no thought of going to the wall. Dr. Schwemer's thoughtful study deserves a careful reading.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*A Treatise on the History of Confession Until it Developed into Auricular Confession, A. D. 1215*. By C. M. Roberts. (London: Clay; New York: Macmillan; pp. viii + 124; \$1, net.) After the splendid treatise on *Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, by H. C. Lea, this work hardly seems necessary, and we think that a compendium of Lea's book would have better answered the purpose, for this little volume contains nothing very new or original. It confines itself entirely to a history of the customs and powers of the church as to confession, and does not enter at all upon a discussion of its ethical value. Written by a Protestant, the "animus" of the book is clearly against sacramental confession. It is frankly allowed that some sort



of confession must exist in any religious organization. While it is true that the Scriptures declare that only to God confession be made, it is also true that there is a longing in the human heart to pour out its burden to a fellow-heart, and to hear and be assured that, if penitent, pardon has been granted. When a believer is a member of a communion which teaches, as the vast Roman, Anglican, and Greek communions plainly teach, that God has given power and commandment to his ministers to "declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins," it is of course to one of those ministers confession will be made, and from him the assurance of pardon will be sought and will have weight. It is a foolish and unwarranted idea, although held by the great majority of Protestants, that any priest can, of himself, and without any reference to confession to God, pardon sins. He is bound to teach that, unless a sincere confession has been made to God, his words are of no effect. The author, we think, clearly establishes the point that it was not until the eleventh century that it became the absolute rule that confessions must be made to a priest as necessary to a reception of holy communion.—CLINTON LOCKE.

*La Réforme en Bourgogne.* Notice sur les églises réformées de la Bourgogne avant la révocation de l'édit de Nantes. Par F. Naef. Editée et augmentée d'une préface, de notes, de deux appendices, d'une carte et de photographies, par R. Claparède. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901; pp. 257; fr. 3.50.) This posthumous publication has little interest, but much value. It owes its latter quality entirely to its editor, who has so wrought upon the MS. of his departed friend that it presents the most recent information as to the different churches mentioned in the appended notes. M. Naef used perfectly accessible material, but M. Claparède has had to search for his. The book consists of a biographical preface upon M. Naef, then Naef's introduction, and his historical notes upon the French Protestant churches of Old Burgundy, except, unfortunately, those of the conference of Gex and the churches of the city of Lyons. These he excepts for reasons stated in the introduction. The appendix by Claparède gives a list of the refugees from Burgundy admitted to Geneva from 1539 to 1792, and a chronological table of the principal events relative to the establishment of the Reformed church in Old Burgundy. There are photographic illustrations and an index. M. Naef's notes are divided into three parts: (1) general remarks upon the origin of the church under

consideration; (2) remarks upon the principal families; (3) names of the pastors. Manifestly a book of this character has no attractions to the general reader, but to one who is studying the history of Protestantism in France it brings conveniently together much information not otherwise easily obtainable.—SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

*Om den svenska kyrkoreformationen uti Ingermanland.* Ett bidrag till svenska kyrkans historia åren 1617–1704. Af C. Öhlander. (Upsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1900; pp. 204; Kr. 2.25.) That portion of the Russian empire which is termed the Baltic provinces and includes Ingermanland, Esthland, Livland, and Courland was once a Swedish possession. By the treaty of Stolbova 1617 Ingermanland was ceded by the czar of Russia to the victorious Gustavus Adolphus. The province was inhabited by Germans, Finns, and Russians, the last named a very rude and ignorant people of the Greek Catholic faith. During the successive reigns of Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, Charles X., Charles XI., and Charles XII. the Swedish government made its mission to establish order in the province, to organize schools and academies, and to win the populace for the Lutheran faith. It is of this effort made by the Swedish government and established church that Dr. Öhlander gives us a very interesting and fascinating description. The author must be given much credit for the gathering of material and an extensive study of various documents.—C. G. LAGERGREN.

*The Protestant Church in Germany.* By George H. Schodde. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Pub. Society, 1901; pp. 112; \$0.40.) We know not where in brief compass one can find a more luminous survey of the origin, organization, confessions, theology, and missionary activity of the Lutheran church in the German empire. When treating of Catholic and Reformed Christianity and of the radical theology of the universities, probably the author's judgments are somewhat warped by his unswerving devotion to the historical type of Lutheranism, but this partisan leaning can be in large part remedied by the informing facts with which he has packed his manual and upon which the reader can put his own interpretations.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*Die Anfänge der Bräderkirche in England.* Von Gerhard A. Wauer. (Leipzig: Jansa, 1900; pp. 158; M. 2.50.) This is an important piece of work, thoroughly done. It opens with a list of sources of very great value and is followed by a treatise of three chapters in which

these sources are dealt with carefully and with great candor. The first chapter treats of the origin and history of the Moravian society in England. The second describes the religious condition of England at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and especially in the circle of Wesley and Hutton. The third chapter discusses the beginnings of the revived Moravian society in England and treats especially of Zinzendorf, the Fetter Lane society, and of John Wesley's relation to the Moravians. The sketches of distinguished men, such as Comenius, Peter Böhler, Count Zinzendorf, William Law, James Hutton, Spangenberg, and John Wesley, are admirable. The author has traced with very great care the causes of the break with Wesley, which, in his judgment, was rather a gain than a loss to the Moravian society, inasmuch as it permitted the society to develop homogeneously. He rightly points out that the arrival of Molther precipitated the crisis at Fetter Lane and properly characterizes this influential man. Those who are interested in the relations of Moravianism to Methodism, and especially in their likenesses and contrasts, can find no better account of them than in this excellent dissertation.—CHARLES J. LITTLE.

*Die Erschütterung des Optimismus durch das Erdbeben von Lissabon 1755.* Von W. Lütgert.—*Was ist heute die religiöse Aufgabe der Universitäten?* Von A. Schlatter. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," 1901; V, 3.) (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; pp. 79; M. 1.20.) By far the greater part of this pamphlet (59 pages) is devoted to the first essay, which, we believe, may briefly be characterized as the ever-recurring difficulty to reconcile the destruction of human life, through the agency of natural catastrophes, with a belief in a beneficent providence. In the first part of this essay the writer gives a brief sketch of the optimism prevailing in England, France, and Germany in the eighteenth century, and shows how severely this religious and philosophical sentiment was shaken by the destruction of Lisbon. He devotes much space to the interpretations the leading French and German writers of that day sought to give of the catastrophe, the majority of whom, he says, openly renounced their former belief that this world was the best one possible. In the second part of his essay the writer shows that it is quite as possible to believe in the providence of God as in Christ's atoning sacrifice. The speech of Dr. Schlatter was delivered before the University of Tübingen, at the birthday celebration of Emperor William II., on January 27, 1901.

The speaker firmly believes that the German universities have a religious function. In the factional religious life of the country today the universities should be the one place where the opposing and conflicting views and beliefs should be given a patient hearing and an unbiased investigation. He thinks it was a distinct loss for Protestantism that the Anabaptist movement in the sixteenth century was discarded by the animosities of that time. The universities cannot maintain this leadership in the religious thought of Germany unless they manifest this hospitable, broad spirit.—*Die Flugschrift "Onus Ecclesiae"* (1519). Mit einem Anhang über sozial- und kirchenpolitische Prophetien. Ein Beitrag zur Sitten- und Kulturgeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters. Von Heinrich Werner. (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 106; M. 2.) How many voices were raised in solemn protest against the avaricious and shameful practices of the Roman curia during the closing years of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, whose names were never enrolled among the followers of either the German or the Swiss reformers! Many of these felt the injury that was being done the cause of religion quite as keenly as did Luther, but they had not his courage. Such a one is the author of *Onus Ecclesiae*, an excellent description of which, together with copious notes, is given us in the book under review. The writer of *Onus Ecclesiae* is, according to Dr. Werner, Berthold, the learned suffragan bishop of Salzburg, later bishop of Chiemsee. On the subject of indulgences Berthold speaks like Luther; on the scriptural authority of the popes he has even clearer ideas than Luther had in 1519, the date when this book was first published; but this is the great difference between the two men: Berthold believes the papacy can be reformed only by the personal appearance of Christ, who would himself preside at a general council of all Christendom. He is an adherent of the prophetic-apocalyptic views of Joachim of Floris, and these views are primarily responsible for his pessimism, and an explanation also for his inability to enter into a contest against the evils he so well understands. In the last chapter of the book before us Dr. Werner has given us an interesting account of the influence which these mediæval apocalyptic dreams and prophecies have exerted from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Das Wesen des Christentums und die Zukunftsreligion.* Von Ludwig Lemme. (Gr. Lichterfelde-Berlin: Runge, 1901; pp. vii + 218; M.

3.50.)—*Das Christentum von D. Ad. Harnack nach dessen sechzehn Vorlesungen*. Von Ed. Rupprecht. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. xiii + 278; M. 4.) These books both represent replies to Harnack by orthodox Lutherans. Both accuse him of making "a meager extract from the synoptic gospels, which is compatible with naturalism" (Lemme, p. 131). Both apply to him epithets such as "deist," "rationalist," "Pelagian," "representative of enlightened Judaism," etc. (see, e. g., Rupprecht, p. 213). In method of polemic, however, the two books differ. Lemme argues from a philosophical point of view. He can see in Harnack's attempt to portray religion as a process in consciousness nothing but subjectivism, dealing with the idea of God, but not finding God himself. He insists upon a transcendent and incomprehensible messianic mission and consciousness in Jesus as the only protection against such empty subjectivism (pp. 92 ff.). One is led to ask what advantage is gained by substituting a doctrine of a mysterious Messiah for a subjective idea of God. Rupprecht bases his argument on his theory of verbal inspiration. He fills 300 pages with an incoherent mixture of passionate protest, religious exhortation, detailed mustering of proof-texts, and sarcastic comments on Harnack's "Teufelsexegese" (p. 158). Every page bristles with italics. In spirit and method the book reminds one of Epiphanius. Lutheran orthodoxy must produce more penetrating criticisms than these, if it expects to gain a hearing.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Seguiamo la Razione; La Chiesa*. Di Geremia Bonomelli. (Milano: L. F. Cogliati, 1900; pp. 384; L. 3.50.) This is the third volume from the author under the general expression: "Let us follow Reason." The first was on God, the Author of the natural order; the second, on the God-man, Jesus Christ. These little volumes, taken together, give an animated, succinct, clear, and popular view of the whole Roman theological system. In this third volume we have a description and defense of the church, its organization and institutions. The author, of course, holds to the infallibility of the pope, and tries to explain it in a way that will make it acceptable to reason. He maintains the Romanist position that it is necessary to belong to the Romanist church in order to attain salvation. He discusses the Inquisition and its aims, and shows the difference between the Catholic and the Spanish Inquisition, and rejoins to the Protestants that they were not free from persecutions that amounted to inquisition. Clerical celibacy is defended as on the whole far better for the men who devote themselves exclusively

to the work of saving men and building them up in the faith. He believes that the Roman system is entirely consistent with the highest and truest freedom. The author is not blind to the fact that great errors have been committed by the church, and that particular institutions have been peculiarly subject to shocking errors. But despite them all he stands by the entire system. The general reader who would like an entirely candid and clear statement of the Romanist doctrines will find it in these volumes.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*La Mère de Dieu et la Mère des Hommes*, d'après les pères et la théologie. Par J.-B. Terrien. Première partie: *La Mère de Dieu*. 2 tomes. (Paris: Lethielleux; pp. xxii + 396; 426; fr. 8.) The author attempts in this elaborate work to translate the emotional adoration of the Virgin into explicit doctrines. He sets forth the unique character of Mary as the mother of God, and from this ideal he deduces all her special prerogatives, such as her immaculate conception, her supernatural knowledge, perfect merit, assumption, and coronation. The work admirably illustrates the method and spirit of the Jesuits. Unquestioning loyalty to authority of the church and intense religious devotion characterize every page. The Catholic patrology is diligently cited in confirmation of all statements—always with the assumption that references to the Virgin implicitly, if not expressly, corroborate the dogma promulgated by Pius IX. All difficulties, real or imagined, are met by casuistry. The most elementary principles of historical criticism are unknown to the author. For example, although he is unable to find any authoritative witness to the corporeal assumption of the Virgin earlier than the sixth century, he finds the doctrine implicitly taught in Scripture (e. g., Luke 1:28 and Gen. 3:14, 15). "It seems then reasonable to conclude that the belief in the corporeal assumption of the mother of God could, if it seemed to the church opportune, be promulgated as a truth revealed by God for the faith of Christians" (Vol. II, p. 361). With such presuppositions the work is beyond the reach of scientific criticism, because it deals with mythology rather than with facts of history. Yet the contemplation of the ideal mother of God evokes a passionate piety which reveals the fact that for Catholics religious conviction is independent of historic truth. Outside the Catholic church these volumes will be of little interest.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Old and New Certainty of the Gospel*. By Alexander Robinson.

(London: Williams & Norgate, 1900; pp. 166; 2s. 6d.) This is a plea for liberalism in religion and theology *versus* literalism. The author would substitute for papal church guidance, on the one hand, and for biblical guidance, on the other, "the light of Christian influences, which is made up of thoughts, sentiments, and fancies, which often correct the light of Bible literalism. But it has, in common with that light, a historical connection with the life on earth of Jesus Christ." There is too little care taken to show that the errors and evils of literalism are due to the wrong interpretation of the letter, and not to the letter itself. Christ's use of the Old Testament shows this.—Geo. D. B. PEPPER.

The *Monatsschrift für die kirchliche Praxis* is a new series of the well-known periodical *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*. It is edited by Professor O. Baumgarten, of Kiel, in collaboration with Professor Drews, of Jena, and Pastors Niebergall, of Kirn, and Teichmann, of Frankfurt a. M., and published monthly by J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen and Leipzig; annual subscription, M. 6; single numbers, averaging from 32 to 40 pages, M. 0.75. The editor contributes a monthly report called "Kirchliche Chronik," and, in addition, many valuable articles and notes. The series (1901) is opened by Professor Drews's interesting article on "Religiöse Volkskunde, eine Aufgabe der praktischen Theologie." The instalments thus far published contain much of great interest, also to transatlantic readers, especially pastors of German congregations, to whom the periodical is heartily commended.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Geschichte der alten und mittelalterlichen Musik.* Von A. Möhler. (Leipzig: Göschen, 1900; pp. 177; M. 0.80.) In this little compendium the author has presented in an unusually clear and comprehensive way the most of what is valuable to the student of music history in the development of the art prior to 1600. In his treatment of disputed matters, e. g., Greek scales and their development to mediæval modes, the work of Gregory the Great, notations, etc., his careful references to the latest research, and to the grounds for varying opinions, make the book especially valuable. Particular commendation should be given to the unusually full treatment of instrumental and of secular music, in which most of the histories are lamentably deficient.—*Choirs and Choral Music* ("The Music Lover's Library"). By Arthur Mees. (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. 251; \$1.25, net.) The author presents

this book to the "amateur" who wishes light on "the question as to how chorus-singing and choral music came to be what they are." Incidentally he hopes to demonstrate "how puissant a factor in shaping the course of musical progress chorus-singing has been in the past, and how necessary it is to the dissemination of sound musical taste at the present time." The result is a readable little volume, covering much of the general history of music up to the seventeenth century, and offering pleasantly its stores of more modern material. It is doubtful if technical discussions such as those upon mediæval notations, polyphonic experiments, and the development of the passion texts come properly within its scope. But a large amount of information about choral development in more modern times renders it of undoubted interest to music lovers, who will enjoy comparing, for example, the chorus of fourteen men and six boys that assisted Handel at the first performance of the "Messiah," the greater one of two hundred and seventy-one, including sixty male altos, which helped to give the "Elijah" its first hearing one hundred and five years later, with our own twentieth-century organizations. The final chapter of the book is on the ideal chorus and conductor, and makes the prophecy that chorus-singing at present is but in its infancy.—GEORGE COLEMAN Gow.

*Geschichte der kirchlichen Leichenfeier.* Gekrönte Preisschrift von Ludwig Ruland. (Regensburg: Manz, 1901; pp. viii + 301; M. 3.) This learned but clearly written work on the history of church burial customs is altogether from the Roman Catholic point of view. It promises a preliminary study of non-Christian and Jewish burial, but what it furnishes on these points is superficial and unsatisfactory. Its real value lies in its collection of materials throwing light upon the post-biblical burial service and the regulations on the subject in the Roman church. A specimen of its biblical exegesis is the interpretation of 2 Tim. 1:18 as a prayer for the dead. An amusing chapter denounces cremation as anti-Christian and materialistic. Indeed, there is much entertaining reading in this book as well as useful information.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*Religion in Literature and Religion in Life.* Being two Papers written by Stopford A. Brooke. (New York: Crowell, 1901; pp. 59; \$0.60.) The more important, because the more original, of these beautiful and inspiring essays gives a brief but comprehensive and broadly



sympathetic estimate of the life of the spirit as it has found expression in poetry, with emphasis on the work of Tennyson and Browning, Arnold and Clough, Morris and Rossetti.—MYRA REYNOLDS.

*The Trend of the Centuries; or, The Historical Unfolding of the Divine Purpose.* By Andrew W. Archibald. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1901; pp. 419; \$1.25.) This volume contains twenty essays or discourses upon conspicuous historical events. The author has so handled his topics as to show that these events were vitally linked together. Each prepared the way for, and ushered in, another, while each and all contributed to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. Among the subjects discussed are such as these: "The Gulf Stream of Messianic Prophecy," "The Heroic Jeremiah and the Downfall of Judah," "World Empires," "The Fulness of Time," "The Crescent and the Cross;" and then follow topics covering the period of the Reformation and the discovery and settlement of this continent. While the matter of these discourses is not new, it is put in a fresh and fascinating way. The great epochs of history are so skilfully and vividly portrayed that the reader becomes an interested and delighted spectator of the great and inspiring acts of God's providence. The author is acquainted with the best thought of the day pertaining to the subjects that he unfolds, and makes due recognition and use of it. His style also is direct, clear, and forceful. His book will interest and greatly benefit the rank and file in all Christian congregations. The volume has no index, a culpable oversight!—*The Clergy in American Life and Letters.* By Daniel Dulany Addison. (New York: Macmillan, 1900; pp. ix + 400; \$1.25.) We have in this volume a rapid sketch of the achievements of the American clergy in history, poetry, romance, and denominational literature, together with monographs on Timothy Dwight, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Phillips Brooks. A very complete index adds value to the book. No adequate discussion of so many topics can be compressed into so narrow a space. To attempt it necessarily results in superficial impression. The literary work of the clergy in colonial times is treated with far greater thoroughness by Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature*. And while the monographs of our author are interesting, fairly portraying the lives and characters of the distinguished preachers of whom he writes, yet here also there is a lack of thoroughness in his treatment. But the book, so far as it goes, is well written. The style is clear and attractive. The volume

will serve a good purpose. It will often furnish in small compass just the information wanted, and will probably awaken in the minds of its readers a desire for some more comprehensive discussion.—*A New World and an Old Gospel*. By James M. Taylor. (Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland, 1901; pp. 44; \$0.10.) During the past century the world has become new. This transformation has been brought about by the enlargement of scientific knowledge, the multiplication of mechanical contrivances, devices for fleet traveling and intercommunication, and adjustments necessitated by the discovery of evolution. But amid all these mutations human nature remains unchanged. Its needs are ever the same. And the old gospel, with its immutable truth, can fully satisfy those needs. So men must preach it; not sociology, economics, literature, politics, but Christ, who can transform and save all who come into fellowship with him. This is a timely and weighty address, and should be read by every Christian pastor.—*Prayer; a Practical Treatise*. By A. F. Douglas. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901; pp. 284; 3s. 6d.) This is indeed a practical treatise on prayer. There is no attempt at fine writing; but we have here plain, clear, suggestive talks. The simple aim is to do good. The writer is evidently acquainted with the philosophical discussions of his difficult subject; but he purposely ignores them, and confines himself to what the Scriptures teach, together with the confirmatory facts of Christian experience. His discussion is eminently sane. The limitations of prayer are fully recognized and set forth. The law of prayer, the prayer of faith, the matter of prayer, delay in answering prayer, the Lord's Prayer, in short, prayer in all its phases, is discussed with luminousness and rare sense. But no book is perfect; and this one is marred by repetitions, the elimination of which would greatly enhance its value. Repetition in a series of sermons is often demanded, but in a book to be read at leisure is wearisome.—*Evening Thoughts; Being Notes of a Threefold Pastorate*. By Paton J. Gloag. (New York: Scribner, 1900; pp. x+284; \$1.50.) This book consists of thirty essays, in which the author discusses some fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and many phases of Christian experience. His thought is clear and at times profound. While, however, his style is pleasing and vigorous, it is in emphasis a dead level. Each paragraph has about the same strength as all the others. As one reads he is wearied with the monotony. There is also considerable reiteration, making the impression that these essays are probably sermons revamped. And the author evidently nodded when, in his

"Prefatory Note," he wrote of his "two first parishes." But in spite of these minor defects the volume cannot fail to be useful to the general reader. We especially commend the suggestive discussions of the following subjects: "The Mystery of the Incarnation," "Obscurity of a Future State," "Christ's Triumph in His Cross," "Christian Courage," and "Besetting Sins."—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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## THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF JAPAN.

By CLAY MACCAULEY,  
Boston, Mass.

It is difficult to give an adequate answer to the question: "What is the present condition of the Japanese people so far as it involves their religious faith and life?" Such is the movement of affairs in Japan today that for a satisfactory reply large knowledge of Japanese history is needed; also some acquaintance with the psychical characteristics distinctive of the people; especially must there be an intelligent, sympathetic, justly discriminating judgment used among the effects of many of the alien influences operative in the empire during the half-century just passed. Fifty years ago a like inquiry could have been easily satisfied. At that time society had been wrought into a comparatively stable organization. Politically, industrially, socially, religiously, the ways of the fathers were, with but little divergence, the ways of the children. Notably the religious condition of the people as a whole could have been described with approximate exactness. The way for our inquiry may be made clearer if we recollect somewhat at the outset the Japan of the middle of the nineteenth century.

From near the beginning of the seventeenth century until then, the "Empire of the Rising Sun" had been practically a land shut up. By government edict, "so long as the sun should

shine," it had been commanded that no foreigners should enter the country or natives leave it. This enforced seclusion began after a century's portentous intercourse with some commercial and ecclesiastical emissaries sent from the south of Europe. The peril of national ruin under the political-religious aggressions of the foreigners seemed then to the authorities to be a danger they dared not ignore. In 1624 a proclamation of banishment for all strangers, excepting a few Dutchmen at Nagasaki and the Chinese, was issued; all navigation other than that of coasting was forbidden to the Japanese themselves. Thirteen years later the Christians remaining of the multitude of converts effected by the labors of the Roman Catholic missionaries of the sixteenth century, made desperate by the persecutions which continually beset them, arose in rebellion. They were soon conquered. Before the middle of the seventeenth century "this evil sect" from the West had seemingly been crushed out of existence, and the plantings of the foreigners in the country's politics and social life had been eradicated. The people settled down to following undisturbed the traditions, ways, and institutions of their ancestors, to find in these, thenceforward, the true scope for their life, and to perfect these for the future welfare of the nation. During the next two hundred years Japan rested under a profound political peace. Socially, the system of the fathers was firmly established and elaborated; religiously, the faiths dominant before the invasion of Christianity were interwrought more and more into a homogeneous body of thought and a cult for the life. In this long seclusion the Japanese people became quiescent under one body of law, of custom, and of religious faith and worship. This is generalizing broadly. The national seclusion was not absolutely unbroken throughout the two centuries. Nor were industry and art, philosophy and religious creed, wholly without change except that of development from within. Taking into consideration, however, all the influences from the outer world which may have entered Japan then, allowing for all that may be noted as social and religious progress, the period of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, these notwithstanding, is to be regarded as a time of national quiet, and for

the larger part of popular unification and establishment under the faiths and customs of the past.

What was especially distinctive of this ancient heritage? A religious principle. Regulative of all generalization concerning Japan, until within the passing generation, should be the fact that the political system of the empire, the social order of the people, and their intercourse with mankind rest ultimately upon the faith that the imperial family is of divine descent, and that the person of the emperor is the earthly representative of the gods, who have made them and their home their care. Japanese history emerges from tradition early in the Christian centuries. Before the sixth century most of the tribes of southern and central Japan, conquered by invaders from the southwest, had become one nation with their conquerors, all held together by loyalty and reverence for their common ruler as a person of divine ancestry, clothed with the authority of "heaven." The goddess of the sun was pre-eminent among the celestial beings as ancestress of the imperial family. The creator of the islands of Japan—lands central in the universe—was the father of the sun-goddess. Whatever there was of organic Japan in the sixth Christian century had its bond and motive power in reverence for the reigning emperor and in worship of his ancestors. Associated with this devotion there was an aboriginal religious cult which had for its objects of worship myriads of persons and of personifications of natural things and phenomena, but this mythology and its ritual were always subordinated to the religion which gathered about the divine emperor and his ancestry. At the close of the sixth century the empire underwent its first great historic revolution. From that time civilized Japan dates its existence; the Japan of popularized letters, of written law, of science, of art, of formal and confessional religion. Buddhism, the aggressive missionary religion of the Orient, entering the country in the year 552, soon secured a permanent foothold. Before a hundred years had passed, it had gained the faith of both the imperial court and the larger part of the populace. But Buddhism did not affect radically or harmfully the fundamental national principle. Shōtoku Taishi, an imperial

prince, known as principal founder and promoter of the invading Buddhism, wrote in his "Laws": "To the commands of the emperor men must be duly obedient. The prince must be looked upon as the heaven and his subjects be regarded as the earth." The native religion, called thenceforward Shintō—"the Way of the Gods"—was in large part taken into, and transfigured by, the new faith and worship. The aboriginal pantheon was accepted by the missionaries of the Buddha. Some of the ancient gods of Shintō were proclaimed to be but deities known in India and revealed under other names in Japan. The imperial traditions were made the care of the guardians of the new faith.

Many important political and social changes accompanied this religious revolution. The institutions and methods of China were in large measure imitated by rulers and people. The imperial administration became oligarchic. The emperors gradually withdrew from active direction of the state. At length the imperial person was lost to public view in a mysterious seclusion, from which it did not reappear until within the past century—1868. Yet, even in these changes, the ancient faith and fundamental principle of the nation did not perish or suffer acknowledged harm. The Shōgunate was established in the twelfth century. Thereby an imperial subject became in fact monarch of the empire. For about six hundred years this practical usurpation of the emperor's powers continued undisturbed. The families holding the office were different at times, but the office was the same. Even under the Shōgunate, however, no attempt was made to weaken in theory the one divine bond which from time immemorial had held together the political and social structure. The primeval principle remained supreme over the empire. Nor did the wide spread of Confucianism about three hundred years ago among the scholars and upper classes injure the ancient imperial dignity. On the contrary, Confucianism, through its indifference to speculation on theological matters, had no conflict with either institutional Buddhism or Shintō doctrine and rite. Rather, it strengthened the traditional bond between the invisible emperor and his realm by means of its own fundamental tenets of unquestioning submission to parents and

to rulers. Its disciples did much positively to perpetuate among the common people the ancient principle of their state. So, then, the course of the Japanese people, through all its vicissitudes, had gone steadily forward under faith in the divine descent and authority of the empire's ruler. Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism all gave this faith their support, and when Commodore Perry, fifty years ago, broke down the barriers raised between the Mikado's land and the other countries of the world, they were in full co-operation under the Tokugawa Shōgunate, guiding the moral and religious life of the people. A Japanese, eminent today as a teacher of philosophy and Christianity, writing of the time when his country's present era began, says :

My earlier education was almost entirely in the hands of my father and an old Buddhist priest. The priest taught me many Confucian books, being a good Confucian scholar himself. It may sound strange that a Buddhist priest should teach the Confucian writings. But in Japan the religions live on good terms with one another. Our people draw their spiritual nutrition from Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. These systems seem to forget their discrepancies and to form a sort of religious composite, each supplying the deficiencies of the others. Shintoism furnishes the objects of worship; Confucianism offers the rules of life; and Buddhism supplies the way of future salvation. In every household there were visible representations of these three religions: the Confucian books; the "Buddha case" containing the wooden tablets with the Buddhistic names of the deceased ancestors of the family; and the "god-shelf" dedicated to the sacred symbols and representations of Shintō gods. My father who taught me the books of Confucius also taught me to worship the sun, the moon, and the stars, and often took me to the famous Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines of the neighborhood.

This is a fair picture of the religious condition of a Japanese household of fifty years ago. It represents a whole nation as placid and homogeneous under faiths dominated by one principle hallowed by ancient tradition.

Even the one disturbing and portentous force which had its beginnings and rapidly, though quietly, gained power among the student classes during the Tokugawa Shōgunate was generated through devotion to the old faith in the imperial sanctity and authority. The Tokugawa era was the time when a perfected feudalism as mode of government had harmonized, or suppressed, the conflicting local ambitions which from the twelfth



to the seventeenth century had involved the people in constantly recurring civil wars. The heads of the many clans composing the empire, the *daimyos*, deprived of means or opportunity for political agitation, gave their interest to other things. Some of them devoted their time and wealth to the encouragement of learning and the arts. Japan's distinctive civilization was at high flood. But the usurping Shōgun had become so great and so evident a ruler that the emperor in the popular imagination had almost lost reality as a human monarch. It is said that at the beginning of the Tokugawa Shōgunate the common people scarcely knew the names of their emperors. Within a hundred years, however, a Japanese "revival of learning" took place. Under the patronage of the Prince of Mito, some scholars, having familiarized themselves with the writings of the ancients, compiled a *History of Japan*. The effect of this work was to turn a large part of public attention directly to the fact that the emperor is the true source of civil authority, and to arouse the feeling that he should be lord, not in theory only, but in act, of his divine domain. This revivification in popular thought of the ancient principle of the state, increasing the more strongly in the absence of distracting influences, grew steadily during the eighteenth century. In fact, it is held now that "the real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868" was the scholarly Prince of Mito and his student followers. The religious effect of the Mito historical movement was the formation of a group of scholars in the latter part of the eighteenth century devoted to the study of Shintō as it was in the far past, and to the beginning of an effort to restore a "purified" Shintō to popular service. Naturally, consequent upon the labors of the historians and the "pure Shintoists," the person of the Mikado became more and more a reality in popular thought, and the influence of those who were seeking the restoration of the emperor to active sovereignty became increasingly wider and more powerful. Signs of the coming revolution against the Shōgunate were evident even before the American fleet entered Yedo bay in the summer of 1853.

Looking back over what has been said, we see that the career of the Japanese people from the earliest times to the middle of the last century, through all the changes which befell it—first, by the incoming of the religion of the Buddha; then, by the invasion of Chinese civilization; by the transition of the form of government to that of an oligarchy; through the struggles of rival clans, ambitious of the seat of power, for possession of the emperor's person; through the rise and overthrow of the many Shōguns who were autocrats of the empire for six centuries; through the dominion over scholarly Japan of the philosophy of Confucius; and, finally, in the revival of "pure Shintō"—through all these things we see this people guided by the traditional principle of the descent of the Mikado from the gods, clothed with divine authority as lord spiritual and temporal of the empire.

But during the past fifty years this condition of the people, comparatively so simple and easy of comprehension, has become extremely complex and difficult of clear description. Commodore Perry's mission resulted in the opening of the secluded nation to free intercourse with the other peoples of the world. The serene, simply living and thinking Japanese became the objects of the varied and tumultuous thought and life of America and Europe. Stimulated by that, the revived native imperialism led the nation into open revolt against the Shōgunate and brought to pass the restoration of the emperor to actual sovereignty. But more than this: under the intrusion of the agencies of the alien civilization of the West, the unique political, social, and religious order which had been practically perfected in the Tokugawa era was turned into hopeless confusion; even the fundamental principle of the state was subjected to the gravest peril. The present invasion from Europe is very different from that which was repulsed at the opening of the seventeenth century. Then faith was arrayed against faith; the "Vicar of Christ" against the "Son of Heaven." In today's meeting of the West with the East modern science has confronted old faith; internationalism has opposed national isolation. Through the barriers which were broken down fifty years ago the land of

Shintō, Buddhist, and Confucian tradition has been entered by demonstrated and progressing knowledge. Inventive mechanics, international commerce, individualistic rationalism in literature, the arts, and ethics, and, of momentous import, the Christian religion, not only in its Roman Catholic, but also in manifold Protestant forms, and much else under the stimulus of rationalism in religion and in philosophy, have entered there, facing with inevitable antagonism the institutions and ideas of that far eastern civilization; meeting with no effective sheltering shield before it the ages-old faith of the nation in the Mikado as the "Son of Heaven."

Forty-eight years ago the first treaty, opening the "Land of the Rising Sun" to free intercommunication with a foreign country, was signed; thirty-four years ago the "Son of Heaven" was delivered from his thousand years' seclusion in his castle at Kyōto and restored in appearance to absolute monarchy. Here note the sequel. The return of the emperor to visible rule had hardly been secured, when an astounding act, professedly of the Mikado's own initiation and choice, took place. It was nothing less than a popularization of the ancient government. The monarchy was divested of its absolutism. The very champions of the revolution which had been consummated against the Shōgunate, in the name and by virtue of the divine authority of the emperor, were charged by imperial mandate to accept for the nation many of the political, industrial, commercial, educational, and other of the aims and methods of the aggressive civilization of the Occident. It then rapidly became evident that new and old could not thus come together without disastrous feud. The restored imperial reign was named *Meiji* ("enlightened peace"). By imperial authority there was decreed for the empire a constitution, a parliament, popular suffrage, schools for the teaching and development of the sciences, and visibility for, and approach to, the imperial person. Yet, as the course of events soon proved, these things could not be done without thereby laying the traditional divine authority upon an altar for sacrifice by the very forces thus called into action. Probably there is no more pathetic act in the history of

nations than this unconscious movement toward self-destruction of the divinely authorized imperialism. With the giving of the constitution the emperor forever divested himself of the exercise of absolute power. With the establishment of a parliament the direction of the government naturally became thenceforward a resultant of the conflicts of parties. With popular suffrage and the exercise of full civil and religious liberty assured them by the constitution, a new consciousness of independence and personal power was awakened among the people. With popular education based upon the world's histories, literatures, philosophies, and the exact sciences, the ages-long revered mythology and the imperial traditions were exposed to obliteration from the minds of the common people, or, if not that, at least to radical metamorphoses. In its new age Japan has quickly passed under the influences of the whole world's developing life. To this condition the subjects of the ancient empire of the "Son of Heaven" have been brought. They are thus witnesses of, and partakers in, the working of forces which may bring ultimate deliverance, but which, for the present, are like some Samson bringing down huge confusion and ruin. It is impossible for the peoples of the West to appreciate or to understand fully Japan's era of *Meiji*. In Europe and America governments and peoples change. But they change chiefly through the methods of evolution. Among us of the West the processes of political, social, and religious readjustment are as a rule slow and comparatively easy. In Japan a revolution has been made suddenly, and, for the most part, by means of forces altogether alien. Throughout the nation, consequently, though new aims have been distinctly chosen and definite methods followed, there are yet widespread confusion, constantly recurring mistakes, much tentative effort, perplexing uncertainty, apparent fickleness, impulsive advance and reaction, irrational and absurd attempts to associate old and new, grotesque mixing of things past and present. Especially is this record of the effects of the advance of the new age true of the movements of religious faith and practice. In religion, probably more than in any other popular interest, these effects appear. New faiths, urged and supported by enthusiastic zeal,

ready to attack for the sake of conquest, met by conservatism eager for defense under the instinct of self-preservation, result in a condition of thought and life which is in a high degree difficult of comprehension and intelligible presentation. In answering inquiry into the present religious condition of Japan, therefore, we are obliged to deal with both the ancient and the modern faiths operative there as involved in a general confusion, in a complex interaction of many forces which are as yet tentative in their issues. Let us pass in review the main elements in our problem.

1. SHINTŌ.—What has become of this ancient bearer of Japan's religious faith and aim? One of the most powerful movements connected with the overthrow of the Shōgunate and the imperial restoration, we remember, had for its object the return of Shintō, purified, to dominion in the popular mind, and its rehabilitation as the religion of the state. To this end, thirty years ago, Buddhism was deprived, by the renewed imperialism, of government patronage and support. From the year 1871 to 1874 the official forces were employed in confiscating for legitimate uses the old Shintō shrines, together with their sources of revenue, which, in the combination known as *Ryōbu*, had fallen under Buddhist control. In 1872 the "Department of Religion" decreed the restoration of "pure Shintō" to a dominant place as a religious faith and ritual. It issued for the observance of all Japanese this summary of Shintō principles :

1. Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country.
2. Thou shalt clearly understand the principle of heaven and the duty of man.
3. Thou shalt revere the Mikado as thy sovereign and obey the will of his court.

For some time this effort to make Shintō regnant as the popular religion was carried forward. But the attempt, as made, failed. As a formal organization for the expression of the religious life of the people it could not be made to take the place which Buddhism had secured. There are many Shintō shrines cared for at the present day. There are now, among the lower classes, two sub-sects of Shintō, called the *Tenri-kyō* and the *Remmon-kyō*,

whose gods are those of the ancient pantheon; whose rites are described as grossly superstitious; yet whose service to the poorest and lowest classes of the people is said to be beneficial in various ways. Certain dignified Shintō bodies exist, but as religious factors they have no especial significance. A recent judgment passed upon them in a native periodical is that "they are all in a degenerate state. Much is not to be expected of them." The old ritual has official status as a state ceremonial. It is observed regularly in the emperor's household. Imperial messengers are dispatched annually to do reverence at such historic shrines as those of Ise. These shrines are also the goals of pilgrimage for hundreds of thousands of the common people. There, reverence is made to the divine ancestors and their imperial descendants; and charms and relics are purchased for treasure at home. It would be a mistake, however, to regard these pilgrims as avowed or exclusive Shintoists. By far the larger number of them are Buddhists by religious profession. In fact, Shintoism is no longer to be counted among the forms of religion. Within the past three years, by government direction, it has disappeared from the category of religion. It is now to be considered specifically a state ceremonial, maintained as the vehicle of imperial tradition. Placed outside the group of acknowledged forms of religion, it will be free from the embarrassments arising from legislative supervision of the religious denominations. Its maintenance henceforward is to be attempted, so it is said, chiefly for its possible political effect. The imperial tradition needs, now as never before, defense from the dangers which are gathering fast around it. Arinori Mori, one of Japan's greatest new-era leaders, said in the early days of the Restoration: "As to the political use of Shintō, the state is quite right in turning it to account in support of the absolute government which exists in Japan." At the present day it is well for those in authority to seek to safeguard as much as possible the imperial household from the perils which the future may disclose. Nevertheless there is a sense in which Shintō still exists. This must be given its value in any valid consideration of the religious condition of the people. Shintō no longer has official

recognition as a religion, but its influence remains in the instincts and habits of the people, animating and dominating their lives as Japanese. Shintō more than any other power lies back of that patriotism which is unique in this nation—the absorbing devotion to emperor and land, named *Yamato damashii* (“soul of Japan”). It is this form of patriotism which has directed, indeed controlled, the Japanese national life throughout the changes here described. It is patriotism dominant over life. A prominent writer, only within the past year, has said :

*Yamato damashii* is immortal. All teachers of morality and religion must endeavor to nourish this spirit. This is the very essence of religion. Whether Christianity flourishes or not, whether Buddhism retains its hold on the nation or not, are matters of little moment so long as the nation is conscious that it has a worthy ideal to worship and to carry into practice.

It is this very *Yamato damashii* which has exposed the Japanese in recent years to much criticism, and to much misunderstanding also. This people can easily be made fanatically patriotic. Their pride in their land and in their own success is excessive. More than the world yet knows, their patriotism has stimulated them in their present assimilation of the agencies and powers of western civilization. The instinct of self-preservation, rather than love of occidental thought and life, has supported them in their present change from the old to the new. It is claimed that there is no term for “virtue” in the Japanese language, except one whose meaning is “public spirit.” A writer in a prominent magazine has lately assumed that “it is Japan’s duty now, in view of the acts of the so-called Christian nations in China, in vindication of so-called Christian rights, to stand forth before the world as the champion of humanity.” Another writer ranges the rationalist Yukichi Fukuzawa, who died a year ago, alongside the Christian Niishima, the founder of the Doshisha University, as a typical Japanese, with the judgment : “In one thing they were supremely alike—and that one thing was their exalted pride.” However much, therefore, the Japanese of the present day have lost their ancient faith in Shintō as a form of religion, it yet abides throughout the nation,

animating the intense patriotism named the "soul of Japan." No estimate of the religious condition which ignores this supreme force can be correct.

2. **BUDDHISM.**—Turning to Buddhism, we enter a domain in which whatever there is of professed religion in Japan finds at present its largest and most real expression. The disestablishment of Buddhism thirty years ago did not make it impotent as the popular religion. It is today, more than it has ever been in modern times, the acknowledged faith of the people. For a while, in the early years of the present era, it seemed to be in serious peril of a popular disaffection. Many of its temples fell into disuse and decay. Its priests suffered greatly from personal poverty. Seemingly the prophecy might have been justified that the faith had lost all real vitality; that it was falling, never to rise again, however much its adherents might strive to gain a footing for it. But ages-long custom guarded it, and the *Yamato damashii* rallied many to its support. Gradually, especially during the last twenty years, the appeals of the priests, aided by a reactionary nationalism taking place then, aroused a widespread loyalty to the old faith. In place of the government's financial patronage, increasingly large money contributions were secured in the parish communities. Many of the old temples have been revived. Numerous new temples—two or more of them upon a scale of size and magnificence of decoration equal to any of past centuries—have been erected and dedicated. An intelligent zeal has taken possession of the governing bodies of some of the leading sects. Among statesmen, publicists, and politicians, to say the least, an active, though formal, support of the faith has appeared. Even so pronounced a modern leader and religious progressionist as Yukichi Fukuzawa, in some respects the most influential single personage among those who have been advancing Japan's "new age," was buried only a year ago with Buddhist rites. Certainly the fact is evident today that Buddhism has not succumbed to the blow it received by its disestablishment. Among the signs of continued vitality are these: Many of the leaders of some of the most powerful sects are making energetic endeavors to arouse



their followers to engage in missionary propagandism. "An extremely influential association" of the chief sects, called the "Eastern Asia Buddhist Society," has recently been formed for the purpose of "propagating by all means at command the doctrines of the Buddha. Acknowledging that the upper and middle classes have grown skeptical or indifferent to the faith, the new association has determined to seek to influence high and low alike; to suppress the rivalries of the sects and to unite all in a common mission." Further, the society makes it a fundamental principle that Buddhism must be accepted as the religious foundation of the Orient, satisfying its needs and guiding its development, just as Christianity underlies the social and political life of the peoples of the West. The association assumes that Buddhism is as characteristic of the East as Christianity is of the West. A central office for this movement has been opened; plans have been made for extensive preaching tours and general missionary work, passing gradually into Korea and China. There is to be, also, a large publication of popular doctrinal and practical religious literature. Then, to be noticed here, is the proposed work of the new "Imperial Eastern Association." This society has undertaken the translation into Japanese of the Tibet, Mongolian, and Manchurian Buddhist scriptures. This work is of enormous magnitude and will be of immense value in the development and interpretation of northern Buddhism. In addition to these signs of the revived energy of orthodox Buddhism there are also vigorous movements in progress having for their end a Buddhist reformation. Many Buddhist scholars have set before themselves the task of dealing with modern knowledge and ideals much as the Buddhists of the seventh and eighth centuries dealt with the traditions and aims of Shintō. They are seeking to absorb and to metamorphose modern science and philosophy in accordance with Buddhist dogma and practice. There is also a hopeful agitation named "New Buddhism," widespread among young men, especially among the students of the higher Buddhist colleges. It attempts to transform the old faiths into what may be styled an optimistic pantheism. It aims, indeed, to bring about co-operation

between Buddhism and a rationalized Christianity, and thereby to lead in the religious future of the empire. A survey of the present condition of Buddhism in Japan thus shows it to be still the popularly acknowledged religion, so far as there is religion in the country. Among the lower classes and in the rural districts it is still, in large measure, what it was in its days of least questioned supremacy: it is adhered to generally among the middle and upper classes, to say the least, much as Roman Catholicism is held by the like classes in Italy and France; it exhibits many signs of endeavor to reform errors which have developed within it; particularly is it arousing to new efforts to further its extension by means of new missionary propagandism. The movement to reshape it under the ideals of absolute religion may have much prophetic value. Yet, notwithstanding these facts, we may not close this part of our study without observing also that opposing the popular faith there is a widely extended skepticism and indifferentism, constantly increasing among the educated classes. Moreover, although Buddhism is today better equipped for the conflict than it was thirty years ago, it has before it an increasing struggle with Christianity, which will be the real test of its vitality. We shall return to this matter later.

3. CONFUCIANISM.—The discipleship of Confucius need not detain us in our review. Confucianism has no longer a place of noticeable importance in the religious development of the empire. A few of the older scholars make it a favorite study. Its influence remains with some force in both the political and social realms. It aids in sustaining the national virtues—reverence for the emperor and for parents. It is still evident in the position in which woman remains as man's pronounced inferior, and in the adjustment of certain of the family relationships. But, as a confessed code for the life, it has become a relic, and is a decreasing power. Japan is rapidly emancipating itself from China. Confucianism has already in the main a historical interest.

4. CHRISTIANITY.—We can, therefore, pass directly from Buddhism to a consideration of Christianity. We approach here a novel region in Japanese history, but one, to us observers

in the Christian West, of immediate and profound interest. Christianity is, by inheritance, our own form of religion. The Japanese generally look upon it as the faith which the people of the West are seeking to impose upon them to the exclusion of whatever faiths they have received from their own past. Let us in our look at Christianity in the Mikado's land observe just what its reception and career there have been, whatever may be our own wishes, prejudices, or interests. No real gain either for truth or the promotion of our cause can be made otherwise. We shall attempt to give impartial witness. We must then, to begin with, admit that, as a factor in the present religious condition of Japan, Christianity, accepted as organized in churches and in professedly Christian institutions, shows but small results. In a population of forty-seven millions, approximately one hundred and twenty thousand confessed believers in Christianity—these chiefly among the middle and lower classes—do not constitute a very considerable group. The forty and more millions of Buddhists by birth and education might well afford to ignore the hundred and twenty thousand acknowledged Christians, three-fifths of whom are adherents of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches, were it not for other considerations than those of number and station. But Christianity is the form of religion prevailing among those peoples whose intrusion brought the political order of the empire to ruin fifty years ago; in contact with whom the New Japan, in almost all its characteristics, has come into being and has been taking shape. For reasons connected with this fact, the place which the religion from the West holds among the people of Japan is of extraordinary importance and value.

It is to be remembered that Christianity, as organized, has been the *bête noire* of the Japanese government and people ever since its tragic expulsion from their land in 1637 until within very recent years. For some time, even after the "Restoration of 1868," all Japanese were forbidden by imperial edict, and at the risk of the severest punishment, to profess the faith of this "corrupt sect." Throughout the country denunciation of Christianity, posted on the official bulletin boards, was familiar to every

reader. Even in Tōkyō, the capital city, in 1868, the following law was to be seen in many public places: "The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given." These anti-Christian edicts were not removed until in the year 1873. Thus powerful was the memory of what was believed to be the political peril of the attempt made by the Roman Catholic missionaries to conquer the land in the seventeenth century. Now this legal antagonism has ceased. There is a constitutional guarantee for freedom for all in all forms of religious belief. Legally today Christianity may have free course among all the Mikado's subjects. As early in the present era as 1859, the Christian missionaries re-entered Japan. They were but few then. When the public ban against the faith was removed a decade later, many appeared. Now there are hundreds of foreign preachers of the western faith in its varying forms—Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Protestant, and rationalistic—living in many parts of the country, offering to guide the confused people along the ways in which the Christians believe present and eternal welfare may be reached.

a) *Roman Catholicism*.—The work of the Church of Rome is again zealously carried forward. It no longer arouses the antagonism or fear excited by it three hundred years ago. Not only is it at the present time better understood by the government, but it is seen to be only one among more than a score of missions bearing the Christian name, and differing from them in many ways in its aims and methods. Besides, the imperial government is conscious now of self-preservative power. Roman Catholicism does not occupy much of present public attention, nor does it show promise of any great share in the national future. Its following is drawn mainly from among the poorer and obscure classes. Its work is chiefly in medical and primary charities and in education. In these beneficences it has accomplished an immense good. Its foreign representatives are nearly all from France, and they seem to be content to confine their labors to practical well-doing for the needy. Wisely, they do not attempt to take part in matters of public polity, nor is

their influence felt in things which affect generally the development of society. Almost half of the professed Christians of the empire are members of the Church of Rome.

*b) Orthodox Greek Catholicism.*—A Russian bishop has residence in Japan and superintends a mission of the Greek Catholic church. It is said that this mission has today about twenty-five thousand native adherents. This following is for the most part in the northern provinces. As with the Roman Catholic, so with the Greek Catholic church: discipleship is for the largest part from among the lower classes. The Japanese generally think that both these churches demand from their members supreme allegiance to two foreign potentates—pope and tsar. This opinion is almost an insurmountable obstacle to a very wide or reliable acceptance of the doctrines they teach. The common people are devoted to their own emperor, and they instinctively resent whatever looks like betrayal or disloyalty. The general impression exists that Christianity in its Roman and Greek forms is destructive of true patriotism in a Japanese. The representatives of the Greek church support various excellent philanthropic agencies. Seemingly, however, the sphere of this mission will always be confined within narrow limits. It will continue without much bearing upon the larger interests of the people.

*c) Protestantism.*—There are more than a score of Protestant or Evangelical Christian missions in Japan. More than six hundred representatives, men and women, from America and Europe are laboring for their success. About a million dollars annually is spent in carrying on the work of these missions. At the present time about forty thousand Japanese are joined in membership with the Evangelical churches. It is in the issue of the labors of the Protestant missions, if anywhere, that the future, among the Japanese, of Christianity, believed in as a supernatural revelation of the one religion necessary for the welfare of the human race, lies.

The history of the vicissitudes attendant upon the career of Protestantism in the far East is deeply interesting. It follows closely the variable, perplexing, and distracting moods through which the people have been passing during their new era. From

the time that the anti-Christian edicts were removed (1873) until into the middle of the decade of the eighties, the course of Evangelical Christianity was constantly onward. It showed annually an increased popular acceptance. Among the middle, and somewhat in the upper, classes it found able and earnest adherents. There were times then when prominent public men were even disposed to advocate the adoption of Christianity by the state. The country was possessed by a pro-foreign enthusiasm. It went so far as to alarm the leaders of the government over the safety of the fundamental principles of the state. In 1885, by imperial rescript, the people were reminded of their distinctive faiths and duties. They were recalled to the preservation and observance of their national virtues — loyalty and filial piety. Among the most marked effects of the nationalistic reaction following the issue of the rescript was a gradual withdrawal of the growing popular favor shown toward Christianity. About the year 1888 the culmination of the increasing advance of Christianity seems to have been reached. Since that time, although the progress of Evangelical Christianity has not ceased, the rate of movement has diminished to such a degree that in recent years many mission workers have been much discouraged. At the present day this retardation of evangelization has not been overcome. In some of the missions hardly any evidence of forward movement appears; in others the progress is very slow; in all, the rate of advance is less than it was thirteen years ago. This fact, let it be noted, is true of Christianity only as organized in denominations or churches. Christianity as embodied in extra-church philanthropies and humane agencies has not been affected by this reaction. More than ever, these helpful social agencies have been recently finding recognition and following. It is ecclesiastical Christianity in whose way the serious obstacles have appeared. But there are causes hindering Christian mission progress other than the revived nationalism of the last decade. Chief among these is the increasing acquaintance of the educated Japanese with occidental rationalism, skepticism, and religious indifferentism. The exact sciences and the speculative philosophies of Europe and America have become familiar to the

student and official classes. All the influences which militate against the progress of Evangelical Christianity in the West are as intelligibly present in Japan as in this country. They are even more accentuated there than here. Then, within organized Christianity itself, the denominational associations of the numerous missions have recently had not a little to do with checking the growth of the churches. In Japanese Christian literature during the past year there has been much reference to the divided Christianity as a serious obstacle to Christian progress among the people generally. Some of the missionaries acknowledge the difficulty. Some Japanese Christians have been attempting to signalize the opening of the twentieth century by making special efforts to minimize the evils of their inheritance of sectarian denominationalism. They have sought the utilization for Christian propagandism of the faiths and methods of the international "Evangelical Alliance." This endeavor is recorded here merely as a sign of the times; it has not yet had much promise of success. At a recent missionary conference there was an effort made to get all the missions to combine in the founding of an unsectarian Christian university. The effort failed, and some Japanese critics claim that this failure is but another indication of the general "harm done to Christianity by the perpetuation of western sectarian distinctions in eastern lands." Another native Christian, calling attention to the fact that certain Christian institutions of learning once vigorous and prominent are now "in a languishing state," has declared that "a great united movement is all that is required to save the situation, but this cannot be effected" because of "the powerlessness of the Protestant sects to co-operate to such end." Yet other reasons are given by the Japanese Christians to account for the retardation of the Christian advance. Some observers say that skepticism and indifference are spreading through their churches. One prominent writer has lately said:

As regards the worship of God, Japanese Christians are lacking. The spirit of worship has grown less and less, much to our sorrow. The chief reason of this is that many Christians do not attach any special value to worship for its own sake.

And still other reasons are given for the retardation that has befallen the progress of Christianity, but we need not repeat them. The main fact is clear and must be considered. Nevertheless, there never was a time probably when Christianity as one of the world's great religions; as the religion of the mighty nations of the West; as a theme for study in its relations to the needs of the empire, occupied so much of literature generally, or was so much a topic for public discussion, as today. The Christian religion, there is reason to judge, is not a lost, or even a losing, cause in Japan, whatever may be its present slower movement.

5. SUBSTITUTES FOR RELIGION.—Attempts to find substitutes for religion constitute one of the most interesting of the factors in the present Japanese religious situation. A large part of the educated classes is to be regarded as indifferent to religion in any form. At the same time, very few of the earnest leaders of thought and affairs are content to let the nation drift, or to continue without some cohering bond which is an equivalent of religion. In a lately published work on ethics the author assumes that religion is not either a fact or a need in the nation's life. He answers the question, "How is it that Japan manages to get on without a religion, or rather, what in Japanese education takes the place of religion?" with the assertion that the "soul of Japan," *Yamato damashii*, supplies the need. From that source has come a code of ethics amply satisfying all individual and social want. Its elements are "loyalty to superiors and friends, chivalry, unselfishness, indifference to worldly gains of all kinds, ardent devotion to persons and causes, truthfulness in speech, and a keen sense of shame." Both question and answer represent a large measure of fact, for, speaking generally, it must be acknowledged that the Japanese have not ever been, in any high sense of the word, a religious people. They have never had what the peoples of the West know as "soul-consciousness"—a sense of spiritual ideals and a personal apprehension of, and aspiration toward, the infinite and eternal Being we name God. Shintō never taught them that. Both Buddhism and Confucianism ignore it. It is not



surprising, therefore, that, under the skepticism toward the ancient faiths induced by the new knowledge, some of the leaders of thought should seek such substitutes for religion as the national ethics. But there are other prominent writers who, though themselves religious skeptics, are not satisfied with relegating the people to ethics for their future guidance. It is especially noticeable now that numbers of the most learned and respected thinkers declare that without religion in some satisfying form the national future is endangered. A prominent professor of philosophy in the chief imperial university not long ago gave it as his judgment that "the present educational system of the empire, empty as it is of all religion, is thereby seriously defective." He demands for the young the influence of religion, "intensely ethical and spiritual, free from all kinds of dogmatism and superstitions." A well-known author last year published a book under the title *The Ethics and Religion of the Day*. His chief plea is that "the ethics of the country, in order to be effective, must be based upon religion." Count Okuma, one of the greatest and most frankly speaking of the leaders of the country, has written in the Japanese *Twentieth Century* magazine that

The old recognized moral guides of the nation, Buddhist and Shintō priests and Chinese scholars, have entirely lost their hold on society, and their successors have not yet appeared. Those in authority must take some steps to purify society, or the nation will suffer from the neglect a few decades hence.

Then there is this warning from another leader occupying a high political and social level, a former minister of justice. He says:

The moral code of the old *samurai* has been abandoned, and men have come to think that any conduct which is not illegal is allowable. The remedy for this evil lies in bringing education and religion, especially the latter, to bear on the thoughts and lives of the people.

Yet another writer in a prominent journal has been pleading with the government to open its eyes and to recognize the importance of religion as a factor in bringing about a social renovation. There is "no remedy for existing moral abuses but religion," he pleads. The *Philosophical Magazine*, in a recent issue,

notes that "three leaders of thought are now advocating theories of reconstruction for religion." And Dr. Tomizu claims that there is no religion in Japan suitable to the real wants of the nation. "Confucianism," he says, "is defective in that it neglects to teach man his duties as a citizen. Buddhism is pessimistic. It failed in India, as it must fail here. Shintō does not possess the characteristics of a religion. Christianity is logically defective, and not to be relied upon." Apparently not a few of Japan's leaders are sensible of a great need for the people's higher life which only a satisfying religion can supply.

Before leaving this part of our review we shall find much that will be instructive in glancing at the results of an attempt made not long ago, by sixteen representative teachers and guides of public opinion, to gain some exact knowledge of the religious condition of the students in the higher institutions of learning. More than forty-five hundred circulars of inquiry were sent to the students of the universities and the colleges. The results of the venture were unsatisfactory in many ways, yet some significant inferences may be drawn from them. The questions asked were these:

- (1) Do you believe in religion? Are you at liberty to believe in it if you wish?
- (2) Have you any desire for religion?
- (3) Have you at any time believed in religion? If so, and you have relinquished that belief, state your reasons for this course.
- (4) If you believe in no religion, what do you depend on for regulating your daily conduct? Do you dislike religion? If so, why?
- (5) If you do not believe in religion yourself, do you recognize its necessity for others? If so, on what ground?

The replies returned to these questions were from only about one-fifth of the young men addressed. This fact indicates either that the committee had but little influence over the young men, or that the subject of the questions is of but little interest to them. Nevertheless, the answers that were received — nearly a thousand in all — may be taken in general as signs of existing facts. No answers came from the Nobles' School. As the students in this school are more or less closely connected with the government and the imperial house, the silence is natural. We learn that not quite half of the young men who sent answers had been subject to any home religious influence. Only 15 per

cent. of the answerers had been affected by religion at school. These had been students at mission schools. About one-third of all those who replied had been drawn to religion through the reading of the biographies of great men in whom religion had been an active force. The Japanese are notably hero-worshippers. Among those who declared themselves non-religionists about three hundred had been made antagonistic toward religion through home and college influences. Many objected to religion on account of its superstitions. Some had been led into opposition to Christianity because they had been taught that Christianity is antagonistic to state interests. Some others had been affected by scientific teachings and by immorality in the lives of religious professors. In all, of the 952 students who answered the questions, 555 confessed that they do not believe in religion. Among the religious believers 231 are Buddhists, 18 are Shintoists, 24 are Confucionists. There are 68 Christians, but most of these claimed to be free-thinkers, or rationalistic Christians. Among the non-religionists 134 declared that they have no desire for religion. Two hundred and thirty-seven expressed desire for possession of religious belief, but find intellectual difficulties in their way. In reference to ethics the interesting fact appears that by far the larger number of the students incline to subjective standards, that is, to the control of conduct by one's own conscience. Comparatively few of them are ready to accept for their guidance objective ethics, such as written codes or the creeds of the religions. Among those accepting objective ethics, most of them placed Confucianism first, then Buddhism, and last Christianity. The *Philosophical Magazine*, from whose detailed report this summary is drawn, observes that the facts stated are very significant and show that some efforts are required to present religion to students in a more acceptable form than it has hitherto assumed.

It is claimed by the promoters of the investigation that the answers elicited represent prevailing opinion among the students throughout the country.

Interpretative of the facts here given is the assertion of a contemporary Christian periodical that

It must not be forgotten that a very large number of young men have come under the influence of foreign skeptical philosophers like Mill and Spencer, or they have imbibed the religious notions of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, or are tinctured with the pessimism of Nietzsche and his school. The new German Kantists have followers in this country. The one characteristic of all these schools of thought is a skeptical attitude toward what usually goes by the name of religion.

We may now bring our attempt to answer the inquiry heading this article to a close. So far, what is said does not offer much that is especially encouraging to those who are solicitous for the religious progress of the people of Japan. But we need not leave our theme without turning attention to certain other facts which are really signs of promise, of changes for the better, in the situation. One of the most widely read and discerning of the Japanese periodicals, *Taiyo*, declared in its "New Year" issue of 1901 that, though it has

no faith in the future of Buddhism, and that stagnation marks the movement of Christianity, there is likely to be a revival of faith. Materialism reached its height in the nineteenth century, and there is bound to be a reaction against it and in favor of religion; not the religion of creeds resting upon mere authority, but upon faith whose support lies in the reason.

Apparently the Japanese must first live through, and considerably beyond, their present distracting attempts at political, social, and religious readjustments. They are irrevocably committed to acceptance of the dominating forces of the civilization of the West. They are rapidly becoming co-workers with all other peoples in the world's general development. They have a specific national genius, but this will increasingly act with and be acted upon by the "world spirit." Their destiny is henceforward one with our own. The present condition of the people is naturally one of great complexity, confusion, and uncertainty. The breaking up of their ancient civil and social order; the continuous inflow in the past four decades of the thought and life of the vast alien humanity of the world; the effects of their persisting racial instincts and habits—all these forces, interacting under an intense impulse toward self-preservation, could not for the time being have a different result. But there is well-grounded hope that in the future, not very far distant, order

will appear from the chaos and means of safety against present dangers be found. Particularly in reference to Christianity it is to be said that, although the missions have not won a large following for their faiths, as organized in the various sects, the Christian philanthropic agencies, such as are devoted to the reformation of criminals, the care of the sick, the idiotic, the insane, and the poor, to the promotion of public hygiene and sanitation, and to the alleviation of the evils of war, are fully as high in the favor of society and of the state as are the mechanical, commercial, and educational appliances of European civilization. Also it is to be said of the Christian missionaries that their general excellence in mental culture, and, more than that, their personal good character, the purity of their home life, and their consecration to the cause they uphold, have done much in stimulating the leaders representative of the native and inherited forms of religion to show like excellences, and have prepared the way among the people for a larger welcome to the doctrines they preach and the life of which they teach. The history of modern Christian mission work in Japan is worthy of high praise. The work has been faithfully done, and it has made a permanent impress for good upon the nation. Now that the old hostility of the state has entirely disappeared, and all Japanese are legally free to accept Christian discipleship, the future of the missions depends solely on the ability of the missionaries to persuade their hearers of the truth of their gospel. The immediate and most urgent task seems to be the awakening of the "soul of Japan" to a true religious consciousness. A letter from the leader of one of the chief Evangelical missions, received by the present writer, indorses and emphasizes this judgment. A theistic consciousness, according to this letter, is the most imperative and the fundamental need; a knowledge of the divine ideals which have for ages shone before the larger humanity—the God-idea and a sense of personal dignity as an immortal soul. Let these ideals enter and transfigure the "soul of Japan," and the greatest possible initiatory service of the Christian missions would be done. Herein lies hope, and in this way, probably, the true progress will be

found. Many missionaries are seeing in this gain the way of deliverance. An intelligent theism would open the way to the doctrine of the "fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man," and thereby into the paths leading to the many sanctuaries of the religion of Jesus Christ. There is hope that the effort now chosen by some of the more prominent Christian missions to win the nation to a true theism will begin the permanent solution of the problem of religion for the far East.

The greater conflict of Buddhism with Christianity is yet to come. Evidently Buddhism shows rapid renewal of strength. The appeal of the "Great Buddhist Union" made a year ago to the Christians of the world concerning the methods of the propagandism of Christianity in China, and the later charge made by the abbot of Japan's greatest temple that Christians do not understand his faith, indicate that the conflict will in the end center about the fundamental principles from which the two forms of religion draw vitality. If then Christianity, voicing man's faith in the eternal fatherhood of God, showing forth the universal brotherhood of mankind, and supporting hope in eternal life for each human soul, is placed over against Buddhism, telling of man's despair before "the evil of conscious existence," searching for an "enlightenment" by which eternal unconsciousness for each human mind is gained, it is hardly to be doubted, though the followers of both the Christ and the Buddha show their faiths daily in justice, mercy, love, and piety, that the cause of the Christian will triumph. Christian faith, sustained by man's enlarging knowledge, we may be confident, will ultimately bear the victory in "the Mikado's land."

## THE TRANSFIGURATION STORY.

### A STUDY OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SOURCES OF OUR SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

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IN my article "The Autobiography of Jesus," in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. II, July, 1898, pp. 541 ff., I gave reasons for the belief that the story of the transfiguration in Mark 9: 2-10 constitutes an intrusive element in the present context, interrupting the connection of 8: 27-9: 1<sup>1</sup> (an account of how Jesus made known to the Twelve his messianic calling, and the career implied) with 9: 11-13 (the question of the disciples in reply, How shall the objection of the scribes be met that Elias must first come?).

I have also stated in outline in my *Introduction to the New Testament* (1900), p. 207, note 2, certain reasons for regarding the central portion of Mark, particularly the section omitted by Luke, as formed by compilation of two more or less parallel sources. The statement of the note is as follows:

Not mere individual incidents are told in duplicate, but a connected series. Thus Mark 7: 32-36, 37; 8: 1-9, 10, 11 f., 13-22a, especially if compared with the parallel Matt. 15: 29-16: 12, will be seen to be a briefer, simpler account of the *series* of incidents already related in Mark 6: 32-44, 45-52, 53-56; 7: 1-23 (3: 20-35); 7: 24a, though the identity is not apparent until we compare with the latter its parallels in Matt. 9: 27-34 = Matt.

<sup>1</sup> A couple of *logia*, which, from the parallels, clearly belong elsewhere, have been introduced by Mark in 8: 34 f., 38a. Matthew and Luke, in following Mark at this point (Matt. 16: 24 f.; Luke 9: 23 f.), have thus been misled into duplication, the sayings which they take from Mark having really been uttered later (Matt. 10: 39 = Luke 17: 33 = John 12: 25 f.). There is also internal evidence that these *logia* are improperly introduced here by Mark in the words *καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον*, which serve to introduce them, but are impossible in Cæsarea Philippi. Vs. 38a is taken over by Luke only (9: 26 = 12: 8 f.). Matthew in this case avoids the repetition of what he had already given in 10: 32 f. Thus 16: 27 is left in the original form as against Mark 8: 38b, which should read, therefore, with Matthew: *μέλλει γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι, κτλ.*

12:22-50 = Luke 11:14-51; 12:1 ff. Instead of the present impossible tangle of itineraries we obtain thus the following: Scene of the feeding (*west* shore, 6:45, 46, 48) — Gennesareth — Capernaum — Bethsaida — Cæsarea Philippi. [Here the account Mark 8:27—9:1, 11-13 (except 8:34 f., 38a) should be followed by 7:24-31.] Then Tyre — (Sidon?) — Acco — border of Galilee and Samaria (Luke 9:51 ff.; 17:11) — Scythopolis — Capernaum. Mark 9:2-10 again interrupts the connection of vss. 11-13, the sequel to 8:27—9:1. There is further duplication in 8:31-33 (= 9:30 f. = 10:32-34); 9:33-37 (= 10:35-45), and 10:13-16 (= 9:36).

To justify all this would require far more space than is now at our disposal, involving not only the comparison of the handling of the material in Matthew and Luke, but that of John, chaps. 6 and 9, as well. This must still be deferred, and for the present we must content ourselves with the attempt to demonstrate parallelism in one only of the above-cited passages. As to this passage, I ventured no more at the time of writing than to say that it "interrupts the connection" of 8:27—9:1 with 9:11-13, because not then fully convinced that its content was in substance identical. I refer to the transfiguration story, which I now believe is not only derived from a different source from 8:27—9:1, 11-13, but is also a practical duplicate of it, as presenting the same data under the literary form of vision which the confession of Peter — if we may so designate the incident of Cæsarea Philippi of Mark 8:27—9:1, 11-13 and parallels — presents in ordinary prose.

The data thus presented in twofold form are undeniably momentous. In all four gospels the confession of Peter marks a crisis. Even the anachronistic assumptions of the later evangelists, contradicting their own representation of this occasion as the *first* on which the messiahship of Jesus had been openly broached, do not entirely avail to conceal the momentous transition. Hitherto Jesus had been simply the Baptist *redivivus*, with the difference that the "coming kingdom" demanded, not only the preparation of repentance to meet impending judgment, but glad and believing acceptance as already present in the forgiveness of sins and healing presence of God. Thus far Jesus' preaching had been impersonal. But the work of seed-sowing in Galilee, the campaign of education by exposition of



the nature of the kingdom and its requirements only, had been broken up by the plots of Pharisees and Herodians, the advent of "the scribes which came down from Jerusalem," and the driving of Jesus into exile (7: 1-24). Public teaching (so far as Galilee was concerned) was no longer possible. Jesus must now act, or give up his purpose. Hence the taking of the Twelve into his confidence, revelation of his messiahship, and with it the nature of his personality, his calling, and his probable fate. For a year (John 6: 14, 66-71) yet remained to Jesus until at Passover he could make his final appeal to all Israel at Jerusalem, and the interval must be spent partly in sowing the good seed in the provinces of Samaria, Perea, and Judea, which had not as yet shut him out from all access to them, but chiefly in "building his church" \* through the private instruction of the Twelve. As a matter of course, the secret of his personal claims must be rigidly kept from all but his immediate followers, lest premature disclosure should wreak double injury from unwise friends and deadly enemies.

It is the story of this momentous transition in Jesus' career of teaching, by which it ceased to revolve about the kingdom of God as an abstract ideal, and began to center upon his own personality and fate as the Messiah called of God, that our evangelists have to relate as winding up the Galilean ministry. The fourth gospel is right in fixing as the crisis the great collision in Capernaum, after the feeding of the multitude and culmination of Jesus' popularity; a collision in which Jesus openly denounced the scribes and Pharisees (Luke 11: 14-12: 12 and parallels) and they on their part demanded of him a sign from heaven; a

\*The genuineness of Matt. 16: 18 has been disputed, chiefly on account of the use of *ἐκκλησία* and of the omission of the clause in the Diatessaron. The rabbinic parable cited by CHASE (HASTINGS'S *B. D.*, s. v. "Peter, first epistle of," p. 795) from *Yalk.*, i, 766, wherein the Creator is likened to a builder seeking a firm foundation in marshy soil, declares that God was reluctant to found the creation for the unworthy race of mankind, but, foreseeing Abraham, declared: "Lo, I have found the Rock [Isa. 51: 1 f.] on which to build and to lay foundations." This shows a pre-Christian conception of the commonwealth of God as "God's building" (1 Cor. 3: 9; Heb. 3: 3-6), and both protects and illuminates the *logion*. The choosing of *twelve* apostles and the *logion* Matt. 19: 28 = Luke 22: 30, protected by 1 Cor. 6: 2, will be hard to account for if Jesus had no idea of instituting a new Israel.

collision followed by desertion (John 6:66) and exile (Mark 7:1-24), and then (John 6:67 ff.) by Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi. As I have shown in the article first referred to, it is on this occasion of Peter's confession, and here only, that we can and must understand to have taken place the narration by Jesus himself to the disciples<sup>3</sup> of his experience in the time which antedated by we know not how long an interval his relations with any of them, and which are given us by the evangelists in the introductory symbol narratives of the messianic call (by vision and *bath qol* at his baptism), and of the temptation in the wilderness, an interpretation of the call (Mark 1:1-13 and parallels). It is therefore on this occasion of Peter's confession that the Twelve became first acquainted (*a*) with Jesus' calling to be "the Son of God" and its significance, Mark 1:9-13 and parallels; (*b*) with his anticipated career of humiliation and death as foretold by the prophets (*ἤρξατο δεικνύειν*), Matt. 16:21-23 and parallels; (*c*) with his assurance of subsequent resurrection and glorification, Matt. 16:26-28 and parallels; (*d*) with his conception of his relation to the expected "witness (witnesses) of the Messiah" (Elias, *aliter* Moses and Elias), Matt. 17:10-13 and parallels.

Historically the confession of Peter was the actual occasion for the enlightenment of the disciples on all these matters of fundamental importance. Practically we might know, even without the evidence from early allusions to it to be quoted later, that to our evangelists also the occasion would have a like significance and importance. This would follow of necessity from what we know of their apologetic interest.<sup>4</sup> Their supreme contention is that "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God." The supreme objection they had to meet was the cross, "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness." "God

<sup>3</sup>Since the appearance of my article, HARNACK (*Chron.*, p. 649, n. 1) has added an important new link in the chain of evidence showing the temptation story to have been originally an utterance of Jesus himself. In the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" it appears to have been given in the first person: "My mother the Holy Spirit took me," etc.

<sup>4</sup>See WERNLE, "Altchristliche Apologetik im Neuen Testament," in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, I, 1, pp. 42-65 (1900).

forbid that this should be unto" Messiah, was the first impulsive answer, not of Peter only, but of every Jew. How then could that occasion be less than supremely significant to gospel writers, when, in dialogue with the chief apostle, the doctrines had been broached by Jesus himself and the objection met? In a word, this was the occasion when Peter and the Twelve had first come to their faith in Jesus as the Son of God, "foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but manifested at the end of the times for the sake of those who through him should be believers in God, who raised him from the dead and gave him glory" (1 Peter 1:20 f.). Moreover, it was "from that time on" that "Jesus began to show (*δεικνύναι*, *i. e.*, demonstrate from Scripture) unto his disciples that he must needs go up to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed and the third day rise again" (Matt. 16:21). This occasion, then, was also that to which in the formative period of the gospels the church looked back for the beginning of its doctrine that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3), the great battleground of its conflict with Judaism.

Finally, it was also the birth-time of another doctrine whose importance to primitive Christian apologetes we might be disposed to overlook, did we not refresh our memories from actual second-century sources. Says Justin in chap. xlix of his *Dialogue with Trypho* (an apology against the Jews), placing the words in the mouth of his Jewish antagonist:

For we [Jews] all expect that Christ will be a man born of men, and that Elijah when he comes will anoint him. But if this man [Jesus] appear to be Christ, he must certainly be known as man born of men. *But from the fact that Elijah has not yet come I infer that this man is not the Christ.*

It is this objection of "the scribes" (Mark 9:11) which the disciples ask Jesus' aid in removing; for indeed its influence at the time with the people is manifest from the popular rumors concerning Jesus reported by the disciples (Mark 8:27, 28), one and all of which are based on current eschatology (on "Jeremiah," Matt. 16:14, as forerunner of Messiah, see Ewald, *ad Apoc.*, xi, 3). The meeting of this objection from current eschatological dogma

on the forerunner, or forerunners, of Messiah is therefore scarcely less an integral part of the story of Peter's confession and the revelation of the messiahship than the meeting of the objection, "Far be it from Messiah to be rejected and crucified." To this occasion, then, the primitive church also referred its interpretation of the predicted advent of the forerunner.

Under these four divisions (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) we have briefly summed up the didactic contents of the narrative commonly known as the confession of Peter, Mark 8: 27-33, 36 f., 38b; 9: 1, 11-13, and parallels, with which may properly be included, if our previous conclusions be admitted, the baptismal vision and temptation, Mark 1: 1-13 and parallels. Those who have some familiarity with the use of vision as a literary form by Jewish and Jewish-Christian writers,<sup>5</sup> especially by such as were understood to have the gift of "prophecy" or were affected by familiarity with apocalyptic literature, will certainly recognize that the doctrinal features of the confession of Peter as just enumerated are exactly those which primitive Christian prophecy would immediately seize upon for development after its own characteristic method. In fact, we need go no farther than the apocalyptic vision of the glorified Christ in Rev. 1: 12-18, victor over Hades, for an example. Possibly they may already begin to recognize that the transfiguration story, so strangely intruded into the midst of that of Peter's confession, has substantially the same didactic content, though in the transfiguration story what has been designated by Wernle the "eschatologico-apocalyptic" interest predominates over the apologetic, and so determines the form. But for the benefit of such as have less familiarity with this use of "vision" and its current concepts I may venture on some further elucidation.

Besides the actual "visions and revelations of the Lord" experienced by the apostle Paul, which were apparently (2 Cor. 12: 7) pathological and due to a peculiar nervous temperament—besides the "revelations" and trances of early Christian assemblies, in which the external conditions, if not the physical

<sup>5</sup> See my *Introduction*, p. 215, n. 2.

and nervous state of the "prophets," were morbid, or at least abnormal, we have an entire literature from the same period, in which the "vision" is purely fictitious, as clearly a literary device as in Dante's *Inferno* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Such are the "Visions" of Hermas and the "Revelations" of Peter and John. Even in ordinary dialogue, when the object is to give a glimpse behind the scenes at the workings of divine providence, the Jewish teacher drops with the utmost ease into this Old Testament mode of expression. This is, in fact, one of the common expedients of what he designates *haggada*. We need only recall certain sayings of Jesus himself as illustrations. Not to mention the baptismal vision and the temptation, which some may still hesitate to place in this category, we have the "vision" of "Satan fallen as lightning from heaven," and the reference to his obtaining leave to take the Twelve and sift them as wheat (Luke 10:18; 22:31).<sup>6</sup> So with the evangelists themselves, or at least certain sources more conspicuously present in Matthew and Luke. The visions of Joseph and of the magi, of Zacharias, of Mary, and of the shepherds, are not the record of pathological facts, but literary expressions for religious ideas. Particularly is this the case with a certain element of the Lucan narrative whose central figure is Peter,<sup>7</sup> though the author extends the same method to his story of Paul also, *e. g.*, in the case of Paul's baptism by Ananias (Acts 9:10-12). In this case we even have the representation of vision of vision, Ananias in a vision beholding Paul simultaneously in a vision seeing "a man named Ananias coming in and laying his hands upon him that he may see."<sup>8</sup> The vision of Cornelius in Cæsarea in the succeeding chapter (10:3) has a similar relation to the vision of Peter in Joppa (10:10-16), bidding him go to Cornelius. But with this case of Peter's vision in Joppa we must pause.

<sup>6</sup>The fact that both these instances are peculiar to Luke should be noted.

<sup>7</sup>See my *Introd.*, p. 215, n. 2, and for the Petrine source of Luke and its employment by the synoptists, p. 223. See also FEINE, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*, 1891.

<sup>8</sup>Some Western texts avoid the complication by omitting vs. 12; but even if we adopt this reading, it only carries the illustration a stage farther down. The second-century scribe who originated the verse takes the place of the author.

To begin with, we have here more than the inherent improbability of two mutually unknown and widely separated nervous temperaments working in conjunction, to convince us that the vision is fictitious. A separate version of the same event (the emancipation of Peter from his Jewish scruples about eating with converted gentiles), in plain prose, from the hand of Paul himself, Gal. 2:11-21, absolutely establishes the fact. We say *the same* event. This does not mean that some such conversion as that of Cornelius in Cæsarea may not have happened to Peter before his great conflict with Paul at Antioch, in spite of the ignoring in Acts 9:32-11:18 of the previous evangelizing work of Philip in this same region (8:40), apparently even as founder of the church in Cæsarea (*cf.* 21:8), and in spite of the suspicious assimilation to incidents of Paul's later career (*cf.* 9:32-35 with 14:8-10; 9:36-43 with 20:7-12; 10:1-48 with 13:4-12; 10:25 with 14:11-18). The unhistorical element lies in the *embellishment* of this early incident in Peter's career with traits that completely forestall the subsequent conflict, among which the most conspicuous are the "thrice repeated" (10:16) vision to remove Peter's scruples in the matter of Jewish "distinctions of meats" (10:10-16, reiterated in 11:4-10), and the raising and settlement before the mother church of the issue about "eating with the gentiles" (11:1-3).<sup>9</sup>

This anachronistic mode of relating the "preaching of Peter" is the result of attempts to credit the primitive church and its chief apostle with complete illumination from God in what was really (Eph. 3:2-13) the special "revelation" of the great Apostle to the Gentiles; not that partisan zeal stooped to deceit, but that the conviction of the chief apostle's perfect

<sup>9</sup> As PFLEIDERER, *Urchristenthum*, p. 571, has shown, these traits really fall quite outside the essential nucleus of the incident. There is no occasion for the vision, since, independently, 10:19 f., 44-46, all Peter's action is divinely directed. Moreover, as the nature of the vision, the content of the *bath qol*, Peter's "hunger" and "desire to eat" all show, the vision has nothing to do with the question of converting and baptizing the uncircumcised, but with that of *eating* with them, which involved the emancipation, not only of the *gentile* Christian from the yoke of the law, but of his *Jewish* Christian brother—a far more serious matter. But were it not for the *ex post facto* reference in 11:3, we should not so much as know from the story that Peter had eaten with them.

illumination on the great subjects of debate could admit no other course of events than his being enlightened through the spirit of "prophecy." Historically, unless we are absolutely to forfeit all respect for Peter, the implied suppositions are impossible. Indeed, it is psychologically inconceivable, respect or no respect, that Peter, acting under what he regarded as special divine revelation, should not only have converted and baptized a company of gentiles (10:24, 45-48), but eaten with them (10:48; 11:3); then been taken to task for it by "them that were of the circumcision" before a formal gathering in Jerusalem of "the apostles and brethren that were in Judea" (11:1 ff.,  $\beta$  text), with the result of triumphant vindication of his course and unanimous verdict of approval by the church; and thereafter at Antioch, in spite of the example of Paul and the support of a considerable element of gentile believers, been so overawed by the influence of "certain from James" as inconsistently to withdraw from his eating with the gentiles, desert their cause, and force upon Paul, single-handed, the long battle for their equal rights in the church. Even those who may be willing to impute to Peter conduct so dastardly, not to say childish, and who can also believe that "even Barnabas" would be "carried away by such hypocrisy," will find it difficult to explain why Paul, then, in his desperate battle against the attempt to compel his gentile converts to "Judaize," should resort to mere reasoning on general principles (Gal. 2:15 ff.), instead of annihilating the opposition by a single reference to the test case of Peter *versus* "them that were of the circumcision" (Acts 11:2).

The importance of the matter to our argument must excuse our dwelling at some length on the proofs that the story of Peter's "revelation" as to the conversion of the gentiles, *and as to the duty of the Jew after their conversion to eat with them whatever was set before him, asking no questions for conscience' sake*, in Acts 10:1-11:18, anticipates and duplicates the subsequent story of Acts, chaps. 13-15,<sup>20</sup> wherein the same issue is debated anew

<sup>20</sup>The parallel is even closer in the "Western" text of Acts 11:1 ff., where the controversy is seen to be the outcome of a prolonged mission of Peter among the gentiles. For the actual course of events at Jerusalem and Antioch see my *Introd. to the N. T.*, pp. 64-8.

with the *Pauline* missions as the *casus belli*, albeit with substitution of the four decrees against the "pollutions of the gentiles" (15:20, 28f.) for the actual controversy in Antioch (Gal. 2:11 ff.). A clear understanding of the relation of that form of the story which relates it under the symbolism of a revelation to Peter by vision and *bath qol*, to that which relates it in plain prose (though altered, as we have noted, from the Pauline account) is needed as the foundation of our understanding of precisely analogous phenomena in the Lucan gospel. I refer to the confession (and rebuke) of Peter *versus* the transfiguration, Luke 9:18-27, and 28-36.

In each of the two treatises the most essential feature of their general didactic content is concentrated in the form of a vision (*δραμα* is applied to the transfiguration in Matt. 17:9) to the chief apostle ("Peter and they that were with him," Luke 9:32), accompanied by a *bath qol* embodying the vital point of doctrine. The vital point of the "former treatise" is to prove that Jesus, in spite of his cruel rejection by his own people, which but fulfilled their Scriptures (24:13-46), was "the Christ of God, his Chosen" (25:35, ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ Ἐκλεκτός; cf. 9:35, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ Ἐκλελεγμένος). That of the second treatise is to prove that the catholic (gentile) church, entering into the inheritance of Abraham without the yoke of the law, is the new people of God foretold in Scripture (Luke 24:47-53; Acts 1:1-8; 28:23-31). We have just seen that in point of historic fact the question of Jews eating with gentile converts, upon which controversy ultimately concentrated, was still undetermined "when Peter came to Antioch;" so that neither of the two reported settlements of the question, Acts 11:3-18 (permitting the *Jew* to disregard the ceremonial distinctions in eating with gentiles) nor Acts 15:19-29 (stipulating that the gentiles shall purge their tables from the "pollutions of idols"), can

"The four decrees are all adapted simply and solely to the object of furnishing a *modus vivendi* for both parties, so that, while the gentile shall not be "compelled to Judaize," the Jew shall be equally free from the constraint to Hellenize, under which he would otherwise be placed in eating with his gentile Christian brother. "Things strangled and blood" come under the same head as *εἰδωλόθυτα* because the motive of prohibition is the same. As he who (knowingly) partakes of meats offered to an idol



actually have preceded. But the account of Acts, chap. 15, is *substantially* correct. In all probability the "decrees" were drawn up at the very time when the news of Peter's lax interpretation of the agreement (Gal. 1:1-10) under the influence of Paul at Antioch reached Jerusalem, showing the need of definition as to its application. Paul, as we know, expressly repudiates the attempt to impose this stricter interpretation. Those who had subsequently come "from James" had succeeded, as we know, in convincing Peter, Barnabas, and the rest of the Jews, in spite of the agreement, that it was reasonable to withhold table-fellowship until certain conditions not stated in Gal. 2:11 ff. had been complied with. The conjecture is surely not overbold that the conditions were none other than the four decrees against "the pollutions of idols," two of which Paul would certainly have agreed to, if urged on grounds of absolute morality; possibly all, if requested in the name of Christian comity. It appears, however, from Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25 ( $\beta$  text); Rev. 2:14, 20, and *Διδαχή* 6:3 that the attempt to enforce the decrees, at least outside "Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia," was gradually abandoned. First the impracticable requirements as to the slaughtering of animals according to Jewish usage ("things strangled" and "blood") were dropped (Rev. 2:14, 20; *Διδ.* 6:3). Ultimately the more radical principle of Acts 10:1-11:18 became orthodox (*cf.* Mark 7:19), leaving the Petrine churches in practical accord with the Pauline; for among these Paul had never failed to insist upon strict suppression of the eating of known *εἰδωλόθυστα*, and of fornication, on grounds religious and moral.

Thus on this crucial point of the great question of a particularistic *versus* a universalistic gospel we find in Luke's second treatise, side by side, two mutually exclusive representations.

becomes a communicant with the *δαίμων* worshiped through the idol, 1 Cor. 10:20, so he who eats blood, or things torn of beasts in the field, or strangled things (the blood retained), is liable to become participant in the life thus carried into his veins with the life of some *δαίμων* who has also feasted on the blood. Even "fornication" is not forbidden on moral grounds, or merely because of Jewish abhorrence of gentile laxity; but because, as Jewish Christian writers explain, "this sin is unlike other sins, in that it destroys, not only the sinner himself, but those also who eat and associate with him" (*Clem. Hom.*, lxviii).

One, in the form of simple narrative (Acts, chaps. 13-15),<sup>12</sup> only varies from the facts as known through Galatians, (a) by consolidating an account of the *second* assembly in Jerusalem, which sent the delegation to Antioch "from James" (Gal. 2:11), with that held a few weeks earlier, at which Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and Titus had all been present; and (b) in *omitting*<sup>13</sup> the *painful scene of the rebuke of Peter*. The other (Acts 9:32-11:18), under the form of vision and *bath qol*, a form equally honorific to Peter and ungainsayable by human voice, forestalls the whole outcome of the great struggle. Peter, in whose mouth our author (on the basis of this source) does not scruple to place the claim of being the divinely commissioned apostle to the gentiles (Acts 15:7), consistently representing him as anticipating Paul, both in his missions to the gentiles and his fight for their equality in the church (Acts 11:1 ff.,  $\beta$  text), becomes to the whole church the medium of a divine revelation gladly accepted (Acts 11:18), whose purport is that the Jew shall disregard his distinctions of clean and unclean meats, and eat with his gentile brother. Thus, in place of Paul's humiliating rebuke this author supplies a correction of Peter's scruples by the divine voice, "What God hath cleansed call thou not common," and brings him thus from the outset to the ultimate orthodox position.

Surely it cannot be without significance that the "former treatise" centers about a precisely analogous situation. Here also stand side by side two narratives whose didactic content is identical. The actual historic occasion when the most fundamental truths of the gospel forced their way into the minds of the disciples in spite of Jewish prejudice was the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi. This we know from all the gospels, but most clearly and fully from Mark, the gospel which primeval tradition attributes to a companion and "interpreter" of Peter. The Lucan "former treatise" shares with the other gospels this unmistakably historical account, and in a form which affords conclusive evidence of having been taken directly from

<sup>12</sup> Redactional adjustments in the interests of harmony excepted.

<sup>13</sup> Probably from the neighborhood of Acts 15:33; note the  $\beta$  text.

our Mark.<sup>14</sup> It has but one noteworthy difference besides the general reduction in relative dimensions and importance. It is *the complete omission of the rebuke of Peter, and of the eschatological objection and its answer.*<sup>15</sup> For it so happened that at Cæsarea also Jewish prejudice had found utterance through the mouth of Peter, quickest in impulse, slowest in logic, only to meet a rebuke more severe and humiliating than that incurred at Antioch. But in neither case was the omission an act of arbitrary *suppressio veri* on the part of our Lucan author. On the contrary, just as in Acts, so here also, he simply prefers the representation of a parallel version more honorific to his hero. For side by side with the narrative drawn from Mark stands the transfiguration story, a counterpart of the vision of Joppa. "Peter and they that were with him" were made the recipients of a vision and *bath qol*, which set forth under the favorite terms of apocalyptic symbolism each several datum of the didactic content of the prose narrative of the confession and rebuke:<sup>16</sup> (a) Jesus' calling to be the Son of God and its significance; (b) his career of humiliation and death,

<sup>14</sup> Both Matthew and Luke have here made use of Mark in its present composite form. Of this we have abundant proofs in the duplication produced in both by taking up Mark 8:27-38 *inclusive* of the interpolated *logia* 34 f. and 38a, which, nevertheless, they independently derive from another source in better connection in Matt. 10:39 = Luke 17:33 = John 12:25 (a doublet of Matt. 16:24 f. = Mark 8:34 f. = Luke 9:23 f.) and Matt. 10:32 f. = Luke 12:8 f. (a doublet of Luke 9:26 = Mark 8:38a).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the omission of the rebuke at Antioch in Acts, chap. 15. The fourth evangelist goes much farther on both these lines. Peter is relieved of the odium of the rebuke by radical means. This evangelist, after his account of the confession of Peter (6:66-69), including the denunciation by Jesus of "one of the Twelve" as "a devil," explains (vss. 70 f.) that "he was speaking of Judas the son of Simon, Iscariot; for it was he that should betray him, and he was one of the Twelve." Compare his similar exculpation of the Twelve at the expense of Judas in 12:4-6.

On the question of John the Baptist as Elias see below, and cf. John 1:21.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 9:31-33a do not appear elsewhere, though their content is essential. The rebuke of Peter by Jesus finds also a clearer reflection in Luke 9:33 f. than in the parallels. One could not at all infer from Matthew that Peter's proposal was improper. Even in Mark one would not guess why. Only in Luke does it appear that the utterance was made "as they were departing," there being for Jesus (if not for all three; see below) an *êkodos* to be accomplished. Peter would prevent this by detaining all for worship as they were. The *bath qol* takes the place of the Lord's rebuke in correcting this, as in Acts 10:15 it replaces the rebuke of Paul.

as foretold in Scripture (*ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἣν ἡμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*); (*c*) his certainty of subsequent resurrection and glorification; (*d*) his relation to the expected forerunners of the Messiah. Moreover, as proof that Luke resorts to a source of his own, the usual relation of dependence among the synoptists is here reversed; Mark and Matthew share indeed with Luke in presenting this apocalyptic form of the "revelation" of Peter; but it is here Luke who is relatively full and near to what would seem the original form, Mark and Matthew who give evidence of dependence, not indeed on Luke, but on his Petrine source.<sup>17</sup>

Of these four data, (*a*) as most fundamental in importance is naturally expressed in the *bath qol*, which here repeats the very words of the messianic call in the baptismal vision at Jordan, *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ Ἐκλεκτός*.<sup>18</sup> Only the two words *ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ*, suitable in a revelation addressed to the disciples, are added on the basis of Deut. 18:15 (*cf.* Acts 3:22 f.). Datum (*b*) (passion of Christ), as perhaps next in importance, becomes the subject of discussion by the three glorified ones; (*c*) (resurrection and glorification), as embodying the most perplexing content of the vision, becomes the subject of debate "as they were coming down from the mount" (Mark 9:9 f.); (*d*) (the forerunner) is involved in the very personnel and structure of the vision itself. But on (*c*) and (*d*) we have need of further light, to be drawn from the eschatological conceptions of the age.

As to (*d*), the forerunner of Messiah. We are tolerably familiar with the popular expectation of the coming of Elias

<sup>17</sup> Dependence in the transfiguration story appears from Mark 9:6, *ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο, cf. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν νεφέλην*, Luke 9:34. The fear has a sufficient cause in Luke, besides being a feature in the style of this Lucan source elsewhere (see my *Introd.*, p. 213, n. 1). In Mark it has no occasion and does not harmonize; for Peter's words are indicative of emotions quite the reverse of fear. Luke 9:30 also has a more original form than Mark 9:4. Finally Matt. 17:5, first clause = Luke 9:34, first clause, is one of the coincident variations of Matthew and Luke from Mark, of which HAWKINS (*Horae Synopticae*, pp. 172-6) enumerates a minimum of twenty-one "as to which it seems almost impossible that Matthew and Luke could have accidentally concurred in making them." See my *Introd.*, p. 223, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Var. lect.*, *Ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα*. So Matt. 17:5, and 2 Peter 1:17; Mark 9:7, ὁ Ἀγαπητός.

in the form based upon Mal. 4:5 f., and referred to by Jesus in his reply to the disciples' question how the objection of the scribes is to be met (Mark 9:11-13). Even here, however, there are traits that imply more than is known to the student not acquainted with the extra-canonical form of the legend. For, as Professor J. Rendel Harris has pointed out, the "scripture" wherein a martyr-death is predicted for the forerunner (Mark 9:13) is unknown to the canon. *As applied to Elias alone*, we find it, in fact, only in a curious relic of ancient Jewish apocalypse, the *Book of Jewish Antiquities* formerly attributed to Philo. But another form of the legend was current, wherein the significance of this reference to the Baptist's fate is more obvious. This form was based on Zech. 4:14 as well as Mal. 4:5 f. (perhaps drawing in vs. 4 from the context), and accordingly demanded *two* forerunners, or "witnesses," the companion of Elias being usually Enoch, sometimes *Moses*. The martyrdom of the witnesses by the tyrant Antichrist, *followed by resurrection* from the dead, is here a constant feature; in fact, the very heart and nucleus of the legend. This resurrection, sometimes followed by ascension to heaven in a cloud, comes as the culmination of their conflict with Antichrist, wherein they act the part of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, resisting and exposing the attempts of Antichrist to deceive the elect (Matt. 24:24 and parallels), and denouncing his pretensions. "All manner of false signs and lying wonders" (Matt. 24:24; 2 Thess. 2:9) are wrought against them by Antichrist's agents, "as Jannes and Jambres [Pharaoh's magicians, according to legend] withstood Moses" (2 Tim. 3:8); these, however, they meet by greater and true signs. The duel ends with pretended resurrection and flight to heaven on the part of the false prophet, frustrated and exposed by the forerunners. For this they are slain by the tyrant, their bodies lie three days unburied, are then resurrected by Michael the archangel and carried up to heaven, whereupon the advent of Messiah ensues, as the exodus in the drama of the redemption from Egypt.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See BOUSSET, *Legend of Antichrist*, pp. 203 ff. The "Repentance of Jannes and Jambres," employed in 2 Tim., would seem to have belonged in the same apocalyptic cycle; note the context of 2 Tim. 3:8.

We find thus the significance of the popular rumors reported by the evangelists somewhat earlier (Mark 6 : 14 and parallels), "John the Baptist *is risen from the dead*, and *therefore* are these *miracles* wrought in him ; but others said, *It is Elias*," rumors which are reported by the disciples themselves in the dialogue preliminary to the confession of Peter (Mark 8 : 28 and parallels).<sup>20</sup> We also see why, as soon as Jesus has declared his messiahship and fate, the disciples recur to the question of the forerunner, "How then say the scribes that Elias must first come ?" Opportunity for putting the question thus naturally suggested by the rumors reported at the beginning of the dialogue is given by the concluding words in Jesus' assurance of his ultimate glorification, "There are some that stand here *that shall not taste of death* till they see the Son of man coming in his glory ;" for, as we shall see, it is one of the characteristics of the forerunners that they "had not tasted death." In still further illustration of the currency of the legend of Elias as forerunner, helper, and witness of Messiah, we have the comment of the soldiery, ignorant as they are of Aramaic, but familiar with the apocalyptic ideas of current messianism, on Jesus' dying words, "*Eli, Eli, lamah sabachthani*" : "He calleth Elias. Let be, let us see whether Elias cometh to take him down."

It is in the form requiring the "two witnesses" that the legend of the forerunner came ultimately to predominate. Of its currency in New Testament times we have the conclusive evidence of Rev. 11 : 3-12, where the identity of the two prophet-witnesses is placed beyond doubt by the characteristic miracles they have power to perform (vss. 5, 6 ; cf. Exod., chaps. 6-11 ; 2 Kings 1 : 9-15 ; James 5 : 17 f.). They are Moses and Elias, explicitly identified with the "two witnesses" of Messiah of Zech. 4 : 14, the men who "had not tasted of death," but, as Jewish Scripture and apocalypse maintained (2 Kings 2 : 11 ; Deut. 34 : 6 ; and *Assumptio Mosis*), had been translated. Their career of miracle-working against Antichrist, martyrdom, resurrection, and ascension corresponds in every respect with the

<sup>20</sup>"Jeremias" in the form of Matthew (16 : 14) represents simply a variant form of the legend of the "forerunner." See Ewald on Rev. 11 : 3, referred to above, p. 240.

expected career of the forerunners as known through Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalypse.<sup>21</sup> The uncanonical sources only vary from the canonical form in substituting for Moses the less orthodox, but certainly more original,<sup>22</sup> name of *Enoch*. As Bousset remarks: "With almost absolute unanimity the [uncanonical] tradition identifies them [the two witnesses] with Enoch and Elias." Even the Christian fathers follow this form, as in Tertullian (*De Anima*): "*Enoch and Elias were translated, nor were they found dead, but their death was deferred, though they are reserved to die, that they may extinguish Antichrist in their blood.*" Outside the New Testament it is in the Talmud alone (*Tanchuma*) that we find the more orthodox type of the doctrine making *Moses* and *Elias* the two witnesses.

It would appear, therefore, that on this eschatological point of the forerunners of *Messias*, whose practical importance and vitality to a church absolutely wrapped up in its expectation of the *parousia* and the signs of the Lord's coming is scarcely conceivable to us, the earliest believers were by no means of one mind. Was the sign of the forerunner already past? Or was it still to come? Did the "Scripture" call for one only, "Elias"? Or did it demand two, "*Moses (or Enoch) and Elias*"? On these questions it is not merely the later writers, Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, that illustrate the divergence of opinion, but the New Testament itself. And not merely does the Revelation of John introduce the apocalyptic view against what might well have been pronounced by its opponents the "rationalistic" of Mark 9:11-13, but in the gospels themselves we have evidence of the fluctuation of opinion.

Our oldest gospel attributes, indeed, unhesitatingly to Jesus a reference to the fate of John the Baptist as fulfilling the "Scripture" concerning Elias (Mark 9:13). That which comes next in date admits the saying so far as regards the identity of

<sup>21</sup> For full citations and critical discussion see BOUSSET, *Legend of Antichrist*, pp. 203-11.

<sup>22</sup> As GUNKEL (*Schöpfung und Chaos*) has shown, the original home of apocalyptic legend is Babylonia, where the translated (sun) hero is the biblical Enoch who "was translated that he should not see death" (Heb. 11:5). Enoch, accordingly, is the usual hero of apocalypse in general.

*personality*, and even makes it clearer by the editorial comment (Matt. 17:13; cf. 16:12), "then understood the disciples that he was speaking of John the Baptist." But this evangelist, in spite of his predilection for Scripture fulfilments, is careful to omit that part of the saying which declares the "Scripture" to have been already fulfilled in the Baptist's *fate*. Indeed, he goes so far elsewhere (Matt. 11:14 f.) as to tolerate an opinion denying the identification: "*If the disciples are willing to receive it*, this one [the Baptist] is Elias which is to come." Luke omits the whole passage Mark 9:11-13; but by no means through mere inattention or indifference. On the contrary, the substance thereof is reproduced in Luke 1:17, but not as a "*fulfilment*," still less as having the authority of Christ; only as a literary *comparison*. Gabriel predicts that the Baptist will carry out his reformatory work in preparation for the kingdom "in the spirit and power of Elias." *Per contra*, by as much as Luke emphasizes the witness of Moses and the prophets *in their writings* to the Messiah (Luke 4:16 ff.; 24:25-27, 44-47; Acts 8:26-35; 13:40-47; 15:15-18; 28:25-28), by so much does he deprecate the disposition which disregards these and looks for witnesses to be sent *from the dead*. A special addition (Luke 16:26-31) is made in this interest to the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (originally ethical, without eschatological purport), which renders to the plea, "If one go to them from the dead, they will repent," the answer: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded *if one rise from the dead*." Manifestly the trend of opinion already in the formative period of our synoptic gospels was decidedly away from finding the fulfilment of the sign of the forerunner in the coming and fate of the Baptist. Moses and Elias, if they appear at all outside the witness of their writings, will appear only in the end of the age. Or, as the most fully rationalized form, their return from the dead, as "witnesses of Messias," to turn Israel unto him in repentance, is not to be expected.

We naturally anticipate that such a writer as our fourth evangelist, who finds ample fulfilment of the expected coming of Antichrist in the mere prevalence of the spirit of error and



deceit (1 John 2: 18 f., 22; 4: 3), will have little sympathy with the apocalyptic expectation of Moses and Elias rising from the dead to withstand him.<sup>23</sup> We are not surprised, accordingly, to see the agreement of John with Luke that it is *the writings* of Moses and the prophets "which testify of" Christ, and which "accuse," expose, and condemn those who reject him, yet receive "another who comes in his own name" (John 5: 43-47; cf. vss. 33-36). We may well be surprised, however, at the extent to which the fourth evangelist outdoes the second and third in flatly contradicting (John 1: 21) the identification of the Baptist with Elias, or any other of the apocalyptic forerunners, and pointing out that he had not been a wonder-worker at all (10: 41). It is, in fact, impossible, as Michaelis already saw, and as Baldensperger<sup>24</sup> has since made undeniable, to account for the attitude of this evangelist toward the Baptist without the recognition that he confronts a still active and persistent form of the popular delusion regarding his resurrection from the dead, and his being in reality at least Elias, if not "that prophet" (*i. e.*, Moses; cf. Deut. 18: 15; Acts 3: 22 f.; 7: 37; and *Clem. Hom.* and *Recogn., passim*); in other words, the Christ himself (cf. John 1: 8, 15, 20, 26 f., 29-34; 3: 28, 29 f., 31, etc.).

The evidence thus adduced is surely adequate to prove that in the formative period of our gospels this question of the forerunners of Messiah was not only surrounded with the most vivid interest, but that diverse interpretations of the "Scripture" were current. It is sufficient, surely, to establish a *prima facie* case that the variant forms ((a) John the Baptist was Elias; his martyrdom at the hands of the tyrant fulfils the prediction; (b) the witnesses of Messiah are Moses [*var.* Enoch] and Elias; "they are reserved to die, that they may extinguish Antichrist in their blood;" what has thus far appeared is only a *similarity* in John the Baptist, and a witness by the *writings* of Moses and Elias) are represented respectively in the two forms

<sup>23</sup>Needless to say that common authorship of Revelation with the epistles and gospel is to us insupposable. They must be careless readers of my *Introduction* who attribute to me (with however wearisome repetition) views similar to Harnack's on this point.

<sup>24</sup>*Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*, 1898. Cf. my *Introd.*, pp. 254 f.

of the story of the Revelation of the Christ (*a*) in the confession of Peter (Mark 9:11-13 and parallels), and (*b*) in the transfiguration (Luke 9:30 f.).

But this is not all the evidence of divergent conceptions on this doctrinal point in Mark 9:1, 11-13 and 9:2-10 respectively. We have seen that the rare and peculiar expression "taste of death" (γεύεσθαι θανάτου) of Mark 9:1=Matt. 16:28=Luke 9:27 is distinctive of this peculiar eschatological tenet. Now, in 2 Esdras 6:26 f. we read that those who survive the great tribulation "shall see *the men that have been taken up*, who have not *tasted death* from their birth." Our two versions of the revelation of the Christ to Peter in Mark 9:1 and 9:4 respectively take different ways of meeting this prophecy. In 9:1 it is the *bystanders* who "shall not taste of death" till they witness Messiah's coming; in 9:4 the prophecy is fulfilled *literally*, by the manifestation to the apostles of "the men that had been taken up."

So clear, in fact, is the significance of the "two men who appeared with Jesus in glory, and spoke of his *ἐξοδος* (an approach to the Johannine euphemism "glorification") which he was to "fulfil in Jerusalem," that the disciples need no explanation of their identity. They perceive at once that the glorified ones can be no other than "the two anointed ones that stand before the Lord" (Zech. 4:14), the two prophet-witnesses of Messiah, whose own death, resurrection, and ascension are to precede his coming again in glory (Rev. 11:3-12). In fact, in what appears the most nearly original form (Luke 9:30) the narrator himself throws in the names as by after-thought (οἵτινες ἦσαν), as if in his source they were as nameless as in Revelation, possibly not Moses and Elias at all, but Enoch and Elias. But for the Christian "prophet" whose "revelation of the Lord" is here adopted, the picture of Jesus as glorified Messiah is not complete without his "two witnesses standing before the Lord of the whole earth." Without it the objection of "the scribes" would not be met.

The remaining point (*c*), which in the transfiguration story calls for some further light from current eschatological ideas, is

the subject introduced by the narrator as that in debate among the disciples as they descend from the mount—not, "What does the Lord mean by *his* rising from the dead?" but, *τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι*; literally, "*What is it* to rise from the dead?" Why is the writer so careful to describe the appearance of the glorified ones? In particular, how comes he by the extraordinary term *μετεμορφώθη*, unknown elsewhere to the New Testament, save in Rom. 12:2 and 2 Cor. 3:18?

In point of fact, the question introduces us at once to the very heart of eschatological controversy between the Jewish-minded and the Hellenistically-minded elements of the early church. Both parties held the doctrine of a future life. Indeed, even the heathen world was, if anything, more advanced on this point than the Jewish. But the Jew believed in a resurrection *of the body*, though still in hot debate as to the precise nature of that body, whether more or less similar in substance to the body of flesh (Luke 20:35 f., and talmudic sources in Weber, *Lehre des Talmud*). The Greek held all resuscitation doctrines in contempt (Acts 17:32). Even converted Greeks declared that (in this sense) there was no resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15:12), or that resurrection and regeneration are identical (*cf.* John 5:24-26, *followed by* 27-29), so that it might be said that "the resurrection is past already" (2 Tim. 2:18). As late as Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, lxxx) we find reference to sectarians who are "called Christians," but in reality are "atheists." These deny a bodily resurrection and "say there is no resurrection of the dead, and that their *souls* are taken to heaven *when they die*." Hence the burning question became: "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?" (1 Cor. 15:35). One man in the early church, whose writings are before us, and seemingly only one, could speak on this subject with the assured conviction of personal knowledge from direct divine revelation, and he has expressed his mind clearly and fully, though catholic doctrine, as it was ultimately formulated (Apostles' Creed, *πιστεύομεν εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σαρκὸς*), is certainly based to some extent on other sources. Paul, as we know, rested on direct personal experience. He appealed to God's having "revealed the Christ

in him," risen and glorified, shining with the brightness of the light wherewith creation began (Gal. 1:16; 1 Cor. 15:8; 2 Cor. 3:18—4:6). The body of the risen Lord was a "body of glory" into the likeness of which our fleshly bodies must be "transfigured" (*μεταμορφούμεθα*, 2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 12:2) by a miraculous process of "change" (Phil. 3:21), because in the nature of the case it is impossible that flesh and blood should inherit the kingdom of God, or the corruptible incorruption (1 Cor. 15:50). This "transfiguration" of the body of flesh into glory-substance (*δόξα*) by the transforming power of indwelling *πνεῦμα* (Rom. 8:11) is so indispensable that even "we who are alive and remain" at the coming of the Lord "must be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." It may well be assumed, therefore, that Paul, to whom Jesus' earthly body was no phantasm, but genuine "flesh" (Rom. 1:3; 9:8; 2 Cor. 5:16; Eph. 2:15; Col. 1:22; Phil. 2:7), not distinguishable, save by the inworking resurrecting power of the spirit of holiness (Rom. 1:4), from "sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3), and whose whole reasoning on this subject is by simple analogy from the experience of Christ (1 Cor. 15:16 ff.), believed that this indispensable "transfiguration" had taken place in Christ's body of flesh also, when he became "the first-fruit (*ἀπαρχή*) of them that are asleep." While Paul was indebted to Peter and the older apostles for the fact of the sepulcher (*καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη*, 1 Cor. 15:4), which had been found empty on the third day, it is therefore at least as probable that Peter and the eleven derived their *explanation* of the fact, at least in its ultimate form (Acts 2:31, *οὐκ εἶδεν διαφθοράν*), from Paul, whose doctrine of "transfiguration" (*μεταμόρφωσις*) rested equally on rabbinic lore and the experience of vision.

For on this question of the nature of the resurrection body (*τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται;*) opinion was at least as divided in the church as in the synagogue (Luke 20:36). Undoubtedly the earliest theories rested on the appearance of the risen Christ to Peter (1 Cor. 15:5). But for some reason the account of this first, and to our view most important, of all the post-resurrection appearances has been

systematically struck out<sup>25</sup> from the gospel record, or so altered as to be no longer recognizable. We have, indeed, a fragment of the *Kerygma Petri* preserved in Ignatius's *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*:

For I know and believe that He was in the *flesh* even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his company, He said to them, Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body. And straightway they touched Him and believed. . . . And after His resurrection He both ate with them and drank with them as one *in the flesh*;<sup>26</sup>

from which it would appear that in the circles represented by the *Kerygma Petri* more stress was laid upon a differentiation of the resurrection body from the phantasmal body of mere *δαίμονες* than to differentiate it from the grossly carnal views of current Pharisaism, by means of the Pauline doctrine of "transfiguration." It is of course to such sources as these that we owe the phraseology of the Apostles' Creed, "resurrection of the flesh." But if the Petrine source of Luke and the *Kerygma* rightly exemplify the teaching current as Peter's on the question τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι, it was open to serious objection, not from Paulinists alone, but from all reflecting minds, on the score of orthodoxy. Lacking the Pauline discrimination between the body of flesh and "that body that shall be," the "spiritual body," "transfigured" into the likeness of Christ's body of glory-substance, it would be helpless before the ridicule of the Hellenistically-minded, who asked: "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?"

But this Pauline factor in the resurrection doctrine, the transmutability of flesh under the operation of spirit "according to the mighty working of the power by which Christ subdues all

<sup>25</sup> The loss of the ending of Mark, which certainly went on to relate this appearance to Peter (14:28; 16:7), might be accounted for as accidental. But the removal from Luke (cf. 24:34), where only 24:12 lingers in some codices, a survival of the lost narrative, can only have been deliberate. It was, therefore, doubtless for doctrinal reasons.

<sup>26</sup> See LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers*, on IGN., *Smyrn.*, 3. According to Origen, Ignatius is using the *Kerygma Petri*; according to Jerome, the "Gospel according to the Hebrews." Both may be correct. The story is parallel to Luke 24:36-49, and probably in more original form, as it contains the features referred to in Acts 10:40-42 (cf. John 21:13, 15, and Luke 24:43, *Vulg.*). Some unexplained relation exists between the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" and the *Kerygma*. Cf. the relation of Luke to Acts.

things unto himself," was not permitted to be perpetually absent from the Petrine gospel. It is set forth in the transfiguration story in the very phraseology of Paul (μετεμορφώθη, Mark 9:2 = Matt. 17:2; Luke 9:29, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, cf. Mark 16:12 [Ariston], ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ), with traits which unavoidably recall the vision on the road to Damascus (Matt. 17:2, ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος . . . τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς; Luke 9:29, λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων; cf. 2 Cor. 3:18—4:6). And as proof that it is really in this interest that the description is given, we need only turn to the first sentence of the Akhmim fragment of the "Revelation of Peter," where the same features as these in the transfiguration are introduced for just this purpose.<sup>27</sup> The opening words are part of a warning against "false prophets and doctrines of perdition," showing that, as in the case of our Second Peter, the apostle's authority was invoked against eschatological heresy. After this it proceeds: "The Lord said: Let us go into the mountain, let us pray."<sup>28</sup> And going with him, we, the twelve disciples, begged that he would show us one of our brethren, the righteous who are gone forth out of the world, *in order that we might see of what manner of form they are*, and having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear us. And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared *two men standing before the Lord* toward the east, on whom we were not able to look; for there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining such as eye of man never saw. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

It would appear, then, that on this point of the nature of the resurrection body, as well as that of the coming of the forerunner, there were fluctuations of opinion in the early church.

<sup>27</sup> Note the same interest in the Revelation of John, 1:12-16, and cf. 21:23; Acts 32:11. In *Slav. Enoch*, xxii, 8-9 Enoch appears "clothed with glory."

<sup>28</sup> So in the *Lucan* form of the transfiguration story, Luke 9:28.

<sup>29</sup> In the *Apocalypse of Peter* this is not a version of the transfiguration story, though obviously connected with it. This "revelation" is *after the resurrection*. We may well raise the query whether in the original this was not the case with the transfiguration story, which will then have been brought into connection with the confession of Peter, because perceived to be an apocalyptic interpretation of it. If so, then "after about an eight days," Luke 9:28, will find its explanation in John 20:26.

The ultimate adoption of the Pauline theory of the "transfiguration" of the body of flesh into a "spiritual body" of glory-substance—a theory which represents the better element of pre-Christian rabbinic speculation—was accomplished only through the gradual extrusion of the grosser, popular conceptions, against which had been directed the sneers of the Sadducees (Luke 20: 27 ff. and parallels), but which had obtained currency in the church under the name of Peter. The transfiguration story, with its ocular demonstration to "Peter and them that were with him" of "what it is to rise from the dead," protects the older Petrine accounts of the type of Luke 24: 41-43; Acts 10: 41; *Kerygma apud Ign., ad Smyrn.*, 3, whose aim had been only to show that "the sons of the resurrection" "have flesh and bones," and are not mere phantasms "like a bodiless δαίμων," from the reproach of carnality. It does so by adoption of the Pauline elements of μεταμόρφωσις and the "body of glory-substance," precisely as the Joppa vision adopts the Pauline doctrine of the abolition of discrimination of meats.

But one step in the process still remains obscure. In the period after the crucifixion there was ample room for such "revelations" to Peter as might be needful to correct all false doctrine, heresy, and schism. Specifically eschatological questions claimed this as the special field of "prophetic" revelation. Why, then, does not an author dominated by the eschatologico-apocalyptic interest resort to this field? Why does he not develop the unquestioned appearance to Peter of 1 Cor. 15: 5; Luke 24: 34, instead of building on the confession of Peter, whose doctrinal elements he appropriates, as we have seen?

We must resort again to that type of early Christian literature which repudiated Paul and made the authority of Peter supreme, for our conception of the part played by this incident of the confession. Already in Gal. 1: 12 ff. the emphatic οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ("I also;" cf. 2: 8) in Paul's claim to have received his knowledge from Christ "by revelation" (κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν), followed by the denial of conference with "flesh and blood," recalls the fact that partisans of Cephas may well have been claiming that Peter's knowledge was "not from flesh and blood," but Jesus himself

had witnessed that Peter's recognition of the messiahship was a "revelation" from the Father in heaven (Matt. 16:17 f.). But, however that may be — and the relation of the two passages may be conceivably reversed — we have evidence in *Clem. Hom.*, xvii, 18 f., that in Ebionite circles the two occasions of Damascus and of Cæsarea Philippi, as marking the origin of the respective "gospels" of Paul and of Peter, were wont to be brought into explicit contrast, and with decided preference for the *ante-mortem* form of "revelation." We abridge as follows:

Thus to me [Peter] also was "the Son revealed by the Father." Wherefore I know the meaning of revelation, having learned it in my own case. For at the very time when the Lord said, "Who do they say that I am," and when I had heard "one saying one thing and one another," it came into my heart to say (and I know not therefore how I said it), "Thou art the Son of the living God." But he, pronouncing me "blessed," pointed out to me that it was "the Father who had revealed it to me;" and from this time I learned that revelation is knowledge gained without instruction, and without apparition and dreams. . . . If, then, our Jesus appeared to you [Simon Magus, a mask for Paul] in a vision, made himself known to you and spoke to you, it was as one who is enraged with an adversary [alluding to the arrest of Balaam, Numb. 22:22, on his mission against Israel, by an angelic "adversary"]. But if you were appeared to and taught by him, and became his apostle for a single hour, proclaim his utterances, interpret his sayings, love his apostles, contend not with me who companied with him. For in direct opposition to me who am a firm "rock, the foundation of the church," you now stand. If you were not opposed to me, you would not accuse me, and revile the truth proclaimed by me, that I may not be believed when I state what I myself have heard with my own ears from the Lord, as being manifestly "condemned" [*κατεγνωμένος*, the term applied in Gal. 2:11] and in bad repute. But if you say that I am "condemned," you bring an accusation against God who "revealed the Christ" to me, and you inveigh against him who pronounced me "blessed" on account of the revelation.

It was, in fact, with the confession of Peter that Peter's spokesman must begin if he would show his apostolic hero as fully equipped as Paul with divine authority. It was specifically here that he must show him qualified to answer the "false teachers who privily brought in destructive heresies . . . walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his *παρουσία*? for from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning



of the creation." That Peter *was* appealed to as authority on these subjects is abundantly shown by the "Apocalypse" of Peter and our own Second Peter—two interrelated products of this school, each aiming to refute eschatological heresy. And doubtless so long as the vision story had only this eschatological interest its scene remained that of the *post-mortem* period. It was when "Gospels" and "Acts" of Peter came to be written, as well as "Revelations," and the great apostle of the circumcision set over against Paul, that the revelation was identified with that so designated by Christ himself (Matt. 16:17), wherein Peter had received his gospel and been made the foundation of the church. In the story of Peter's confession, as we have seen, the author of Luke's Petrine source found: (*a*) the *bath qol* to "Peter and them that were with him," which revealed the Christ to him in the words, "This is my Son, the Beloved, on whom my choice was fixed;"<sup>30</sup> (*b*) the doctrine of the *ἐξοδος* to be "fulfilled" in Jerusalem, together with a rebuke of his hero for expressing a protest against this appointed fate, softened down now in his version to a *μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει*;<sup>31</sup> (*c*) the doctrine of resurrection and glorification of the Christ, wherein by implication would be contained all that was needful to the orthodox faith; (*d*) the doctrine of the forerunner, obscure, but very serviceable against deniers of the *παρουσία*. His motive for the development of (*d*) in the eschatological sense is, in fact, well illustrated within the limits of the canon itself. For in 2 Peter 1:17 f. it is just to the experience of "the holy mount" and the "voice from the most excellent glory" heard by the apostles that the pseudonymous author appeals, against those who "with cunningly devised fables deny the power and the *παρουσία* of Christ."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See my article "On the Aorist *εὐδόκησα* in Mark 1:11 and Parallels," in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1897.

<sup>31</sup> This trait (*b*) will of course be secondary in case the original placing of the "revelation" was after the resurrection, as in *Apoc. Petri*.

<sup>32</sup> It should not be taken for granted that the scene of 2 Peter 1:16-18 is that of the synoptists rather than that of the *Apoc. Petri*. Before the discovery of the Akhmim fragment SPITTA (*Der zweite Brief des Petrus*, pp. 89 ff.) found reason to regard the account referred to in the epistle as independent of the synoptic. Since then a connection has been shown between the epistle and the apocalypse. Vs. 16 in fact agrees better with the idea of a post-resurrection setting.

If, then, all these elements of his vision of Peter were present (to the mind of such a Petrine disciple) in the confession, is it not probable that some subordinate points of coincidence of the transfiguration story may have a similar derivation: (1) the location, *μετὰ ὥσει ἡμέραι ὀκτώ* in the *ὅρος ὑψηλὸν κατ' ἰδίαν*; (2) the *dramatis personae*; (3) the injunction of secrecy, Mark 9:9 and parallels = Mark 8:30 and parallels? The last (3) we may leave to speak for itself. Of (2) we need only say the three intimates "Peter, James, and John" would seem to be less original than "Peter and they that were with him"<sup>33</sup> (*cf.* Luke 5:9; Acts 13:13, "Paul and his company," *οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον*; the *Kerygma*, *ut supra*, *τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον*; and Pseudo-Mark [shorter ending], *τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον*). But even if the three intimates, as in Mark 5:37 and 14:13, be original in the transfiguration story, as against "the disciples" of Peter's confession, it may still be questioned whether the order of Luke, "Peter, John, and James" (*cf.* Acts 1:13), be not the earlier; and whether, if so, the three intended may not have been originally the *στύλοι* of the Jerusalem church (Gal. 2:9). More than once we have found occasion to suspect a relation between the Petrine source of Luke and the "Gospel according to the Hebrews." It is worth noting that in this Nazarene source James the Lord's brother quite eclipses his namesake, the son of Zebedee; and even, if, with Zahn, we may attribute to it the fragment in Severianus of Gabala (*Forsch.*, VI, p. 277), those of the company who visited the grave on the women's report (Luke 24:12; *cf.* vs. 24) were "Peter and John and James," *i. e.*, James the Lord's brother, whose vision of the Lord is referred to in 1 Cor. 15:7. For John as a witness of "visions and revelations of the Lord" in his glorified body as conqueror of death, see Rev. 1:12-16. Of the rest of the *dramatis personae* we have, of course, no further need to speak.

As to the location (1), we may note (*a*) that the *ὅρος ὑψηλόν*, so far as the phraseology is concerned, recalls the temptation story (*παρалаμβάνει . . . εἰς ὅρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν*). So far as the fact itself goes, the two occasions when Jesus took the disciples

<sup>33</sup> So 2 Peter 1:16, where the "we" must refer to "the apostles," *cf.* 3:2.

apart to a mountain by themselves were those of Peter's confession in Cæsarea Philippi at the foot of Hermon, and of the ascension, Luke 24:50 ff.; Acts 1:9, 12. (δ) But the transfiguration was dated originally (Luke 9:28) "about eight days" (a week) after some event whose importance was so great and inner relation so germane as to warrant mention of the date. If that which now fills the place of a *terminus a quo* (the confession of Peter) be removed as merely a duplicate version of the same, we are left to conjecture. It might be assumed that the event in question was the great crisis in Capernaum, marking Jesus' rejection from the field of his ministry and the beginning of the march to Calvary. We might then account for the curious alteration in Mark 9:2 (*six* days) by the fact that the starting-point according to Mark 8:22 is nearer, viz., "Bethsaida." This might lead to the idea, when the transfiguration story came to be inserted, of subtracting two days from the journey;<sup>34</sup> for the confession of Peter (judging by distances traversed) was "about a week" after the same crisis (Mark 7:1-31; 8:27 ff. [in the form of Matt. 16:13 ff.]).<sup>35</sup> It seems more probable, however, that the "eight days" were originally intended, as in John 20:26, to mark the resurrection day, the Revelation of Peter having been dated like the Revelation of John (Rev. 1:10) on the *κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*, and subsequently transferred to its present place.

Whatever the case may be regarding the minor coincidences and the ultimate underlying event, whether the "revelation" of Matt. 16:17 or that of 1 Cor. 15:5, the evidence adduced to show the derivation of the principal traits of the transfiguration story from those of the confession of Peter would seem to leave us no alternative. We have here a parallel to the phenomena of Acts 9:32-11:18 in comparison with Acts, chaps. 13-15. The story of how "the Christ was revealed to Peter," originally perhaps having reference, not to the "revelation" at Cæsarea Philippi, but to the post-resurrection revelation referred to in Luke

<sup>34</sup> As already noted (p. 237), the duplication in Mark does not stand alone, but is part of a series; Mark 9:2-10 following 8:1-22a.

<sup>35</sup> For the actual itinerary beginning with the feeding of the multitude on the west shore, see my *Introd.*, *ut supra*.

24:34 and 1 Cor. 15:5, was developed after the plan of apocalypse illustrated in the *Revelations* of John and Peter. In process of time it was transferred to the earlier "revelation" (Matt. 16:13-28 and parallels) in such a way as to exclude the rebuke, so offensive to adherents of Cephas, and to include the eschatological doctrines which the church was ultimately driven to incorporate from the gospel of Paul. Hence the combination of the motives derived from current eschatological debates as to the forerunners and the resurrection body, with the original purely apologetic motives of the confession of Peter.

We have maintained that the source which thus appears in Luke and Acts side by side with a more catholic representation is more traceable in Luke than in Matthew and Mark. In Acts both the overshadowing prominence of Peter and the assimilation of his career and doctrine to that of Paul are notorious. The similar phenomena of parts of the gospel of Luke, where Peter (Luke 22:8, "Peter and John," as in Acts) plays almost as leading a part, have escaped observation because obscured by so much other material derived from Mark. In the exclusively Lucan material, however, the original call to be fishers of men is given (with miracle in support), not to the four, but to Peter (Luke 5:4-9, 10b, 11). Similarly it is Peter who is the faithful steward to whom the Master commits his household (Luke 12:41 ff.). It is Peter for whose "conversion" Jesus prays, and who strengthens his brethren (22:31 ff.); Peter who (in the source 24:12) runs to the sepulcher; and Peter to whom Jesus first appeared (Luke 24:34). That the Lucan gospel as well as the Acts rests upon a source having special relations to the *Kerygma Petri*, the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," and other specifically Petrine literature, is a conclusion for which there is much more evidence than can now be adduced. But the most important step in the process of extrication of this source and discovery of its relation to all our synoptic gospels is the recognition that among its most important features was the transfiguration story, whose remarkable history we have endeavored to read in the evidences of alteration it would seem to have undergone.

## THE JEWISH REFORMATION.

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I HAVE been asked to inform the readers of this JOURNAL regarding "the new phase of Judaism into which the reform movement tries to cast the ancient faith." In complying I would first say that the word "new" in this connection is not to be understood in the sense of recent, novel, or untried; for the movement began a century and a half ago, and has continued, with varying fortunes, ever since. New it can be called only in so far as it is a departure from the ceremonials and standards of the old faith. In just the same way the Christian Bible, despite its age, is still called "the New Testament," only to distinguish it from the Hebrew Scriptures; it would be more correct to use "the *Older* Testament," since both collections are recognized by the church as "Testaments."

The reform movement first began to take shape with Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), though the "sage of Berlin" never contemplated a remodeling of the faith to the extent to which it has been carried in our day. He lived and died an orthodox Jew, and desired to be known to the world as one walking according to the rabbinical ordinances. He was the lifelong friend of Lessing, Germany's master-mind of that day, who has immortalized him in *Nathan der Weise*, and has made him the bearer of his glorious gospel of toleration. He remained a Jew of the Jews, and lived and died as such. But he was also the author of *Phaëdon* (1767), of *Morgenstunden* (1785), of works on German literature, and the translator into classic German of the Pentateuch and the Psalms; the latter being the two most important books for the Jewish service. By this happy combination of fidelity to faith and tradition with appreciation of the intellectual and artistic life of his own day, Mendelssohn brought to his people the message of "culture." This was the one thing needful for their redemption from the disfigurements

which their long and desperate struggle for existence had wrought in their speech, in their manners, in their worship, in their frame of mind and their attitude toward their surroundings. The wisdom of his counsel, the gentleness of his bearing, the purity of his character, and his standing in the world of letters drew to his side all Jews who, like him, greeted the dawn of the new day which seemed to break for the downtrodden race in the general awakening of the German mind. That he also aroused the opposition of that much larger class which saw safety only in an unbending adherence, even in its smallest details, to the faith as it had been delivered unto the fathers, and which denounced the Berlin philosopher as a dangerous innovator, is a reaction known to all churches and of everyday occurrence in our own time. Yet when Mendelssohn died all felt and confessed that a great light had set in Israel. Witness this extract from the *Vossische Zeitung* of January 10, 1768, quoted by Professor Geiger in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* of August 30, 1900:

The bier was not carried by hirelings, but by his most intimate friends, the noblest and most cultivated of his people; the whole congregation, with the exception of very few, followed the remains; and during the whole time that the funeral lasted all trade and work were suspended among the Jews, and their stores were closed. Some strangers who had come to Berlin solely for the purpose of seeing the great man and speaking with him, but for whom he had passed away too soon, made their way into the chapel where the remains were being prepared for final interment, so that they might view his body and shed tears on the lips and hands from which had emanated so much goodness and wisdom.

The record of the movement that Mendelssohn inaugurated is one of fruitful mental and literary activity. Its ideas are expressed in forms of worship which, deeply rooted in the ancient soil, have in their present adaptation endeared themselves, more especially in this country, to three generations of educated Israelites. It has kept within the fold, or led back to it, many who were on the point of losing their true selves in the inanity of agnosticism. It has breathed new life into a number of old customs which are well worthy of preservation, but which were falling into desuetude because their traditional form was ungainly and had become overgrown with ceremonies that

appealed neither to the heart nor to the mind of the worshiper. In their modern garb they are sources of strength and comfort to many a brave burden-bearer in our midst. And the movement has lasted long enough to have its leadership transferred from the country of its birth to the New World; but of this later on.

For all that, the question submitted is appropriate and welcome. If we have reason to be thankful for what has been achieved, we recognize the fact that much—and to my mind the more difficult part of the task—still remains to be done. For it is characteristic of the Jewish reformation that at no time has it claimed to be final and conclusive. The movement is to remain a movement; it has not ended in the substitution of a new orthodoxy for the old one—that fatal error which has strewn the earth with sects and sects of sects. The present leaders of this movement do not intend, now that the fruits of their labors are assured beyond all peradventure, to fold their arms and lay the flattering unction to their souls that they have saved Judaism. Vital problems are still before us which require for their successful solution all the wisdom, all the patience, all the moderation that we can bring to bear upon this task.

And who can tell the new and unforeseen tasks the future hides? The reform movement has carried us Jews right into the heart of modern life, and we are as deeply and vitally affected by its pulsations as are other churches and religions. The old isolation is a thing of the past for the reformed Jew, as he freely avows and as is demonstrated by his readiness to join all honest workers for the elevation of mankind and the betterment of human life. Reform is not to sink to a mere badge marking off one body of religious people from another, but otherwise meaningless to its bearers. It is to remain a principle of life, a spur to timely action, a perpetual admonition to keep abreast, on our own native ground, with the best thought of our time. Reform as an article of our creed not only justifies the past action, but is our watchword for future work. The oldest and most severely tried of all the churches feels in her veins the youngest and freshest life-blood of the present. A reformer once shall mean a reformer always. Thus we hope to forestall

the necessity of offering concessions after the mischief has been done, caused by the refusal to listen to the just demands of the time in due season.

But for the orthodox Jew also the old isolation is passed. He cannot longer be, nor does he desire to be, exactly what his forefathers were. In that sense all Jews living within the influence of modern civilization are reformed Jews, no matter how strictly they may adhere to the old ceremonialism. Nay, even beyond the apparent zone of this influence, even in darkest Russia, there are many thousands of them who are acquainted with and have fully mastered the problems that occupy the highest intellectual life of our time. With their faces still buried in their rabbinical tomes, their minds ascend to the highest regions of metaphysical speculation. Under their ungainly exterior and lingual barbarism, the inner man is often as marked a product of our own day as is the most pronounced reformer.

If we Jews have so far been spared the affliction of a new church, it has not been due to our clearer insight or wiser foresight. We owe it in the first place to the peculiar nature of the old faith, and in the second to the causes that led to the movement for reform.

Judaism is not a church in the Christian acceptance of that term. It is not a spiritual community founded upon a technical creed and armed with powers not to be found elsewhere. It does not claim to be the appointed guardian of "the means of grace," on the correct and faithful dispensation of which depends the salvation of the human soul. Judaism entered history in the form of a "nation," bound together by a religious thought. This thought was expressed in the form of a "covenant with God," by which the nation was set apart and charged, in its totality, with a peculiar mission. It is not a matter of choice with the individual whether or not he should enter into this compact; he was born into it. As a native of the "House of Israel," he is entitled to all its rights and privileges, and charged with all its duties. "House of Israel" is the historic name for the Jewish church. One is master in the household—God, the One, Invisible and Indivisible; and one rule obtains for all its members,



viz., his will as revealed in his law. In the ancient land of this vast household he had his sanctuary, his orders of priests and Levites, founded also on birthright, his seers and prophets who declared his purposes and foretold his judgments. These visible signs of the "House of Israel" have long since disappeared; but their ideas have remained, and outlasted all the misfortunes and trials of the scattered nation. A Jew may or may not belong to a congregation, just as he pleases; if only he owns allegiance to the covenant with God—in other words, considers himself a Jew—no man has the right to question his position. His submission is due to the Law only; and the Law is an open book which the Jew is even bound to study every day of his life. He is responsible to no human tribunal for his sins. Knowing the true way of repentance, he does not go in quest of any other atonement.

The "ancient faith" never had an authorized creed, and no serious attempt was ever made to impose one upon it. Hence any demand for reform is, so to speak, a domestic matter, and is always, as in all self-respecting families, settled at home. The most radical reformer repudiates separation, and not rarely gives stronger proofs of his fealty than the zealot who will not depart from the old paths even to a hair's breadth. Judaism is a religious democracy, a people's church in the broadest sense of the word. The *ecclesia oppressa* of the world guarantees to her members the fullest measure of individual liberty.

The absence of a priestly order saved the reform movement from the opposition which imperiled authority and class interest naturally show toward innovations. The rabbi is not a member of an organized class, and his ordination carries with it no special and formal consecration. He has been aptly called "the expert on matters religious;" he is a "master in Israel" to the measure in which he himself has mastered the field of his activity and is able to dispense the light and knowledge that he has acquired. The small modicum of authority that the rabbinical law accords to him he can increase only by the weight of his personality and by the confidence that he can instil into the hearts of his people. In this respect the Jewish reformation has widened rather than

restricted the influence of the rabbi. It has called him out of his study, and has set him face to face with his own people in full view of the outside world. It has created opportunities for him to minister to the religious life of the members of his congregation in their homes, and to be a leader in all kinds of work for the relief of the poor and the instruction of the ignorant. It has imposed upon him the duty of representing his church on all occasions in which the Jews participate. In the school of life he has learned the great lesson of toleration, not only toward men of different creeds or of no creed at all, but, what is harder to carry out, toward those of his own faith who differ from him in theory or practice. There is no ground for sectarianism in the House of Israel, and those who hanker after apostleship of a new revelation must go outside for it.

The other cause that favored the reform movement was the fact that it was contemporaneous with the social reformation which began for the Jews of western Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and formed an integral part of it. The question was not of mending a creed, but of supplying a need; not of that dogmatic salvation which, as Paul says, is "of the Jews," but for the Jews, and not for the world to come, but for the world that now is. It came as "a historic necessity" which "leads the willing and draws the unwilling;" and the Jews were surely willing to be led forth from the wretched conditions in which they had found themselves. The clear-sighted understood that, if the better time was to come, it must find the Jew equipped for his new duties and privileges, civic and social. But his religion was so closely woven into his daily life that this could not be done without raising the question as to the validity of the restrictions that it imposed. The right to live according to his Law had been bought at such a fearful price that the least custom of the fathers bore in the eyes of the faithful the sanctity of a divine ordinance. Ceremonialism had so enveloped and overgrown the spiritual part of Judaism that it was natural to doubt whether the latter could survive the downfall of the former. It was not a theoretical, but a practical problem, which many solved for themselves without asking permission of the rabbi. By

and by the conflict reached the synagogue itself; its ritual ceased to edify large portions of the people, and a reform was clearly needed if these were not to be entirely estranged from the community. The old unquestioning faith gave way in many points to the more liberal ideas which schools and universities began to dispense for the Hebrew youth, and which were eagerly sought and accepted by them.

Once admitted into the synagogue, the germs of the new ideas fell upon a fruitful soil, and their growth was favored by the independence which the congregations have at all times enjoyed among the Jews. This is the reason why the reformation was not noticed so much by outsiders. No violent upheavals or clashes of arms signalized its appearance. The movement did not begin in districts where the Jews are massed in large numbers, as in Russia, Poland, and Austria, but in Germany, where they are settled in groups of moderate sizes, scattered over wide areas, and without any ecclesiastical organization to link them together. It was therefore possible, and it frequently happened, that conflicts which divided one body left the rest undisturbed.

Besides, although the Jews had dwelt in some of the oldest cities of Germany longer than their Christian inhabitants, they were still treated as aliens in the middle of the eighteenth century. They had no rights but such as they could buy with money; and even this privilege was sometimes denied them. What human power could they invoke to plead their cause or avenge their wrongs? And if they were shamefully treated in regard to their civic rights, their religion was held below contempt. On it was heaped all the opprobrium which the combined greed of the state and the arrogance of the church could invent. Its very existence was considered a crime. The psalmist's prayer, "I shall not die, but live to make known the works of God," was on the lips of the Jew an inspiration of the devil, the original sin (*Erbsünde*) of Israel. That there could be any element of truth in their religion, any vein of real piety, anything worth preserving or even knowing—such a thought never entered the minds of the rulers. So the Jews were left to themselves and not molested so long as the sound of their

disputes did not disturb the public peace and so long as they paid their taxes ungrudgingly.

Among themselves the waves of controversies often ran high, and partook of the acrimony which we are accustomed to in theological contests. Combinations of differing communities were formed; even ban and excommunication were resorted to. But the ecclesiastical thunder had lost its terrors, and its bolts fell harmless at the feet of the intended victims. All this is a matter of past history now, and among the best of all the reforms that have been achieved is the mutual forbearance which the orthodox and the progressive sides of Judaism show to one another.

The reformation may be called German-Jewish; for it was begun and carried on during the first century of its life in that country, and in contiguous countries where German Jews had settled or whither their writings had penetrated. There the literary battles were fought, translations of the Bible with popular commentaries published, and the first revised liturgies introduced. There schools for the religious training of children on the principles of modern pedagogy were devised, and the necessary catechisms, manuals of biblical history, hymn-books, etc., were provided. It was in Germany that the sermon was introduced as a stated part of public worship; and the newly created pulpits were filled with men who were masters of the spoken word and competent expounders of Judaism, both in its traditional and in its modern conception. There also a number of conferences in the interest of the reformation were held; seminaries were founded for the training of rabbis who would answer the demands of the new era, and there the Jewish literature of the nineteenth century was created.

Finally, and above all, it was in Germany that the history of the scattered race was first presented to the world in the manner of modern historiography. This was a gigantic task; for the material therefor had not only to be collected from the vast religious libraries of the Jews themselves, but also unearthed from the archives of Christian churches, monasteries, ecclesiastical and civil courts, extending over many centuries. For the

Jews had had no historian of their own since Josephus, and his name was a hissing and a by-word with them, as "the Roman slave." "Noch in den ersten Jahrzehnten dieses Jahrhunderts war selbst die Geschichte der Schicksale und Thätigkeiten der Juden während der zwei Jahrtausende der Zerstreuung ein unbekanntes Feld," says Dr. Jost in the preface to his great work on the history of Judaism (1857). The wonderful success with which that field has been cultivated has been of great moment to the reformation, for it showed clearly that Judaism did not descend from heaven as a complete system which is above changes and chances of time and place; but that, like all other historic religions, it is a growth that has passed through various stages, and has been vitally affected by the beliefs and philosophical conceptions with which it came into contact.

The weight of that historical teaching was greatly increased by the dissemination of the Bible, the *Urgeschichte* of Israel; for in it the voice of the Hebrew seers was heard again by the people, and the proclamation that the essential part of religion is spiritual and not ceremonial was again brought home to their minds.

In this way the movement spread and gained in strength; it was further favored by the outburst of general liberalism all over Germany for which the year 1848 is famous. All things seemed to augur well for the future development of the new ideas, and the minds of the leaders of the reformation were filled with high hopes and energy. But a period of political reaction set in which was bent upon wiping out every trace of the "iniquities" of 1848; culminating in the Bismarck era with its succession of wars. The reconstruction of the German empire meant war upon the Jews and the relapse of Teutonic Christendom into the intolerance of the Middle Ages.

This disappointment was the more galling as the Jews had been eager to take their places in the armies of the Fatherland, and had sealed their patriotism with their blood. It sank to downright despair when thousands of fugitives from Russia, driven with their wives and children from their homes, appeared in 1882 on the German frontiers, and implored their German

kindred to help them to a resting-place for their weary feet. So absorbing was this appalling task that mere ideal aims and endeavors had to be cast aside. The duties of the hour involved questions of life and death to hosts of unfortunate people, and left no room for purposes that require safety, peace, and leisure for their cultivation. And this state of affairs has continued up to the present time; in fact, it may even be said to have grown worse. Instead of devoting themselves to religious progress, the German Jews have had to buckle on their old armor of defense, and try to repel the attacks of enemies that encompass them on every side; France leading in the van with the Dreyfus persecution and the Algiers riots.

We are no longer *wundergläubig*, as were our fathers in their generations; but sometimes it is hard to be consistently enlightened and rationalistic. The new ideas were not lost, in spite of the hard setback they had received in the land of their birth. Unobserved and undreamed of by its leaders, a new home beyond the seas had been prepared for their safety. Since the middle of the last century a class of young Jews, that had been touched by the new spirit, had immigrated into this country. Though not men of learning or of higher education, they had a sufficiently clear understanding of the ideas promulgated by the advocates of reform in their native land. These pioneers, though poor in worldly goods, and, in most cases, compelled to begin at the foot of the social ladder, had on their side pluck and the inherited virtues of their race. They had left on the other side of the Atlantic parents and families, who looked to them for better times to come. This never-failing spur in the Jewish heart led the newcomers into the wild regions that were then first yielding to the magic touch of American civilization. Wherever these men had gained a foothold in sufficient numbers they formed themselves into congregations. They waited for no rabbi to help them, and asked for no permission from anyone; they merely exercised their rights as members of "the House of Israel." With scanty membership and scantier resources, they formed the nucleus of almost all the large and representative reform congregations that exist today. They

boldly called their places of worship "temples" rather than synagogues—a change that had been begun, though only tentatively, in Germany.

Immigration gradually swelled the ranks of the reformed congregations, and emboldened them to invite competent preachers from the old home to fill their pulpits. The worldly prospects offered to these men were by no means tempting; but the positions were endowed with one priceless boon: freedom from all state interference which came with the era of reaction, and from the yoke of prescriptive rights which proved so great a hindrance to progress in Germany. It was this feature that induced some of the leading spirits in the movement to accept the calls extended to them by the rising congregations of the New World. Among them were men of learning and ability, whose acknowledged standing as preachers and organizers proved of great value to the work of the reformation. Most of these men were, however, too far advanced in life to attempt the acquirement of a foreign tongue as the medium of their ministrations; nor was there any need of it at that time, since their flocks still clung to the mother-tongue in home life and in public worship. The first revised liturgies, the first school manuals, the first weekly and monthly papers were all in German. Thus we witness the curious spectacle of a movement, bodily transplanted thousands of miles from the place of its birth and first development, not only continuing its life, but even gradually assuming the leadership and opening up new fields of growth and activity.

That initial stage is now past; the few pioneers that still survive have been transformed into full Americans. Rank and file, both within and without the pulpit, are as to the American manner born, and, with few exceptions, English by the side of the ancient Hebrew is at present used as the vernacular of the reformed Jewish worship.

If we now inquire how the reform movement has fared under this change, and what record of vitality and efficiency it has made, these few facts will suffice for an answer:

In every large city of the United States are to be found

temples of the modern type, some of them being the religious homes of large bodies of Israelites, and the centers of much activity in the fields of charity and education. Even in the smaller towns, wherever the number of Jews is sufficient to maintain a congregation, there are houses of worship of the same character. Since 1873 most of them are joined together in a "Union of American Hebrew Congregations," founded chiefly for the purpose of maintaining a theological college for the training of native rabbis. As shown by the name adopted, this union is non-sectarian within Jewish lines. It is not paled in by any creed or standard of worship. Its doors are open to any congregation willing to range itself under the general designation of Hebrew; and no supervision of the internal affairs of any of its constituent bodies has ever been attempted. Practically, however, the union is the rallying-point of the reform element of the country, and numbers now 150 members. Although its primary object is the support of the college, other matters of general interest have at times come before its annual meetings. No similar organization based upon the broadest principles of individual liberty exists anywhere in Jewry.

The Hebrew Union College was opened in 1875 in Cincinnati, where it is still located. Its faculty consists of ten members, and the average attendance of students is sixty-five. More than sixty of its former pupils are now preaching reformed Judaism throughout the length and breadth of the country—a fair showing, surely, when we consider that it is an eight-year course through which the students have to pass before receiving their ordination.

After some minor attempts at a ministerial organization, the Central Conference of American Rabbis was organized in 1889. Its last published report shows a membership of 150. Of its practical usefulness it has given proof in the publication of the union prayerbook and the union hymnal, both works having been adopted in over one hundred congregations. The language employed in both is chiefly the English; only the old landmarks of the traditional liturgies, with their classical expressions of Jewish faith and hope, are given in Hebrew, with a paraphrase



in the vernacular by their side. Yet even in these some pruning had to be done to enable the worshiper of today to join in their use without mental reservation. An important and extensive part of the prayerbook is devoted to an entirely new selection of pericopes for sabbaths, festivals, and memorial days, embodying the loftiest utterances of the ancient prophets, priests, and sages. The framers of the new liturgies were guided in this part of their work by the conviction that the safest way to religious and ethical progress for the Jew lies in the field of his oldest reminiscences; that, in the words of George Eliot, "our finest hope is our finest memory."

Should anyone desire to know more of the latest development of the ancient faith—and I trust that there be such—let him secure copies of these books, and examine them with such fairness as an honest believer in one church can bring to bear upon an inquiry into the belief of another. For, in addition to adaptations and paraphrases of the old formulas, he will find there prayers and meditations of the old authorship, in which the ideals and aspirations of the Judaism of today are freely and fully expressed. Thus he may learn from the best authority how far the reformed Jew is in touch with the *Zeitgeist*; how much of the old leaven still clings to him; and how he reconciles such concepts as "the chosen people," or "God's covenant with Israel," or "the messianic mission" with the larger views that he professes elsewhere in regard to things human and divine.

In the hymnal one will in all likelihood be surprised to notice the free use which the compilers have made of non-Jewish poetry, and of tunes and anthems by non-Jewish composers; wherein he will, as we do, get a foretaste of that community of saints of all creeds and churches hoped and prayed for by all truly God-inspired souls.

Other essential departures from long-established customs have by this time become essential features of the temple service, and have indeed begun to assume something of the sanctity of inviolable ordinances. The grandchildren of those dear old folks who had to be reasoned and sometimes gently coerced

into the propriety of uncovering their heads during worship now regard the older custom as an intolerable want of reverence. Through all the long centuries our people maintained the oriental custom of the separation of the sexes in the synagogue; and it is still religiously observed by the immovables as well as by the timid and half-hearted reformers. In America, however, the eastern fashion has been resolutely set aside as inconsistent with our social habits. The introduction of family pews, stoutly resisted at first, has already ceased to have any weight with the unreformed Jew as an objection to his taking part in the revised service.

Prior to these new departures, however, another and far more important step in the life of the daughters of Israel had been taken in the schoolroom. Under the old system religious instruction was intended for boys and young men only. The nurture of the female soul was held to be sufficiently secured by the home life conducted after the Hebrew fashion. But when this safeguard began to give way, and the general education of girls was placed on a level with that of boys, an entire change in the system of religious training became necessary, and the congregational schools opened their doors to girls also. In no improvement has the reformation been more successful than in this particular one. To appreciate it the Christian reader must be advised that the Jewish religious schools are not intended for the children of the unchurched masses, for whom ample provision is made in other ways. The schools are conducted for the children of the church members. Great care and a considerable portion of the temple's revenue are bestowed on them. The teaching follows a graduated plan extending over a period of four or five years. It comprises Bible history, geography of Palestine, as much of Jewish antiquities as is indispensable for the intelligent reading of the Scriptures, the post-biblical history of the Jews, religion proper, ethics, and the explanation of the festivals and of such ceremonies as are still observed in the reformed service. As a rule, each class is engaged in some special kind of helpful service for the children of the poor, thus ingraining into their minds the idea that doing good is part and parcel of their religion.

The crowning event of the pupil's school life is the confirmation with which it closes. This is celebrated on the Feast of Weeks, the original of the Christian Pentecost. In the Mosaic law it is a thanksgiving day for the first harvest; but the Pharisees endowed it with a deeper significance by making it the memorial season of the revelation on Sinai and of the consecration of Israel to the mission symbolized in the idea of the covenant with God. First harvests and second harvests, and all the other joys of husbandry in the ancient seats of the Hebrews, have long since been torn from the devoted nation, and the pristine gladness of the feast has been turned into a sad memory of the beautiful days of the past. But the spiritual significance to which the Pharisees raised the true Pentecost has remained in the hearts of Israel, and to this day it is for us above all "the time of the bestowal of the law." In the Middle Ages the *divina commedia* enacted at Sinai inspired the poets to the sublimest outpouring of their souls; and now the initiative of the modern disciples of the Pharisees, the reformers, has made it the most gladsome season of the whole church year. On that day the house of God is arrayed in the brightest colors with which the flowers, nature's favorite children, can adorn an earthly habitation; and the children of Israel are greeted with songs and the sound of instruments as they appear in festal procession. Thus they are led up to the shrine "where there is nothing but the testimony," that they may renew the vows of Sinai, and become responsible members of the covenant. With appropriate ceremonies—in the choice of which the rabbi is free, as there are no precedents to bind him—the postulants reiterate the standard formulas of the Jewish faith, declare their acceptance of them, and promise to order their future life in accordance with them. After receiving the benediction in the venerable form of the "laying on of hands" by the rabbi, they are bidden to go to their parents who are present and ask for their blessing in the presence of the congregation; an act which never fails to touch all hearts to the quick, and to open the deeper springs of religious feeling. It may be fitly called the annual revival meeting of the Jewish church. The afternoon is

given over to family rejoicing at the happy event. That the poor are not forgotten goes without saying; and for many of them the same confirmation joy is provided through the thoughtfulness of the well-to-do families.

When I said that there was no precedent for the annual act of confirmation, I meant that there was none for it in its present form of an annual ceremony for both sexes. The germ of the rite is ancient, and it is a home growth. In the theological system of the Pharisees full religious accountability begins for boys with the thirteenth and for girls with the twelfth year. Up to that age the parents are co-respondents before the divine tribunal for every transgression of their children. No special act or ceremony marks the transition in the life of the girl; but the boy appears at the morning service on the sabbath following his thirteenth birthday, and is invited to pronounce publicly the benediction in which God is praised, with thanksgiving "for having chosen Israel from among all nations to be the recipients and guardians of the *torah* and thereby planted eternal life within us." He either reads himself or, if not advanced enough, has read for him in the original Hebrew part of the pericope for the day, and is then considered a *Bar Mizvah*, self-accountable for the observance of the commandments enjoined by the divine Lawgiver. The day is also an occasion for family rejoicing and merciful remembrance of the poor and needy. This formal public acknowledgment was not, however, essential, neither was the consent or participation of a rabbi required. The thirteenth birthday carries with it the rights and privileges of the boy's religious majority.

I have dwelt upon these details because the confirmation is an instructive instance of the manner in which the reform movement endeavors to preserve and vitalize such of the inherited forms and ideas as lend themselves to the process of revival and prove acceptable to the people. The entire service has been treated in the same manner, including the rituals for marriage and burial. I shall mention only one other innovation, since it is distinctively American; and that is the introduction of weekly lectures in addition to the sermon on sabbath mornings. They

are given, as a rule, on the eve of the sabbath, or in some places on Sunday mornings. They afford to the rabbi an opportunity to discuss before his people subjects of a much wider range than can be fittingly treated in a sermon as part of the public service. These lectures bring to the house of God that large class of merchants and working people who are either unable or unwilling to sacrifice one of the six days which the civil law permits them to devote to their business. For that reason they deserve recognition and credit; and the rabbi is entitled to the gratitude of his people for the labor which this double task imposes upon him. But it needs no argument to show that an hour's attendance at worship on Friday evening or on Sunday morning does not compensate for the total loss of the sabbath, and, especially, for the loss of its influence upon Jewish home life. This is one of the problems of the future. To adopt the first day of the week as the religious day of rest is a solution to which most of the progressive congregations do not take kindly. Their reluctance is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that the sabbath is one of the strongest ties between the Jews of every land, and that the change of the day of worship was the first public act by which the rising Christian church repudiated her connection with her Jewish mother church.

I hope that it will be seen from what has been said that the Jewish reformation is a movement strictly within the lines of the Jewish community, and shows no tendency toward the forming of an independent organization. On the contrary, it has done much to strengthen, and even to revive, the sense of the religious and racial unity of Israel; and, in addition, has freed that feeling from the narrowness and bitterness which ages of persecution had instilled into it. The movement lays the greatest stress upon the spiritual mission of Israel in the service of mankind; an ideal that swelled the bosoms of the ancient seers and inspired their sublime presentations of the messianic time. That mission consists in the spread of the knowledge of the true God and the proclamation of an era of universal peace and goodwill among all the nations of the earth. In claiming the right,

and putting it resolutely into practice, of dealing with ceremonies as time and conditions require, and of widening and rationalizing the spiritual foundations of the old faith, the advocates of the reformation feel themselves in line with the past history of Judaism. They are no dissenters from a church "as established by law," who rebelled for soul liberty against an arrogated dictatorship. The Jewish reformer holds the ancient masters and teachers of traditionalism in the highest veneration. He does not hesitate to go among their living followers to dispense the word of God whenever asked to do so, and with no view of conversion or propaganda. In our great charities all over the land, as in our fraternities and humane societies, men and women work together forgetful of all theological distinctions, and welcome even those who think that they can lead good and pure lives and remain faithful Jews without affiliation to synagogue or temple. The objects of their loving solicitude are mostly people of the orthodox stamp; but everything is so arranged as not to offend the conscience of the—dare we call them so?—"weaker" brethren and sisters. Of a truth, "stronger" would be more appropriate; for these afflicted burden-bearers glory in the bonds which they believe the hand of God has put around them; glory in the "yoke of the law" amidst the toils and privations they endure all the days of their lives.

By thus forestalling any serious breach in the house of Israel, the leaders of the reformation have insured its influence upon much wider circles than are indicated by the congregations that have adopted its principles. Working in unison with the best tendencies of our times, and having testified their devotion to the Jewish cause beyond cavil, the reformation is silently penetrating into the very strongholds of orthodoxy; nay, it is reaching the ancient home of the faith itself. For that strange yearning for its soil which has been stirred up in thousands of hearts during the last thirty years, despite the thundering protests from both sides of the house, has brought to Palestine a Jewish population which does not go there simply to pray at "the wall of wailing" and to be buried in holy soil; it goes to begin a new life of greater hope than some Christian

governments permit them to lead. They are still *altgläubig*; but they are thoroughly modern-minded, as the twenty or more colonies founded by them prove. They have put their hands to the plow; they plant vineyards and olive groves; they have resuscitated the Hebrew as the vernacular of their villages; and they have founded schools for their children on patterns which sufficiently show that they are true reformers, *i. e.*, improvers of the right kind. The movement is called Zionism—an inadequate, even misleading, name. For, whether the temple be rebuilt upon its old foundations or not, it does not touch the inner heart of the question; nay, the supreme question is: whether the time has come to secure a safe refuge for the race, whose sufferings seem to be increasing rather than tending to their end; and this is a problem to which the Jewish reformation cannot close its eyes without becoming faithless to its own professions.

## THE LITERARY WORK OF JOSEPH HENRY THAYER.

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THE principal facts of Professor Thayer's life<sup>1</sup> are soon stated. He was born in Boston, November 7, 1828, fitted for college in the Boston Latin School, and graduated at Harvard in 1850. He was usher in the Boston Latin School, 1850-51; private tutor to J. P. Cushing's sons, 1851-53; and during 1853-54 he traveled in Europe. Then he studied theology one year in the Harvard Divinity School and two at Andover Seminary, where he graduated in 1857. After preaching for a year at Quincy, Mass., he became pastor of the Crombie Street Congregational Church in Salem, Mass. Here he remained five years, with the exception of parts of the years 1862-63, when he served as chaplain of the Fortieth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers. In 1864 he was called to the professorship of sacred literature in Andover Seminary, and continued there until his resignation in 1882. He then moved to Cambridge, and in 1883-84 gave some lectures in the Harvard Divinity School. In 1884, after the death of Dr. Ezra Abbot, he succeeded to the Bussey professorship of New Testament criticism. He resigned this chair in the summer of 1901, after which he went to Europe for needed rest and with plans for future activities. There he was seized with the illness which terminated fatally November 26, 1901, about six weeks after his return home.

Among the honors he received, the following degrees may be mentioned: D.D., Yale, 1873; Harvard, 1884, and Princeton, 1896 (at its sesquicentennial); Litt.D., Trinity College, Dublin, 1892 (at its tercentenary).

<sup>1</sup>Some of Professor Thayer's friends and several of his former pupils have sent me valuable material and lent me letters of his; kindnesses which I am permitted to acknowledge only in this general way.



Soon after his return from the Civil War came the call to Andover, and there his literary life began.

Three factors are evident in the literary activity of Professor Thayer: first, his natural aptitude for minute and exact research; second, his keen perception of the pressing needs of English-speaking students of the New Testament; third, the unselfishness which led him to do nearly all his work in the humble character of "translator and editor."

Even before he returned from Europe in 1864, to assume the duties of his chair, he had arranged with the author and the publisher to translate Grimm's *New Testament Lexicon*.

Professor Thayer's three printed lectures—"Criticism Confirmatory of the Gospels" (1871), "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" (1891), and "Books and Their Use" (1893), to the last of which was appended a New Testament bibliography published in 1890—must not be entirely passed over. The first of the three is a long and elaborate article in the volume of *Boston Lectures* for 1871, giving a learned yet lucid and complete review of New Testament criticism from 1835. The third of the lectures is full of wise advice to theologians on reading, incidentally showing encyclopædic knowledge of the literature. But "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" is the most characteristic work he has left in print. It combines his well-known courage and freedom with that tenacious hold on the essentials of Christianity which was equally his. Rebuking radical and traditionalist alike, it is a noble utterance.

Though it yielded little independent fruitage, Professor Thayer's work on the "Revision" cannot, in connection with his literary activity, be passed over. His services in preparing the Revised New Testament, both in its Anglo-American form of 1881 and in the American edition of 1901, probably surpassed in laboriousness those of any other member of the New Testament company.

We turn now to Professor Thayer's life-work as a teacher:

His literary activity was, however, only incidental to his regular duties as a professor of New Testament exegesis. For eighteen years at Andover Seminary, and for seventeen more at the Divinity School of Harvard University, he patiently, earnestly, and successfully taught the true methods of

Scripture interpretation. He was at the time of his resignation (June, 1901) probably the senior in term of service among New Testament teachers in the United States. Certainly his colleagues recognized him as at the head; and such long and faithful service, though little appreciated by the world at large, writes itself into the minds and hearts of grateful pupils.\*

Professor Thayer possessed in large measure the fundamental qualifications of an interpreter of the New Testament. First and chief of these is a consecrated devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. This alone brings a man into sympathy with the authors of the New Testament, and enables him to read it in the light in which it was written, under the guidance of the same Spirit. Christ is the heart of the New Testament, and his life pulsates through it everywhere; for, as Professor Thayer used to say, "not only were men converted, but also words. New Testament Greek is current Greek born again." In a man of such a scientific mind, and so utterly free from religious sentimentality, this characteristic seldom came to the surface; but one felt it underneath, as the tourist on Vesuvius is conscious of the hidden fires within. It showed in the prayers with which his Andover classes began. His were never hackneyed or perfunctory, but always fervent with a deep sense of the solemnity of the study, and a humble petition for divine help in it.

He closes his lecture on "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" with this "palmary argument" in favor of the change:

The blessing and promise of the new view of Scripture lies in the circumstance that it remands externalities, whether books or systems, to their proper secondary place, and brings to the front the central and all-conquering truth of Christianity, viz., personal loyalty to a personal Master—the crucified, risen, reigning Christ. That age, that church, that man cannot go far astray who strives after a life hidden with Christ in God.

His second great qualification for his work was his fervent and perennial enthusiasm for the study of the New Testament. If the first principle of oratory is action, that of teaching is enthusiasm. "Commend me," said Professor Thayer,<sup>3</sup> "to the man of one book, especially if that be the Book of books." Of

\* PROFESSOR RIDDLE, *Sunday School Times*, January 18, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorial of Ezra Abbot*, p. 31.

the New Testament he was the ardent interpreter and prophet. No labor was too great that could further its study. All through his life a burning zeal drove him almost mercilessly along the path of his chosen work, to open that book to others. Enthusiasm has value above scholarship, though they are rarely separated, since that which inspires a pupil must first have possessed his teacher. What a man can teach his pupils will always be much less than what he may inspire them to teach themselves, and no impartation of his views to others is equal to leading them to hew out their own. Here are some testimonies from Professor Thayer's pupils:

He made the driest details luminous and was my inspiration for theological study.

A permanent impression which he left upon me, and I think upon most of us, was the necessity that as ministers we should keep up scholarly habits; and it is due to him more than to anyone else that I have tried to continue my acquaintance with the Bible in the original tongues, and to keep abreast of theological study.

Not many instructions from any teacher have been of more practical value to me than his *obiter dictum* one day, that a man ought to read at least one chapter of the Greek Testament every day that he lives.

One felt in Professor Thayer's lecture-room that the one thing worth caring for was thorough scholarship; the one thing to be ashamed of was any shirking of that day's task. That feeling of shame was a frequent one with me—and salutary, I trust. More than once he said things that made my ears tingle, and would have made me very angry, except that I could not help liking him the better for saying them.

I should like to pay my tribute to that glorious and infectious enthusiasm for truest scholarship, which made every pupil try for something like it in his own work.

It seems to me that I never take up my Greek Testament without being distinctly conscious of his influence as an interpreter.

Third among Professor Thayer's qualifications was his single-eyed and unswerving devotion to truth, in loyalty to Him who said, "I am the truth." Truth was his passion. All his scholarship was enlisted in the search for it.

Reverence for truth and mental humility were eminently characteristic of Professor Thayer. His very speech, in its careful definitions, nice discriminations, and painstaking search for the exact word, showed his striving after the truth. All he

wrote, letters as well as books and articles, manifested the same characteristic. His devotion to accuracy was seen even in his dress; without a trace of finery, he was always the pink of neatness; so well dressed that you never noticed his clothes except as befitting—which is much more than fitting—the man.

His characterization of Dr. Ezra Abbot equally applies to himself:

He is a man of positive opinions, which he does not mean to disguise. But, in the advocacy of them, he evidently studies to be scrupulously fair. He is not engaged in making out a case. He does not write like a man who has made up his mind in advance what conclusion he will reach, and is merely engaged in looking up facts to support it. History to him is not dogmatics in disguise. Nor does he so far play the partisan as to leave the mention of counter-evidence to the advocates of the other side. . . . He makes it a matter of religion to avoid everything like approximation to that suppression of the truth which is only falsehood in disguise.\*

Here are some testimonies from his pupils:

I never sat under one who, in spite of very definite principles of his own, made it so clear that his search was first and last for the truth; that the goal of his final definition was whatever that search led to. This quality in Professor Thayer escaped none of his students.

He was the first theological teacher to show me that the supreme motive of the student of theology is the discovery of the truth. I came out of Professor Thayer's room with the feeling that he had a bit of truth to reveal, and that the only defense which he cared to make was for the truth; also that, if there was anything brought forth in the study of the New Testament which did not tally with this, that, or the other theological system, it was the system that would have to go, in the faith that in the search for truth the true theological system would be upbuilt.

Professor Thayer made a deep impression upon me by his great candor and fairness as a scholar. While this often seemed to rob him of a certain positiveness, and leave too many question points as to the correct exegesis, it yet gave us the impression of a man absolutely fearless in his inquiry, seeking only the exactest meaning. He could not be dogmatic, and in his desire to avoid the impression of speaking with absolute finality and *ex cathedra*, he helped us by stimulating our scholarship, rather than by imposing his own. The latter method would have been easier for us, but would not have made scholars. His main purpose seemed to be to train men to use their own weapons. He had a fine scorn for the crutches of a commentary in the class-room, and repudiated the quotation of an opinion. He even repudiated his own opinion in the class-room, formerly expressed, but in the

\* *Memorial*, p. 38.

meantime revised. He was homiletically very suggestive, without making this a manifest intention. Some of the most germinant thoughts for our sermons came from his class-room.

Fourth among Professor Thayer's prominent qualifications was his untiring industry. It was his rule never to spend less time in special preparation for each class than he expected of its members. This, of course, was in addition to his years of study previously given to the subject, and the accumulated knowledge thus gathered. This rule was perhaps too exacting, but it ministered greatly to the freshness and fulness of his teaching, since his natural enthusiasm never lacked fuel. He left nothing to the inspiration of the moment that could be prepared beforehand. "In the lecture-room he stuck closely to business; would willingly permit questions and discussion, but there were no long digressions." His industry is evident in a letter to another theological teacher, where he says: "I congratulate you that your year's end is in sight. As for me, I am swimming for life!" The value he set upon industry appears in these words to his students: "Do you wish to become great? Remember it means more hours at your desk. The greater you desire to become, the more hours you must work."

Fifth, and the last here to be mentioned, among Professor Thayer's qualifications as a teacher, was his perspective of duty, which put his students and class work first. Many teachers in various departments seem to consider it their first duty to enlighten the world, of which their classes naturally form a small and subordinate part. Professor Thayer, except during five years when he was almost entirely relieved of teaching, always regarded his seminary duties as his life-work, and gave them precedence. This was saliently evident in his cheerful willingness to give his time to any students, even to any man, who asked his help. If one of his pupils had prepared a paper on which he desired advice, Professor Thayer would go to the student's room and spend hours in hearing, discussing, and suggesting. He was always ready to take extra burdens. His labors in this direction were appreciated by his students: "When some of us desired to take special work, Professor Thayer spent an hour and a half, or even more, every

Friday evening after prayers, helping us." "His patience was incredible. When I think of the outrageous things I did—mistakes, blunders—I am more and more amazed. I know that I caused him hours of extra work, but he never complained; only wilful carelessness evoked rebuke." In a word, he was always ready to "put his time against" that of any student or students who desired his aid. And he did this, not of mere kindness and good nature, but deliberately and of set purpose, judging his opportunities to influence these men individually the most valuable things his days brought to him. This is evident in such words of his as these: "It is left for me to find in you, young men, the comfort that I might have taken in my own son, who has gone from me." "You who are young must go to the front. We must stay behind and scrape lint." "You will be here when I am gone." "We have made an investment in you; now show us some returns!"

He always seemed not only to kindle and quicken the best selves of his students, but also to have those best selves so constantly in mind that he was indignant with them for their own sakes, "appealing from Philip drunk to Philip sober," when they fell below their best. He was patient with real dulness, but not with laziness in disguise. He would naturally be sharpest with his best pupils, just because he thought so much of them and held so high an estimate of their possibilities. In the study of the New Testament, work was worship, and hence must be worthily rendered. The glow of his enthusiasm was a holy fire, and slackness of preparation seemed almost sacrilege; indifference was irreverence.

So we admire the man of learning, but we cling to the man of faith. Above and beyond the scholar and the teacher, our hearts go out to the humble Christian believer.

Thus we find him in his answer to a former pupil, now teaching in a similar line, who wrote to him upon his resignation last spring. In these few words which follow we see the man himself: how his life is bound up with the work he lays down, how humbly he thinks of himself, how warmly he responds to affection, and above all how simply he trusts in the mercy of the Lord:

When your turn comes—may it be distant—you will know how comforting such expressions of affection and approval as you have sent me are to a veteran. For in truth the *end* is sad. It gives one a little suggestion of what it will be to die. It starts all those (self-deluded?) thoughts of how much more earnest and enterprising and noble one would make his life, if he only had the chance to live it over again. But such compassionate judgments as fellow-workers for truth can find it in their hearts to give stir the hope in the condescending kindness of Him who accepts the weakest and most desultory endeavors as though they were achievements. So from my heart I thank you.

I append a list of the more important books and articles of which Professor Thayer was the author:

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## CRITICAL NOTES.

### A NEW THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENT WITHIN FRENCH PROTESTANTISM.

UNDER the title *Publications diverses sur le Fidélisme*<sup>1</sup> Professor Ménégos, now dean of the Protestant theological faculty in the University of Paris, has put forth a volume to which it would be impossible to do justice without entering into a more or less thorough exposition of the type of thought represented by it. In form the book is an unpretentious collection of essays and lectures written and published, or delivered at different times, beginning with the year 1879. It would not be correct to say that as essays, review articles, or brochures in a pretty spirited controversy the contents of the volume would not be worthy of attention, or that they lack interest and attractiveness. To say nothing of the charm of style, in which Ménégos emulates, and at times reaches, the very best models offered even by the French language, there is a certain warmth of feeling, a certain geniality and winsomeness of manner, pervading the pages of the book, which compel one to listen to what the author has to say. One feels that above the interests of controversy the author has at heart the interests of religion; that, however much he may desire to see his particular views prevail, he holds the truth as above them, and is actuated by the desire to know and lead others to know the truth. As the preacher of novel doctrines, it was inevitable that he should come into conflict with conservative thinkers. In such conflicts he treats his opponents with the utmost consideration and respect. In fact, controversy does not stir him up to bitter denunciations. Not even when he feels that he has been grievously misrepresented does he use violent invective. On the other hand, his attitude toward traditionalism is uncompromising. He stands firmly by the banner he has unfurled, and vividly and vigorously wages his warfare against all opposition. There is here a rare combination of good qualities—a union of firmness and geniality, of calmness and strength, that is truly worthy of

<sup>1</sup> *Publications diverses sur le Fidélisme et son application à l'enseignement chrétien traditionnel.* Par EUGÈNE MÉNÉGOZ, professeur à la Faculté de théologie protestante de l'Université de Paris. Paris : Librairie Fischbacher, 1900. Pp. x + 425. Fr. 7.50.

admiration. In the midst of a debate which means life or death to his favorite system of thought, Professor Ménégoz remembers that his opponents are, like himself, Christians, evangelicals, and, above all, lovers of the truth; that, however they may differ in many details, they are brethren in Christ, and that the points on which he and they agree are more important and vital than those on which they differ. We venture to say that, had theological debates been carried on in the past in this spirit, the term *odium theologicum* would never have come into use.

But it is as the exposition of a comparatively new type of thought and system of theology that Ménégoz's essays deserve special notice; and we may devote a little space to the presentation of this system.

This system has become known in Europe under the three names of "the theology of the school of Paris," *fidéisme*, and *symbolofidéisme*. The first of these names is used more frequently outside of France, and designates the new type in distinction from the older system held and taught by the professors of the school of Montauban.\* As far as it shows the cleft within French Protestantism to be along the line that divides the two important centers of theological education—Paris and Montauban—this name is helpful, and may be accepted as appropriate. But the originators and leaders of the movement undertook to characterize its principal and regulative ideas by other terms; and it will be neither possible nor profitable to avoid these. Ménégoz, the earliest to appear in public with the new system, gave it the name of *fidéisme*. Professor Sabatier, on the other hand, applied the term "critical symbolism" to the theory of religious knowledge propounded by himself in 1893, and accepted as a suitable philosophical basis of *fidéisme* by Ménégoz. An anonymous writer in the *Église libre* (August 3 and 7, 1894), combining these two names, coined the title *symbolofidéisme*, which, being accepted, at least provisionally, by Professor Ménégoz (*Publ. div.*, preface), would appear to be the best designation of the new system.

*Symbolofidéisme*, then, was, until the winter of 1900, led by two eminent members of the Protestant theological faculty of the University of Paris—Sabatier and Ménégoz. The lamented decease of the former of these, who was also dean of the faculty, rounds off and closes one stage of its development. One would be tempted to say at first sight that it threatens the further progress of the movement. But

\* Cf. GUSTAV LASCH, *Die Theologie der Pariser Schule*. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1901.

important as was Sabatier's part in bringing the new type to its present stage of development, his further participation in its growth, though of incalculable value, was not an absolute necessity. Deeply, therefore, though we may sympathize with the symbolofideists for the loss sustained by them, and, in fact, by French Protestantism and the cause of theological thinking in general, we cannot look upon the sad event as putting an end to so vigorous a tendency, or even endangering its life.

But what, it may be asked, is the exact nature of this type of theological thought, and how is it distinguished from the elder evangelicism?

The answer may be briefly given by pointing to the two parts of the name furnished respectively by its two eminent founders and expounders. *Symbolofidisme* is a combination of critical symbolism as a theory of religious knowledge and *fidisme* as the heart and pith of the gospel of salvation. These two elements blend and harmonize, not merely as not nullifying each other, or presenting incongruities to each other, but as positively requiring each other as complements. Sabatier's theory of critical symbolism, we might say, necessarily leads either into Ménégos's idea of *fidisme* or into some other kindred and similar principle. On the other hand, the *fidisme* of Ménégos requires some such philosophy of religion as is given in the neo-Kantian epistemology of Sabatier.

To attempt a full description or exposition of the first of these elements of the new system would lead us too far afield. It may suffice to refer to Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire*.<sup>3</sup> The fundamental principle of this work is that religion is an inner relation with a personal God, which can only be conceived in the mind and represented in symbols of the intellectual life of man. These symbols bear the same, or at least a similar, relation to the reality of religion that language bears to thought. The same thought may be expressed in different forms of language. The same religious reality may be clothed in varying intellectual conceptions. These intellectual conceptions may be constructed into dogmas. In fact, they must be. Dogmas are necessary and legitimate. But they must be open to modification. They are not of the essence of individual religion. That essence is simply an inner surrender of self to God, *i. e.*, faith.

<sup>3</sup> English translation: *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*. New York: James Pott & Co., 1897. A review of the French book is printed in this JOURNAL, Vol. I, pp. 999-1002; and a notice of the English translation in Vol. III, p. 626.

At this point Sabatier's thought flows into and fuses with that of Ménégoz. The essential thing in religion, says Sabatier, is faith in God. The highest form in which this faith has been expressed is given in the consciousness of Jesus Christ. He felt himself to be the Son of God. Whosoever, taught and inspired by Jesus Christ, feels himself to be a son of God is a Christian. He has the faith necessary to constitute him a new being. The essential thing in Christianity, says Ménégoz—beginning where philosophy ends and the historical exposition of the gospel of Jesus Christ commences—the essential thing in Christianity is faith. It is faith as distinguished from beliefs. *We are saved by faith independently of beliefs.*<sup>4</sup> This is the keynote of Professor Ménégoz's thought. The volume of essays before us rings the variations of this single proposition. It is concerned from beginning to end with the statement, explication, defense, and application of this thesis.

In the first of the essays, entitled "Réflexions sur l'évangile du salut," the author propounded the theme as early as 1879. In this essay, besides stating the principle and giving its biblical ground, Ménégoz traces its pedigree in an interesting sketch, which we cannot refrain from reproducing in outline. In the earliest age of biblical history we find the essence of revealed religion to be salvation by obedience to the divine law (*cf.* Exod. 15:26; 19:5-8; 20:5, 6; Numb. 15:39, 40; Deut. 11:26-28). But by obedience is here meant the inner submission of the heart to the will of God. In the ultimate analysis this obedience is nothing else than faith. Paul recognizes the identity when he takes the ground that Abraham was saved by faith (Rom. 4:3).

From the patriarchal and Mosaic period to the prophets there is marked progress. These engaged in a double conflict. As against the heathen around them, they insisted on faithfulness to the God of Israel as a condition of salvation; but as against the formalism to which religion gravitated within Israel, they preached the fear of God as the essential ground of true faithfulness. And this fear of, or reverence for, God is nothing other than the consecration of the soul to him. In other words, it is faith.

Next to the Mosaic and prophetic ages comes a period of secret

<sup>4</sup>The German expositors and critics of *symbolfideisme* have had some difficulty in rendering the difference between the terms *foi* and *croyance*, as used by Professor Ménégoz (*cf.* LASCH, *op. cit.*, p. 50). Fortunately a difference parallel to that between the French words runs between the English words "faith" and "belief."

activity, which culminates in the appearance of the forerunner of Jesus Christ, the austere and vigorous preacher of repentance. John the Baptist's conception of religion is summed up in the message: "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." It is the message of salvation by repentance. Repentance, however, is not to be understood as mere sorrow for sin, but as a complete change of mind. And in this sense it is simply the obverse and correlate of faith.

Thus far salvation by faith was presented by implication. It was necessary that the conception should be made explicit. This is done in the next period by Jesus Christ. Jesus was the first to formulate the doctrine: "He that believeth shall be saved." This was the life-giving substance of the gospel, the unfolding of the enfolded teaching of Moses and the prophets; and in its turn the fruitful germ of the preaching of the apostles and of the Christian church. The apostle Paul took the theme and showed up its application to Jewish legalism in his doctrine of justification by faith without the works of the Mosaic law. The church under his influence broke away from the ceremonial prescription of the Mosaic law, but failed to apprehend the difference between faith and good works, and went on teaching the necessity of good works as a ground of salvation. Hence arose a system of laws and ordinances and a doctrine of salvation by good works. Then appeared Luther. He took up the idea of Paul and made it more explicit in teaching salvation by faith apart from good works. But the period following the Reformation witnessed the development of another mist around the subject. Faith was not distinguished from beliefs. Evangelicalism has always maintained with proper firmness the doctrine of salvation by faith without works either ceremonial or moral, but it has for the most part missed the difference between faith, which is the surrender of self to God, and beliefs, which are conceptions, ideas, and opinions regarding God and the world. In the doctrine preached by *symbolofidisme* we are to see a new effort to place revealed religion on its ancient and biblical basis, salvation by faith alone—*sola fide*.

Thus the ancestry of *symbolofidisme* is traced, if we may be allowed the expression, backward through six generations. The first ancestor of it was the doctrine of salvation by obedience to the will of God, as taught in the Mosaic age; the second is salvation by the fear of God, as preached by the prophets; the third, salvation by repentance, as proclaimed by John the Baptist; the fourth, salvation by faith, as revealed by Jesus Christ; the fifth, salvation by faith apart from the

works of the Mosaic law, insisted on by Paul; the sixth, salvation by faith apart from all works, as set forth by Luther. Ménégos claims to define more strictly what is involved in these antecedent forms of the preaching of the gospel. He believes that he is laying bare the simple idea that underlies and runs through the Bible, and through the teachings of the church as far as the church has understood and insisted on the biblical conception of religion.

For many years the progress of this idea within the circle into which it was launched appears to have been slow. It was in fact not until the lecture on the "Biblical Conception of Miracle" was delivered by Professor Ménégos that the storm of the fideist controversy broke. This was in 1894. Since that date Ménégos has had occasion to come forward repeatedly to defend his thesis, as well as to reassert it against the severest criticisms imaginable and to clear it of the confusion into which his critics have from time to time unconsciously driven it.

For one of the most singular, and, as one would think at first glance, most unexpected, features of the discussion has been the tendency to misunderstand and misrepresent this simple and clear formula. Almost every minor contribution to the author's *Publications diverses* is designed to remove some misunderstanding or repudiate some misconception of the fundamental principle of salvation by faith independently of beliefs. And there is nothing more striking than the patient, calm, and untiring way in which Ménégos meets these misconstructions.

One of the earliest of these misconstructions was to the effect that Professor Ménégos taught the uselessness, or at least indifference, of beliefs as regards the inner or religious life. We are saved by faith independently of beliefs was made to mean: beliefs are unnecessary; that faith may exist without any antecedent or coexisting intellectual conceptions to arouse it or signify its presence. This, the author shows clearly, does not follow. On the contrary, he holds and teaches that beliefs influence, even mold and determine, faith. But he does not concede that on this account they are to be regarded as the ground of salvation instead of faith, or even along with faith (*cf.* Essay 14, "A propos du fidéisme").

Another misapprehension was to the effect that doctrines have nothing to do with repentance, faith, and conversion; and that they do not affect the internal dispositions which bring us near to or remove us from or hinder salvation. This also the author rejects as altogether contrary to his mind. He explicitly teaches that doctrines are of the utmost importance in the religious domain. Truth moves men toward

the good, error toward evil. True teaching serves to produce saving faith (see Essay 15, "Nouvel entretien sur le fidéisme").

Another conception ascribed to Professor Ménégoz is that faith is independent of beliefs, which is, of course, met with a flat denial. Another was that sincerity is sufficient for salvation, since salvation is independent of beliefs. To this the author answers that, far from holding the error imputed to him, he does not even hold, as his critics seem to do, that a sincere unbeliever is to be preferred to an insincere believer. All he contends for is that one's beliefs, whether he be sincere or insincere, shall lead him to give himself up to God in faith. As to whether an insincere man can truly do this each thinker may reason out for himself. (Essay 21, "La foi et la sincérité.")

The most acute and plausible criticism of his idea Ménégoz concedes to be that passed by M. le pasteur Soulier. This critic, seizing on the concession that salvation is by faith and that faith is not independent of beliefs, draws the conclusion syllogistically that salvation cannot be independent of beliefs. The author responds: There is an ambiguity in the use of the word "independent." Salvation is not independent of beliefs in the sense that these enter into the history of faith as preconditions and factors; but it is independent in the more important and real sense that there is no power or virtue inherent in beliefs through which these produce salvation or serve as the meritorious ground of acceptance with God. This, he claims, is the position of the old orthodoxy of the Athanasian creed. That creed consigns to everlasting perdition all those who do not give their intellectual assent to its definition of the doctrine of the Trinity. "Which faith [belief in the formula on the Trinity] except everyone do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." And Ménégoz alleges that this is the position of the orthodox evangelicals of today.

Finally Professor Henri Bois, of Montauban, seems to have so far misunderstood Ménégoz as to charge him with teaching that faith is in itself the meritorious ground of salvation. The author denies the truth of this charge and reasserts explicitly his agreement with the Protestant doctrine that salvation is not on account of faith (*propter fidem*), but through faith (*per fidem*). (Essay 25, "Foi et mérite.")

But innocent and simple as the fundamental proposition of the new system may be, and in harmony with the general standpoint of the reformed theology, yet its adoption as the regulative principle of all religious thought would lead to far-reaching results. The author is not inclined to deny this. Neither did Sabatier deny it. On the

contrary, by the very theory of symbolism he propounded, Sabatier made frequent reconstructions of doctrinal presentation a feature of healthy religious thought. He promised, if life and health should permit, to present a doctrinal system fitting into and harmonizing with the philosophy of the present day. This promise, unfortunately, we are not to see realized. But Ménégos offers, not indeed a complete system, but parts of a system of theology illustrating the method to be used and the results to be attained by those who accept his central principle.

Such parts, taking them in the order of dogmatic theology, we have in the essays included in the *Publications diverses* on sacred history, the biblical conception of miracle, the Trinity and salvation according to the teaching of Jesus. The first of these defines the doctrine of *symbolofidélisme* in the subject of Holy Scripture and its inspiration. The doctrine will not appear singular or striking to anyone who is familiar with the changes wrought in this subject within evangelical thought during the past thirty years by historical study and criticism. Verbal or plenary inspiration in the older sense is, of course, out of the question. The Bible is simply the source and record of God's self-revelation to man through the prophets and apostles culminating and centering in the person and consciousness of Jesus Christ. But the accuracy, and even trustworthiness, of the Bible on historical or scientific matters must not be made an article of faith. Belief in its infallibility is not required as a condition of salvation by anything the Bible says of itself or anything taught by Jesus Christ.

The second of the doctrinal essays of Ménégos, that on the biblical conception of miracle, is somewhat more out of the ordinary. It repudiates the older rationalistic view on the subject according to which certain natural events were misconceived and misinterpreted by the biblical writers as supernatural. It repudiates, on the other hand, the idea of some orthodox theologians that these miracles were performed in accordance with certain laws of nature unknown at the time by the majority of mankind and destined to remain unknown for ages to come. This view, the author contends, utterly destroys the religious value of miracles by reducing them to mere natural phenomena. The still older orthodox view that the biblical miracles were actually cases of contradiction or suspension of natural law is, of course, out of the question. What is the truth, then, with reference to these remarkable occurrences? The author answers: They are cases where the natural order of things bends (without being set aside



or contradicted) before a superior will. And this will is, in the last analysis, the will of God. This is the biblical idea. The idea is expressed in the concrete forms of the period in which the biblical writer lived. But these forms change from generation to generation. At the time of the prophets and apostles all believed in the possibility of the reversal of the order of nature. The time has come when this is no longer true. The religious truth, however, that God can and does work bending and controlling the course of nature in answer to the prayers of his people, is unchangeable. We may therefore question the historicity of many of the miraculous narratives in the Scriptures and still retain the religious value of them. Prayer, it is said, is the essence of religion. This is true. But what would man's prayer be without God's answer to it? A vain illusion. The answer of God is miracle.

In the essay on the Trinity we have a more strictly theological discussion. The question is, first of all: Is a doctrine of the Trinity possible, desirable, or necessary in modern Christendom? The fact that so many devout men from the earliest days of Christianity have declared their faith in it constitutes a presumption in its favor. The task, therefore, consists in divesting the eternal essence of truth contained in this article of faith from the temporary and contingent form in which it has been clothed, and reclothing it in modern psychological and philosophical forms of thought. For every doctrine is an expression of belief in an eternal fact in the forms of scientific and philosophical thought of any given age. The confessional doctrine of the Trinity was formulated at a time when science and philosophy were in an entirely different stage of growth from that attained at the present day. The ideas prevalent then on such matters as substance and personality would not pass today. How, then, should the doctrine be reconstructed? Out of the facts furnished by the Scriptures. And what are these facts? First of all, God is one. No fact is more clearly beyond denial than that the Bible from beginning to end inculcates monotheism. But God is revealed as Father in his transcendence. He is also revealed as Spirit ever active in the world of nature and of mind. As immanent he manifests himself objectively in humanity, and in his fulness in Jesus Christ. As such he is the Son. Finally he manifests himself subjectively in the believer testifying to the spirit of man. In this capacity he is the Holy Spirit. The question may be raised whether this is not Sabellianism. The author anticipates by answering that it should not be considered a reason for

rejecting the doctrine that it seems to revive Sabellianism. But he points out a radical difference between Sabellianism and his own doctrine. Sabellianism teaches the manifestation of God in the three modes of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit successively. According to his own conception these manifestations are not simply successive, but coexistent. God is one person, however, manifesting himself under three modes.

The last essay in the collection—that on the notion of salvation according to the teaching of Jesus—gives a similar reconstruction on the radically important subject of what constitutes salvation. Here, once more, the important matters are the standpoint and method rather than the essential content of the essay. And the standpoint and method are the same as in the essays hitherto analyzed. The author aims to gather from the gospels just what Jesus thought of salvation. But when he has found this thought he seeks to distinguish between the form and the essence of the teaching. The form consists of those terms and words which Jesus borrowed from his age in order to express the inner reality. These we need not preserve. The essence, however, is of perpetual validity and importance.

This cursory exposition of *symbolofidisme* will be sufficient to show its general character and bearings. Its affinities to other systems are also apparent. It bears close and marked resemblances to the Ritschlian system in Germany, and with the newest theology of Great Britain and America as represented in the writings of Principal Fairbairn, Professor W. N. Clarke, Dr. George A. Gordon, and others. In all of these systems the fundamental assumption is that there is a sharp difference between form and essence, between reality and the expression of it, between faith and beliefs, between intellectual conceptions and religious experience. In all there is the same free attitude toward the Bible as containing the realities of revealed religion in local and historical forms, from which forms variation is necessary. In all, finally, there is the same insistence on the right of each generation to construct its own theology, because doctrine is to be held in solution, and not in hard and fixed crystal forms. But there are also differences. From Ritschlianism the French theology differentiates itself mainly by its refusal to antagonize mysticism, and by its exaltation of the religious above the moral element. From the Anglo-American new theology it is distinguished in having a better defined philosophical basis, and consequently assuming a more distinctly polemical attitude toward the older evangelicalism. This feature, however, we cannot

but regard as a decided weakness. In our judgment, Professor Ménégos does not do full justice to the older evangelicalism in identifying its standpoint with that of the Athanasian creed. There is a difference between the position taken in that creed, which condemns to everlasting perdition all those who do not accept its formula on the Trinity, and the evangelicalism of today, which, we believe, does not insist on the acceptance of any formulæ as conditions of salvation, but holds that sane intellectual notions are involved in the act of faith, and, so far forth, are necessary to salvation. As far as the Athanasian creed is concerned, we are inclined to think that one of Professor Ménégos's critics (Essay No. 20) is correct in repudiating it in the name of 'evangelicalism. Its damnatory clause is certainly not commonly held by evangelicals, and very few of the reformed churches recognize it as a standard at all. The corner-stone of evangelicalism we take to be the truth that personal trust in Jesus Christ as the Savior from sin is the sufficient ground of acceptance with God. The act of faith is complex. It includes an act of intellect as well as one of sensibility and one of will. What renders faith an effectual medium of salvation? Ménégos seems to say the act of will alone, whereby one gives himself to God in consecration. We would say neither the act of will alone nor that of sensibility or intellect alone, but all together as a single act of faith.

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### THE PHYSICAL RELATION OF MAN TO GOD AMONG THE MODERN SEMITES.

ONLY rather obscure traces are to be found of the physical fatherhood of Deity among modern Semites. The subject cannot be discussed by making use of veiled expressions. I shall try not to offend against delicacy, but I must use words which are unambiguous.

There is perhaps no clear proof of the existence of the notion that God is the father of a clan, tribe, or family. For this there is a sufficient reason in the fact that such an idea would be most repugnant to Islam as well as to ancient Christianity. Here if anywhere old Semitic ideas should have become extinct. I can present only such hints as I have found in certain expressions and usages, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. These hints are not limited to the representations

of God, since it seems quite certain that to the ignorant mind<sup>1</sup> there is practically no clear distinction between the divine powers of God himself and those of the saint or the departed spirit ;<sup>2</sup> each in his own domain may exercise an authority which to the simple peasant or the Bedouin is what we should term supernatural and divine.

We have seen how the conceptions of God are humanized, while those of "the saints" are deified.<sup>3</sup> We need, therefore, in order to make an intelligent induction, to examine every expression or usage which indicates that spiritual existences may have the power of fatherhood. It is certain that we cannot be sure of finding such traces at any given point, but, coming to us from many points, often unexpectedly, they may be none the less significant. Were we to ask the question, "Is there evidence that God is regarded as the physical father of any clan, tribe, or people among the modern Semites?" we should be compelled, as far as my investigations have gone, to answer No. There is no such clear-cut statement, so far as I am aware, of a belief among the modern Semites of the physical fatherhood of Deity, such as is said to exist among the Tongas, who affirm: "God had three sons, the whites, the Zulus, and the Tongas."<sup>4</sup>

I found the investigation, leading to data necessary in order to form a conclusion, delicate and difficult, not because the modern Semite hesitates to discuss such themes—quite the contrary—but because the facts which have a bearing upon the subject are more likely to come by indirection, and when least expected, than by any formal inquiries.

There seem to be pretty clear indications that ignorant Moslems and Christians conceive of God as possessed of a complete male organism, and that this is not merely popular language. The Moslems at Hama, in northern Syria, swear by God's phallus.<sup>5</sup> In the village of Bludan, about twenty-five miles west from Damascus, which is composed of Greek Christians of a very low type, the same oath is heard on the lips of women, who sometimes are so shameless as to giggle when using it, thus showing that they are conscious of its

<sup>1</sup> For these ideas see W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, 1889), pp. 41-3.

<sup>2</sup> FRASER, *Golden Bough* (London, 1900), Vol. I, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article on "Modern Semitic Conceptions of God," *Biblical World*, Vol. XIX, pp. 122-31.

<sup>4</sup> Personal interview, W. L. Thompson, M.D., missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., Mount Silinda, east central Africa.

<sup>5</sup> "Journal," Vol. XI, summer of 1901.

meaning.<sup>6</sup> Another form of oath of a similar sort may be heard in Nebk, in the Syrian desert, and at Zebedani.<sup>7</sup>

At Kerak, whenever there is a drought, the Greek Christians dress a winnowing fork in women's clothes. This they call the "bride of God." The girls and women carry it from house to house, singing doggerel songs.<sup>8</sup> This expression, "bride of God," naturally reminds us of the "bride of the Nile," who, according to a tradition given by Lane, was anciently thrown into the arms of the river-god, when the water began to rise.<sup>9</sup>

There is a further illustration, from another country, which shows how far superstition may descend in lowering the conception of God. Some ignorant members of the Greek church, in Syria, speak of the virgin Mary as the "bride of God." We do not know what they may understand by this term, but in Porto Rico a Catholic was living openly with a woman to whom he was not married. When rebuked by a Syrian who was residing in that country, he replied that there was no wrong in what he was doing, for he was simply following the example of God, who still lived with the virgin Mary.<sup>10</sup>

Among the Ismailiyeh there is said to be a sacred maiden whose distinctive features, eyes, and color of hair are known from their holy books, and whose body is considered the abode of Deity. She is introduced into the sacred assemblies of the initiated, and stands exposed before them, and was once seen for a moment by a Protestant Syrian who went to call on an intimate friend among the Ismailiyeh. Fearing for his life, he fled, and emigrated to a foreign land. This sacred maiden is said to be descended from the Son of God.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, who has his summer home at Bludan.

<sup>7</sup> Suleiman, teacher in the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Nebk, and Abdullah, teacher in the American Presbyterian Mission at Hama.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Mr. Henry G. Harding, formerly of Kerak, now of Gaza, pharmacist of the medical mission of C. M. S. of Great Britain; cf. FRASER, *Golden Bough* (London, 1900), Vol. I, pp. 95, 213.

<sup>9</sup> LANE, an account of *Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians* (London, 1898), p. 500: "The Arab general was told that the Egyptians were accustomed, at the period when the Nile began to rise, to deck a young virgin in gay apparel and throw her into the river as a sacrifice to obtain a plentiful inundation."

<sup>10</sup> "Journal," Vol. XI, summer of 1901.

<sup>11</sup> The custom to which allusion is made has been repeatedly charged to the Nusairiyeh, and as often denied by Protestants in different parts of the country. The circumstance mentioned in connection with the Ismailiyeh was detailed to me by a credible witness, who heard it from the Syrian, with whom he was well acquainted, and who was compelled to flee for his life. The point of this incident is that the people claim that this young woman is directly descended from the Son of God.

Procreative power is attributed by the Syrians to the spirits of the dead. It is well known that they affirm that the *jinn* may have sexual intercourse with men and women; of this fact Baldensperger has given some fresh examples.<sup>12</sup> It is said that women sometimes find that their best gowns, which they had carefully locked up in their bridal chests, have been worn and soiled by female spirits during their confinement.<sup>13</sup> But the view that the spirits of the dead may beget children is held to the extent that it is believed a widow may conceive by her husband for nine months after his death.

It is said that a woman at Nebk took the bath of ceremonial purification,<sup>14</sup> because she dreamed she had received a visit from her deceased husband.

There is a man in Nebk who is currently believed to be the offspring of such a union, and no reproach was ever cast upon his mother. There is also a person in Nebk who is considered by the simple people to be the child of a *jinn*.<sup>15</sup>

Another form of the same belief is doubtless in a singular custom of which I have heard of two examples. When a man had been executed for murder at the Jaffa gate in Jerusalem, more than thirty years ago, some barren women rushed up to the corpse and took their place by it as if it had procreative power.<sup>16</sup> It may be that they felt that such a union would be proper, inasmuch as the man had been released by death from previous nuptials, and was free, as a disembodied spirit, and endowed with supernatural power to give them the joy of motherhood.

We also seem to find the same idea in the connection of barren women with the spirits of sacred shrines of various sorts, or with those whom, in their ignorance, they suppose to be spirits.

It is said that they visit the hot springs, at a place of which the name is unknown to me, and take their position over the steaming vapors, of which the *weli* is the source.

About four hours from Karyaten, on the way to Sadad, the Zedad of Scripture,<sup>17</sup> are the so-called baths of Solomon, where there are extensive

<sup>12</sup> *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for 1899 (London), pp. 148, 149.

<sup>13</sup> "Journal," Vol. X, Nebk, summer of 1901.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. Lev. 15: 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, Nebk, Suleiman.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, summer of 1900; Rev. J. Edward Hanauer, of Christ Church, Jerusalem; cf. LANE, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>17</sup> Numb. 34: 8.

ruins of buildings on a grand scale. Only part of the arches that supported the superstructure now remain. There are three places where the hot air comes out of the ground, many yards apart. One of these is in the floor of quite a room, with walls and a roof of stone. The heat is so intense that it is not possible to endure it many minutes. The other hot-air vents are in the field. One of these is a famous shrine for women who are barren and desire children, called Abu Rabbah. They really regard the *weli* of the shrine as the father of their children born after such a visit, as appears from the rendering of an Arabic couplet which they repeat as they go inside the small inclosure, consisting of a rude stone wall about four feet high, and take their seat over the vent in the rock, while the hot air streams up their bodies :

Oh, Abu Rabbah !  
To thee come the white ones,  
To thee come the fair ones ;  
With thee is the generation,  
With us is the conception.

The native teacher's wife said she knew of two barren women who had recently had children after visiting this shrine. When a child is born as the result of such a visit, it is customary, after the immolation of the victim, to partake of a meal, which is eaten in the shade of the vaulted ruin near by, and to which the friends of the family from the neighboring villages are invited.<sup>18</sup>

Almost equally significant is another curious custom in connection with some of the channels of the Orontes used for irrigation. During a certain season of the year the water is turned off, and the channels are cleared of mud and any matter which might clog the flow of the water. The first night that the water is turned on it is said to have the power of procreation (it is called *dekr*). Barren women take their places in the channel,<sup>19</sup> waiting for the embrace of the water-spirit in the onrush of the stream.

Naturally there are certain shrines to which barren women go that they may have the reproach of childlessness removed. Sometimes a woman, standing below one of the saint's pictures at a Christian shrine, covered with a wire netting with some projecting points, taking her headdress in her hand, tries to drive a sharp bargain with the saint for the gift of the desired child. Giving the cloth a fling toward the

<sup>18</sup> "Journal," Vol. I, Karyaten, autumn of 1898 ; Syrian teacher's wife.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Hums and Braigh, summer of 1901.

wire netting, she bids one piastre;<sup>20</sup> if it catches in one of the projections, she considers it a sign that the saint will give her a child, and that after its birth she is to pay the sum of one piastre; if, however, the cloth falls, she understands that her offer has been rejected, and that the saint insists on more money; so, raising up the cloth, she gives it another fling and says two piastres. This she does until it catches. When this takes place she goes away in the firm belief she is to have a son, and with the understanding that when he is born she is to bring to the shrine the sum last named.

There are, however, barren women of all sects, including Moslems, who go to the shrine of the most powerful saint in all Syria. There are many who shrug their shoulders when this shrine is mentioned, but it is doubtless true that many do not know what seems to be its real character, and who think that the most puissant saint, as they believe, in the world can give them sons. Why should not ignorance and superstition, in its eagerness for children, in some cases be unsuspecting? If a dead husband can be the parent of a child; if Abu Rabbah can give seed; if a woman can conceive by a water-spirit, why should she not believe a monkish tale that Mar Jurjis will be a husband to her and give her conception?

There has been one credible witness of the abominations of the shrine to which I allude, who spent the night there and observed how the women stole out at midnight, in pairs, at intervals of half an hour, to the ancient church which is in the lowest part of the monastery. One went within, while one waited at the entrance without. He could form but one conclusion as to the one who actually personated the *weli* at the place within, where there was a dimly burning taper. After the pair had gone, he pressed in and found a monk, who, when upbraided, said that the women had come there for a blessing, and that he had supplied them with a charm that would cure them of their barrenness.

This famous shrine was once visited by many Moslem women who desired offspring, and who went with the full consent of their husbands; but now the true character of the place is beginning to be recognized, so that many Moslems have forbidden their wives to visit it.<sup>21</sup>

There is another example which probably belongs to a similar category. There is a cave at Juneh, in which there is a pool of water. The natives believe that a childless couple who bathe in the waters of

<sup>20</sup> "Journal," Vol. I, Safita, autumn of 1898.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, village near Hama. I had the incident from the lips of the man who visited the shrine, who is one of the most trustworthy in all Syria.



this cave will have children. Undoubtedly the cave is inhabited by a *weli* who has, as the peasants think, the power to make a barren marriage fruitful.<sup>22</sup>

All these examples seem to show clearly enough that there is no difficulty among certain ignorant Syrians and Arabs in conceiving of God as endowed with a complete male organism, nor is there any impropriety, from their point of view, in using such an expression as the "bride of God." The idea that a *weli* may be a physical father is one of which there is more than one example; and the notion is currently believed, as we have seen, that disembodied spirits may still beget children from a mortal woman, either those who have been their own wives or from others; while it is commonly held that a *jinn* may have an earthly wife, or that a man may have a spirit wife who will not tolerate his looking at any woman. These phenomena seem to point back to a time, already considered, when there was no distinction between God, the *weli*, the departed spirit, and the *jinn*. Hence the being to whom the Semite did homage was endowed with physical fatherhood. If, now, we regard the departed spirit, who is held in love and reverence, hence enjoys the title of *weli*, as the only deity who has any practical bearing on the life of the modern Semite, we may claim that the idea of the physical fatherhood of Deity still exists.

There are various indications of a relationship between men and divine beings. The term *weli*, as I have shown in another article, indicates the one who may be nearest of kin, hence the one, according to the Arabic version, to marry the childless widow of a brother or of one closely related.

From this point of view it is perhaps significant that the grave of the *weli* is often among the graves of his tribe, or clan, the most conspicuous of them all.<sup>23</sup>

But, more than this, there are not only clans and families who claim to have sprung from one original ancestor, but also from one patron saint or *weli*. These are to be found among certain tribes of Arabs.<sup>24</sup> While the Nusairiyeh make such high claims for Ali as to

<sup>22</sup> "Journal," Vol. X, Beirût; William Van Dyck, M.D.

<sup>23</sup> Personal observation in many parts of the country.

<sup>24</sup> EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (Leipzig, 1872), p. 239: "Die Sawâleha-Beduinen halten Schech Šâlih für ihren Ahnherrn und glauben, dass er ihrem Stamme den Namen gegeben;" cf. "Journal," Vol. XII, interview with the chief of the Rawaein at Mehardeh: "They make their vows to patron saints, and these are mostly progenitors of tribes." We inferred that the subdivisions of the Aneze and others have patron saints. As to the descent of the Nusairiyeh from Nusair, see "Journal," Vol. XI, at Behammra.

deny that he had children, there are others who affirm that the Nusairiyeh were descended from Ali through Nusair.

The idea that God may have sons by physical generation is common among all peoples who speak of him as a man. There is one passage in the Old Testament which seems to have taken its color from such an old Semitic conception. I refer to Gen. 6:1-4:

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God (*benai Elohim*) saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. . . . The *nephilim* were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same were the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

In the light of Semitic modes of thought, I do not think the interpretation which has been regnant in certain circles since the time of Augustine and Chrysostom, that the sons of God were the pious Sethites and the daughters of men were Canaanitish women, was at all intended by the writer. It is questionable, too, whether angelic beings were intended, as we understand the term. So far as the meaning of the passage is concerned, were not the Sethites men? Did they not begin to multiply upon the earth? Did they not have daughters born to them? Were there not fair women among them? It seems to me that nothing but a desire to render the scriptural narrative edifying has led to this traditional interpretation, which is clearly allegorical. I am well aware that the term "son" in Semitic speech is often not to be taken too literally, but here it certainly indicates superhuman beings, at least what we might call demigods. Out of their connection with earth-born women are born men of extraordinary physical development. We are no more to go to such a passage for doctrine than to other passages in the Old Testament for teaching regarding the future state.<sup>25</sup>

We are not, however, to suppose that any Old Testament writer thought of God as a physical father, but some appear to speak of heathen gods as if they were real existences. We have, as it seems to me, the true reading given by Wellhausen in the polychrome text of Ps. 58:1:

Speak ye indeed what is right, ye gods?  
Do ye judge men without partiality?  
Nay, rather, on earth are your judgments confusion,  
Your hands weigh out what is wrong.

<sup>25</sup> Job 3:17, 18; Isa. 14:9, 10.

It is from this point of view, in which the writer acknowledges their real existence, that Wellhausen well says :

The gods are not human rulers. They are divinities worshiped by the heathen, and placed by JHVH at the head of the nations (Psalms 29, 82). They are held responsible for the conduct of their subjects. If they are righteous gods, they must maintain righteousness and justice within their domain. In point of fact, their rule is thoroughly discredited by the disorderliness and licentiousness of their subjects (vss. 3-5). . . . Seeing, then, that they fail in their duty, or are incompetent for their task, JHVH himself must interpose, and execute justice against the heathen in order that it may be seen that there is one Supreme Deity upon the earth who judges.

So the sons of God, whoever they may be, come to present themselves before the Lord, as if he held a court like an earthly king ; hence the writer sees no impropriety in the adversary presenting himself also, and receiving permission to lay his hand on Job.<sup>66</sup> It is thus that an ancient Semitic conception of divine beings, called *Elohim*, but not regarded as men, is alluded to in a way which would escape the reader of the ordinary English version. While the Old Testament writers never conceive of men as having physical relations to God, they do not hesitate to speak of the sons of God as having children, as we have seen, or of heathen gods as having offspring. This appears from two passages quoted by W. Robertson Smith :<sup>67</sup>

Woe to thee, Moab !  
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh :  
He hath given his sons as fugitives,  
And his daughters into captivity,  
Unto Sihon, king of the Amorites.<sup>68</sup>

Here, then, it is the Moabite god Chemosh who gives up his children. The phraseology of the following passage in this connection is very significant : "Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loveth, and hath married the daughter of a strange god."<sup>69</sup> This view of the heathen divinity, like that in the passages cited above, looks upon them as real existences, who have the power of physical fatherhood. The ancient as well as the modern Semite did not philosophize, nor see any inconsistency in acknowledging the existence of heathen deities, as subordinate to the government of God, and

<sup>66</sup> Job 1 : 6-12 ; 2 : 1-6.

<sup>68</sup> Numb. 21 : 29.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>69</sup> Mal. 2 : 11.

as having children, like the Moabites, who were sprung from their loins. In the same way, while the modern Semite does not clearly think of God as procreator, he certainly holds that a disembodied spirit, whether that of an ordinary man or of a *weli*, can become a physical father.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CENTURY. By (Seventeen) Eminent Specialists. New York: Harper, 1901. Pp. 588. \$2.50.

A CENTURY'S PROGRESS IN RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THOUGHT. By W. F. ADENEY. London: Clarke; New York: Whittaker, 1901. Pp. v + 229. \$1.20, *net*.

It is abidingly true that the real scholar must know something about everything and everything about something. But in the growing multiplication of interests it becomes necessary that the everything-about-something shall become more and more attenuated. And yet the attenuation must be exact. It is in a situation like this that a book like *The Progress of the Century* is peculiarly grateful. The writers of such a book must be men of special knowledge and training, they must have a good sense of perspective, and they must be able to express themselves clearly in simple language. These qualities, we think, are found in the seventeen writers treating as many pivotal subjects in our present civilization.

To speak more concretely, we may mention as examples: "Evolution," by Alfred Russell Wallace; "Chemistry," by William Ramsay; "Archæology," by W. M. Flinders Petrie; "Philosophy," by Edward Caird; "Medicine," by William Osler; "Surgery," by W. W. Keen; "Electricity," by Elihu Thompson; "War," by Charles W. Dilke; "Engineering," by Thomas C. Clarke; and four papers on religion by a strong representative of each type.

We do not know when we have read a more informing book, or one which brought a feeling of greater hopefulness for the future of our race. The marvelous achievements of applied science are almost too great for comprehension, and in each case the outlook seems to be into still greater achievement.

The four articles on religion will be of especial interest to readers of this JOURNAL. Cardinal Gibbons, overlooking, or touching lightly, the difficult points in his subject and leaving the facts of history aside, within the limitations eternally set for all Romanist writers, writes in elegant diction of "the genuine relations of reason and revelation as set forth in unmistakable language" in the dogma of papal

infallibility. After the recent cases of Professors Zahm at Notre Dame and Mivart in England, we are still left in the dark as to what the relations of reason and revelation are. Or, rather, we fail to find reason at all. The cardinal still hopes that the wandering sheep will at last return to the fold.

In passing from this well-written article to the treatment of "Protestantism," by Professor Alexander V. G. Allen, we at once breathe the pure and bracing air of liberty and progress. In a masterly way he analyzes the motives "which have acted upon religion either by way of directly enhancing its power, or by restricting its influence." These motives are: (1) humanitarianism, (2) the historical spirit, (3) science, (4) nationalism. In the light of the past, learning from both its strength and its weakness, and with an inextinguishable Christian faith and hope, he looks forward "to the fulfilment of the Christian ideal—that higher unity where Christ appears as the embodiment of humanity, and the voice of its yearning for a perfect brotherhood. . . . In that ideal conception, the *dominium* belongs to the state, and the *ministerium* to the Christian church."

Professor Gottheil's discussion of the "Jews and Judaism" deserves close attention, and will have a wide reading. All will rejoice that the Jews are at last emancipated, and all will be interested to know their present status, and their plans and prospects for the future.

The essay on "Free Thought" is what we were to expect from Professor Goldwin Smith. In the three preceding essays there is much of warmth and glow and hopefulness. But here we have the only pessimistic note in the volume. The treatment is absolutely dispassionate. With the calmness and steadiness of a surgeon in a capital operation before the class, he lays religion open, and explains as he proceeds. Whether the patient will survive the operation is apparently to him a matter of total indifference. His interest, so far as he betrays any interest, is in the patient simply as a case. At the end of the operation he gives the following instruction to the nurses: "The task now imposed on the liegemen of reason seems to be that of reviewing reverently, but freely and impartially, the evidences both of supernatural Christianity and of theism, frankly rejecting what is untenable, and, if possible, laying new and sounder foundations in its place. To estimate the gravity of the crisis, we have only to consider to how great an extent our civilization has hitherto rested on religion. It may be found that, after all, our being is an insoluble mystery. If it is, we can only acquiesce and make the best of our present habitation;

but who can say what the advance of knowledge may bring forth? Effort seems to be the law of our nature, and if continued it may lead to heights beyond our present ken. In any event, unless our inmost nature lies to us, to cling to the untenable is worse than useless; there can be no salvation for us but in truth" (pp. 582, 583).

In our judgment, every minister ought carefully to read this book, not to agree with it in everything, but to see something of what the world is doing and thinking.

Professor Adeney's book is concerned entirely with progress in religious life and thought. It begins with a general discussion of the leading minds of the century, among whom are Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Ritschl in Germany, and Coleridge, Frederick Denison Maurice, Arnold, Carlyle, Professor T. H. Green, Newman, and Pusey in England. He then takes up the Oxford movement, which at first thought seems to run counter to the very idea of progress. But there are some elements of progress in it nevertheless. It was a revival of religion, and it admitted the solvent of criticism which, when once admitted, cannot be checked.

In the relations of religion and science the doctrine of evolution has taken form, and at the end of the century meets with almost universal acceptance. "This means a complete transformation of our methods of thought and ways of regarding truth." And yet the perversion of the doctrine warns us that the eternal verities must not be lost sight of "in a too restricted regard for what is, after all, but a process of 'becoming.'" Among these verities are moral obligation, the personality of God and man, and the will.

The progress of biblical criticism has been no less remarkable. Stumbling-blocks have been removed from the path of faith, and what once were supposed to be difficulties are not so at all, and the vital truths of revelation have not been touched.

But the author thinks that among all the changes in theological thought none is so fundamental as the change that has taken place in our idea of God. The earlier orthodox conception was really deistic, and God was far away. Now the idea of the immanence of God—not pantheism—prevails. "He is a present influence, pressing in upon us the urgency of righteousness." "In him we live and move and have our being." "He is not far from any one of us." He is as much in the world today as he was at the dawn of creation. Every day is a day of the Lord.

Professor Adeney also finds that there has been a very complete

decadence of Calvinism. He points out numerous instances seeming to show that Calvinism as a system has passed away. And yet, we think, there are certain indications that this decline may not be unto death.

Views of redemption in the century have undergone very great modification. That sin deserves punishment is not for a moment to be questioned, but now great emphasis is put upon the necessity of destroying sin itself, and not such exclusive emphasis upon the consequences of sin. The fact of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ is true beyond a reasonable doubt, but the process is a great mystery—some think entirely beyond solution; others, among whom is our author, think we may understand much of the process. Other subjects are: the future life; social questions; preachers and preaching; literature, art, and recreation.

Like the preceding volume, we think this volume also ought to have a very wide reading among both ministers and laymen. It is written in plain, simple English, and even though it may on some points provoke dissent, it will, on the whole, awaken new courage in the hearts of any who may be on the verge of despair.

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THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS. Being Selections from the Writings of Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, and Nathanael Culverwel, with Introduction by E. T. CAMPAGNAC, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901. Pp. xxxvi + 327. 6s. 6d. net.

THE editor of these selections has performed a useful service in printing this volume of extracts from these little-known authors. From Whichcote are taken several sermons and aphorisms; from Smith, four discourses, which are respectively: "Concerning the True Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge," a "Discourse Demonstrating the Immortality of the Soul," a "Discourse Concerning the Existence and Nature of God," and "The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion." The selection from Culverwel is his "Discourse of the Light of Nature." These authors, belonging to the school usually entitled the "Cambridge Platonists," are interesting alike to the student of theology and to the student of philosophy. For the former they mark the beginnings of rationalistic theology, which



in one of its directions terminated in deism, and in another formed the most profound and suggestive trend of English theology, culminating in Coleridge and his followers. For the philosophical student they represent the medium through which the influence of Plato, the neo-Platonists, and, to a lesser degree, the Stoics passed over into English thought. The conception of a law of nature, of the light of reason, as developed theologically by these men, and, along more distinctly ethical and metaphysical lines, by Cumberland, Cudworth, and Locke, marked a great phase in the emancipation of English thought from dead tradition or from slavery to any written documents, and at the same time it emphasized the profounder spiritual content of life and mind as opposed to many of the more superficial currents of the age.

Of the three writers, Culverwel is more philosophical, and Whichcote is more immediately concerned with the religious bearings of his principles, while Smith is more closely in touch with the neo-Platonist metaphysics.

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ETHICS, DESCRIPTIVE AND EXPLANATORY. By S. E. MEZES.  
New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xxi+435. \$2.60, *net*.

THE author of this book has, it seems to me, the right conception of the problem of ethics and of the method to be followed in solving the same. His view is that ethics is a natural science; that as a science it must study the facts of morality and the evolution of morality. He attempts to "construct a positive or purely scientific theory of ethics, and to give a naturalistic account of all the aspects of morality and immorality." The question for the science of ethics to answer is: What is morality? The metaphysical question, What is the cosmic significance of morality? is interesting and important, and worthy of consideration, but before an answer can even be attempted the facts must be established. The cosmic bearings of the subject are not prejudged by this attitude, however; their consideration is merely postponed. In other words, ethics must study its facts as other sciences study theirs; it must analyze and describe, and then explain, or discover the principle or principles upon which moral phenomena are based. The metaphysics of ethics is the crown of the edifice.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I deals with subjective morality and the individual conscience, and discusses the following

topics: "Subjective Morality," "Voluntary Action," "The Adult Conscience," "The Psychic Cause of Conscience," "Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Child," "Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Race." Part II is devoted to objective morality, and takes up the following subjects: "The Constituents and Criteria of Objective Morality," "Courage," "Temperance," "Benevolence," "Justice," "Wisdom," "Welfare." In a concluding chapter the nature and value of morality are considered.

The general conclusions reached by the author appeal to one as much as his conception of the subject. His standpoint with respect to the problems of conscience and the ultimate end of moral action agrees materially with the views which are becoming more and more prominent among modern thinkers; with the views, for example, of men like Wundt and Paulsen. The only fault I have to find with the work is that it often lacks clearness and definiteness; it has a tendency to become vague, obscure, and diffuse. This is particularly true of the first part on conscience, which contains a mass of interesting and valuable material in a more or less chaotic state. The same remarks apply with equal force to the chapter on justice. It is also to be deplored that so few bibliographical references are given in a book that aims to do service as a text-book.

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FRANK THILLY.

THE PASSING AND THE PERMANENT IN RELIGION. By MINOT JUDSON SAVAGE. New York: Putnam, 1901. Pp. vii+336. \$1.50.

THE author holds that "religion is one of the central and eternal things in life . . . reaching back to the very beginning of the human race . . . one of the instincts of humanity . . . ineradicable," and hence permanent. As it is a relation between man and some higher being or beings, all who think must have their conceptions of this relation, and so must have a theology. As worship is man's expression of his feelings toward this superior being or beings, men will always worship. Man's feeling of dependence on some power above himself prompts him to seek help from or communion with that power; hence men will always pray. Man, being a social being, will desire to associate others with himself in acts of worship and prayer; hence organizations for united worship and other religious acts will always exist, such as churches. The universal belief in at least

the possibility of a life after death will manifest itself in hopes and fears respecting that future life as heaven or hell.

These are some of the elements in religion which our author believes to be permanent. There are other elements in Christianity which he thinks have passed or are passing away. He asserts that "evolution" (though he fails to say what particular phase of evolution) "is proved to be true," and "forever does away with the possibility of belief in the fall of man," but it has not done away with the universal sinfulness of the race, Jesus being acknowledged to be the only exception. He says that "evil can only be the perverted or the excessive use of some power that is itself good, so that the persons who do evil are not essentially evil, and so there is no essential evil in the universe." Is this Christian science?

Our author does not believe that God could give to man an infallible revelation, and, if he could, that it would be a bar to progress, and yet he says on another page: "There are certain words of the Divine spoken through human experience which are fixed and settled words, . . . whatever is demonstrated as truth in any department of scientific study, this is infallible as far as it goes." All demonstrated truth, then, must be a bar to progress!

Our author gives as one of his beliefs that God (whom he regards as a conscious being) is "the intellect and heart and soul of the universe," and that men are his children, but that there is no reason to believe that this conscious intellect, heart, and soul of the universe and father of men can or will answer the request of one of his children to snatch him from physical injury.

It is a pleasure to recognize that Dr. Savage discerns clearly a vicarious element in the divine government. "All human life," he says, "is bound together into one . . . and Jesus sums up in himself that which is finest and sweetest and noblest in it all—the suffering love of a Savior, willing to suffer for the sake of love in order to deliver the object of that love from suffering and from evil of every kind." He seems to have forgotten what he had said a little before: "It is education that the race needs, not salvation." Jesus proclaimed his mission to be to seek and to save that which was lost, and assured Nicodemus that he needed not so much to be taught as to be born again of the Spirit.

These are a few of the things which our author thinks are passing elements in Christianity. Many will think that, if all that he regards as such were eliminated, what would remain would scarce be worth keeping.

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LA MYTHOLOGIE SLAVE. Par LOUIS LEGER. Paris: Leroux, 1901. Pp. xix + 248. Fr. 6.

THE concluding words of a recent article on "Perun und Thor," in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Vol. 23, run as follows: "Man glaubte anfangs fast alles zu wissen und alles sagen zu dürfen, aber erst als man sich überzeugt hatte, dass man nichts wusste, lernte man etwas zu wissen." This remark indicates that it is as yet premature to speak of a "Slavic mythology;" that this term can at best only mean a collection of material for a specific Slavic mythology, if such may at all be separated from the mythology of their German and other neighbors. Our *a priori* judgment is in favor of a Norman and Teutonic influence upon the religious conceptions of the Russians, and this is strengthened by the above-mentioned article in the *Archiv*. However, a sifting of ancient sources in which mention is made of Slavic divinities and religious practices must precede any serious study of the subject, especially when we consider the indiscriminate and perverted use made of them by overzealous Slavophiles. In so far as M. Leger has brought together all known references to Slavic mythology from native and foreign sources, his task is well performed. The author did not intend to correlate his facts into a system, and we have no right to quarrel with him for presenting no conclusions and for throwing no new light upon this puzzling matter. But facts, however carefully collected, do not constitute science, and nobody can escape forming some opinion in regard to mere statements; the author himself, in spite of his explicit promise not to indulge in theories, now and then has recourse to reconstructions, as in the case of Trajan. We regret M. Leger's overcautiousness, and should like to get some idea about the whole matter from one who, as the author tells us, has familiarized himself with it in the course of thirty years. Nor can we understand his skepticism in regard to some Russian sources; his insinuation, repeated in the book before us, that *The Word of Igor's Armament* is a forgery, rests on no proof. Unless Leger can make his accusation good by substantial evidence, we must adhere to the accepted view that it is a precious relic of early Russian literature, and its exclusion from the present work as a source of early Slavic mythology is, therefore, a serious blemish.

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LEO WIENER.

DIE KEILINSCHRIFTEN UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Von EBERHARD SCHRADER. Dritte Auflage, mit Ausdehnung auf die Apokryphen, Pseudepigraphen und das Neue Testament, neu bearbeitet von H. Zimmern und H. Winckler. Erste Hälfte: *Geschichte und Geographie*. Von HUGO WINCKLER. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902. Pp. 342. M. 13; complete, M. 18.

*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* is Schrader's most famous work, and for many years has enjoyed an enviable reputation as the best and fullest discussion of the relation of the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments to the Old Testament records. Of late, however, it has become considerably antiquated. The last edition appeared in 1883 (English translation by Whitehouse, London, 1885-88), and since that time many of the most remarkable archæological discoveries and philological advances have been made. Schrader himself has been prevented by a paralytic stroke from bringing out a third edition, and has generously handed this task over to Winckler and Zimmern, two of the most brilliant of the younger Assyriologists. The former, whose work appears in this first part, discusses the relation of the Old Testament to the historical cuneiform inscriptions; while the latter, whose work is announced for next spring, will treat of its relation to the religious inscriptions.

Winckler abandons the commentary form of the previous two editions, and arranges his material in a history of western Asia, with special reference to the history of Israel. This he treats under the following main topics: Mesopotamia and Assyria; the new Babylonian empire; the Persian kings; Hellenism; Tyre and Damascus; Muşri (Arabia); political organization and administration; geography; Tel-Amarna; Israel; chronology; weights and measures. This form of discussion unquestionably marks an advance upon the earlier one, which followed the order of passages in the Old Testament on which light was thrown by Assyriology; but it is doubtful whether it is the best form. The separate treatment of the history of each nation prevents an adequate appreciation of the fact that the history of western Asia is a unity, obscures the chronology, and necessitates the repetition of a number of incidents in three or even in four places. Hezekiah's dealings with Merodach-baladan, for instance, are part of the history of Babylonia, of Israel, and of Assyria, and must be discussed in a fragmentary way in three different places. A simpler and clearer method would be to treat the whole of the material chronologically, and to weave together

the histories of the different nations into a single consecutive narrative. Thus the historical perspective would be preserved, and it would be possible to discuss in a single passage the whole of any given series of events.

In the treatment of details this edition is a great improvement upon its predecessor. It has utilized all the recent archæological discoveries, such as the Tel-Amarna letters and the finds at Telloh and Nippur, and displays full knowledge of the latest philological and historical investigations. In fact, it is a completely new book, that has retained nothing of the contents of its predecessor, and bears the name of Schrader only in the sense in which some of the late Hebrew codes bear the name of Moses. In America it would be considered hardly justifiable to place the name of the father of German Assyriology upon a book which is in no sense a revision of his work. This is particularly true in view of the fact that Winckler has made it an exponent of his own peculiar theories. In the preface he states that it is his purpose "to present only the certainly established results of cuneiform research," but, as we read farther, we find that this means what he himself has taught in previous treatises. In the footnotes we rarely find any other authority cited than the author himself, and one who is familiar with his discussions in *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*; *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*; *Altorientalische Forschungen*; *Babylonische und assyrische Geschichte*; *Geschichte Israels*; Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, etc., will find little new in this book. For him its chief utility will be as an index to Winckler's copious and scattered separate treatises.

Nabuna'id's dating of Naram-Sin 3,200 years before his time is rejected as apocryphal, and the oldest Babylonian records are claimed not to be earlier than 3000 B. C. Only one dynasty of Ur is accepted. A succession of Semitic migrations into Babylonia is assumed, of which the second, "the Canaanitic," had already submerged the first, "the Babylonian," as early as 3000 B. C. *Šar kiššati* is asserted to be the title of a Mesopotamian kingdom whose capital was Harran, and not to have been used by the Assyrian monarchs until after the conquest of Mesopotamia. The "Canaanitish" origin of the first dynasty of Babylon is regarded as established, and the Chaldeans are pronounced part of the Aramæan migration that in the fifteenth century overflowed western Asia. The Minæan Arabian civilization is assumed to be older than the Sabæan. Great importance is attached to the north Arabian land of Mutsri(m), and Mitsraim (Egypt) in the Old Testament

is held to rest, in the majority of cases, upon a textual corruption of the former name. The exodus of the Hebrews, accordingly, was not from Egypt, but from Arabia; and all the supposed interventions of Egypt in the politics of Syria before the time of Tirhaqa are really interventions of Mutsri. Pir'u, king of Mutsri, is not Pharaoh, king of Egypt; and So (Sewe) of 2 Kings 17:4 is identified with Sib'i, the *turtan* of Pir'u, king of Mutsri, who plays an important rôle in the inscriptions of Sargon. Azriyau, king of Ya'udi, is not Azariah, king of Judah, but the king of a district of northern Syria which appears in the Zenjirli inscriptions as Ya'di. A second campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem after 701 is assumed, and to this the narrative of 2 Kings 19:9-36a is supposed to refer. These are all matters of great interest and importance, to which Winckler himself has first called attention, but they cannot all be said to belong to the established results of cuneiform research. Some of them are extremely probable, and will doubtless soon win general recognition. Others, such as the Mutsri hypothesis, need large qualification; while still others cannot be regarded as anything else than idiosyncrasies of the author. It is a great misfortune that Winckler has allowed the personal equation to play so large a part in this otherwise masterly work. A book which is meant, not merely for specialists, but for the general reading public should present all the views that are current among scholars and not merely the theories of its author, however confident he may be that these theories will ultimately commend themselves to everybody.

Another serious drawback in this edition is the omission of quotation of the Babylonian and Assyrian records. For the passages in question the reader is referred to the six volumes of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*. This necessitates the owning of an expensive apparatus, and it is to be feared that it will make this edition less useful to non-professional readers than the previous editions have been. If it is translated into English, as we hope will soon be the case, it will be necessary to insert translations of all the cuneiform passages, since only the fifth volume of the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* has yet been rendered into English.

In spite of these disadvantages, this edition is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the ancient Orient that have appeared for many years. Here, as in no other single work, the latest results of cuneiform research in relation to the Old Testament are made accessible; and though it be true that it shows us the standpoint of its author rather than the consensus of critics, yet it must be

admitted that Winckler is one of the most learned and acute of Assyriologists, and that his opinions on historical matters are always well worth knowing.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE MODERN POINT OF VIEW. By  
L. W. BATTEN. New York: Pott & Co. Pp. vi + 354. \$1.

THIS book is a popular discussion of some of the literary problems which rise up before a thoughtful reader of the Old Testament. The author desires to lay before the reader the evidence upon which the modern results of Old Testament criticism are based, so that he may be enabled of himself to judge of their validity. The book is therefore didactic, intended, not for Old Testament scholars, but for that large class of thoughtful Christians who have no leisure for scholarly investigation, but who nevertheless desire some exact knowledge of the discussions which have practically revolutionized our ideas of the Old Testament. It is hoped that by these presentations many who have practically discarded the Old Testament may be brought back to a just appreciation of its literary form and its religious value for modern living.

The author disposes his matter in eleven chapters, the first of which is introductory, and the last on "Criticism and the Supernatural." Chap. ii is a reply to three arguments often urged against the validity of critical results: (1) Archæological discoveries; the author says, "so far modern archæology has not thrown a single ray of light upon early Hebrew civilization" (p. 43); to be true, this must be interpreted very narrowly. (2) Disagreement among critics themselves; "modern criticism is absolutely unanimous in its verdict that the Pentateuch in its present form originated in an age long subsequent to Moses" (p. 47); "there is no modern critic today who holds to the unity of this book" [Isaiah] (p. 48). (3) "The fall of criticism is found in the divergent views as one era of criticism gives way to another" (p. 49).

Chaps. iii-v discuss "Deuteronomy," "The Narrative," and "The Law," presenting substantially the view of the more moderate critics, though, of course, sufficiently revolutionary for the popular reader. "The Historical Books" occupies chap. vi, and "Biblical History" chap. vii. Both of these are very fair statements of the position of the



modern biblical critic. Chap. viii, on "The Prophets," and ix and x, on "The Psalms," conclude the exposition of the critical results of modern biblical research. The author is not ready to say there are no Davidic psalms, nor to assert that there are such (p. 282), thus leaving his reader in suspense. Here, as in some other places, he gives us *his* position rather than a consensus of the opinions of modern scholars. The concluding chapter is an assertion that modern critical results do not eliminate from the Old Testament either miracles, prophecy, revelation, or inspiration.

The book is quite well written, but I fear that it is, in some places, rather technical for the lay reader, and will not entice him to wade through its technical designations.

Some of the make-up of the book may be improved in another edition. The table of contents is distributed over two pages, with no citation of pages where the chapters may be found. This should be corrected. Again, the long title of the book furnishes the running head-line on left- and right-hand page right through the volume, to the index pages. The lack of page citations in the table of contents and this head-line uniformity put the reader at a disadvantage. Either the title abbreviated on the left-hand page and the chapter heading on the right, or the theme of each page stated in its head-line, would be a vast improvement. The indexes are ample.

IRA M. PRICE.

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THE WORLD BEFORE ABRAHAM, According to Gen. I-XI, with an Introduction to the Pentateuch. By H. G. MITCHELL. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. v + 296. \$1.75, *net*.

THIS book consists of two parts. The first, covering sixty-seven pages, is an introduction to the critical problems of the Pentateuch; the second consists of a continuous translation of Gen., chaps. 1-11, with a tolerably exhaustive commentary. In the translation the sources J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, and P are marked by typographical distinctions. Both the introduction and commentary fill a distinct gap in the existing English literature on the Old Testament.

The introduction discusses with much thoroughness the methods and the tolerably assured results of pentateuchal criticism. After repudiating the name Hexateuch as a misnomer, and showing that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has no support in pre-exilic

literature, the author sketches the progress of pentateuchal criticism, and the various hypotheses which have been framed to meet the linguistic, material, chronological, and other difficulties that have always been felt. The problem is then attacked on the inner side, and the investigation is begun with Deuteronomy, as that document was at once the most influential and the most completely preserved. In this discussion the "thou" and the "you" strata are carefully distinguished. The earliest hand in D, it is held, wrote before J and E were amalgamated. Our present Deuteronomy, speaking broadly, implies the composite JE, which must therefore fall before Josiah's accession. J and E had written sources at their disposal, not only of poetry, but of law. E betrays an interest in theology and archæology. That J is earlier than E "is, on the whole, the more defensible position." The compositeness of J, which is especially clear and important in Gen., chaps. 1-11, is also emphasized. The general conclusion is that J originated about 850 B. C. and E about 800; that the composite JE falls before 639; "that D, which was discovered in 621, but must have been written some time before and revised in the reign of Manasseh, was incorporated with JE early in the captivity; and that the Pentateuch was practically completed by the addition of P, a product of the first half of the fifth century B. C., before 444, if not before 458." The statement that P is characterized by an evident avoidance of the marvelous features of Hebrew tradition seems to need qualification. The evidence adduced touches mainly the theophanies. But what of P's account of the crossing of the Red Sea, or of the budding rod? and, to quote Mitchell elsewhere, P "makes the flood an immediate miracle" (p. 206), and the Jahwist does not know of "the miraculous wind" of P (p. 210).

The commentary is the most thorough in English that we have. It is at once learned and independent. It is abreast of the most recent literature, and keeps the versions continually before the reader, the more technical and especially linguistic criticism being relegated to footnotes. The author rightly distinguishes between the original sense of a passage and the more ethical content which it may fairly be claimed to have in its present setting (*cf.* 4:17-24). The 120 years of 6:1-4 are taken as years of respite. Eden is in the Arabian desert (pp. 124, 266). Japheth represents the Phœnicians. The existence of two hands in the Babel story (11:1-9) is regarded as "decidedly improbable."

In one or two cases, perhaps, more is read into an early text than

is naturally suggested by it. *E. g.*, the question, "Where art thou?" "calls not so much for information with respect to the man's whereabouts as for an explanation of his disappearance." Again, the 365 years of Enoch's life "indicate that, brief as it was, it was still, in a sense, complete." Again, is there not a slight dogmatic bias (*cf.* Heb. 11:4) in the suggestion that Cain's offering had been rejected because he "had manifested a bad disposition"? The text and meaning of vs. 7 are too obscure to build upon. But these are little points; and, in any case, they come from the author's earnest desire to do full justice to the religious content of the passages under discussion. Again and again he brings this to the front, and repeatedly emphasizes the religious value even of those sections in which mythology or chronology plays an important part. He has admirably succeeded in the object he had in view. He has given us an adequate and scholarly commentary which is neither "too large, too learned, nor too expensive."

Benziger is a misprint for Benzinger on pp. 171, 172, 198, 291.

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THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS. By HERMANN GUNKEL. Translated by W. H. Carruth. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. vii + 162. \$1.

PROFESSOR GUNKEL, of the University of Berlin, is a scholar of rare qualities. He combines with a German thoroughness of scholarship independent and original thought, as well as a religious reverence, which secures for each biblical theme which he touches a sympathetic treatment. The book before us is an authorized translation of the "Einleitung" to Professor Gunkel's *Genesis* in Nowack's "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," which appeared early in the year 1901. The translator and the American publishers have rendered an excellent service to the English-speaking world by placing this admirable introduction within their reach.

In translating the work, it has been broken up conveniently into chapters and sub-sections, so that it presents an attractive page to the reader. "The Significance and Scope of the Legends," "The Varieties of the Legends," "The Literary Form of the Legends," "The History of the Development of the Legends in Oral Tradition," "Javist, Elohist, Jehovist, Later Collections," and "Priestly Codex and Final Redaction," are the topics treated in the successive chapters.

For a thoroughly sound and sane critical treatment which is at once scholarly, sympathetic, and religious, this little book can be heartily recommended.

The translator has done his work well. The translation is clear, readable, and, for the most part, faithful to the original. At two or three points slight expansions have been introduced. Thus, among the modern illustrations of etymological legends, one is surprised on p. 28 to find a Berlin professor citing as his first examples American folk-etymologies of the name of the Connecticut river and Manhattan island, but, upon turning to the original, these examples do not appear in the German. Some of the expansions are not so successful and illuminating. For example, on p. 96 (*cf. Komm.*, p. xliii) a few lines are introduced with reference to legends which were intended to explain the sanctity of places of worship; it is stated that "the legends . . . were transferred to the patriarch Jared." Is this a typographical error for Jacob? We know of no patriarch Jared except among the ante-deluvians, and there are no legends concerning him.

On the whole, however, the work is admirably done, and we have nothing but commendation for this little book.

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DIE BÜCHER DER KÖNIGE. Erklärt von I. BENZINGER. (= "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausg. von Karl Marti, Lieferung 7.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1899. Pp. xxiii + 211. M. 5.

THE "Einleitung" lays the foundation for the author's plan and method of criticism and exposition. The books are broken into the usual three divisions: (1) 1 Kings, chaps. 1-11; (2) 1 Kings, chap. 12-2 Kings, chap. 17; (3) 2 Kings, chaps. 18-25. The central point of the first division is the building of the temple (chaps. 6 and 7), around which all the other material is arranged, to show forth Solomon's wisdom, might, and kingdom. The second division's most notable portions are those pertaining to the histories of Elijah and Elisha. Besides these, the reader finds detailed accounts only of Kings Jeroboam (I.), Ahab, Joram of Israel, Jehu, and Joash of Judah. Of the others there are only brief sketches. In the third division, Josiah's reform, and the events under Hezekiah's reign in which Isaiah took part, are the main sections.

The sources of Kings were (1) a lot of short notices of events of a historical character, and (2) a collection of detailed accounts, some embodied in popular form and others in an elevated style, differing, however, in their value as history. These materials were taken by the compiler or editor, and woven into a unified record. Some of the accounts had already been worked over, so that he probably had some events described in two different recensions. Out of all these fragments he constructed the books of Kings, the first edition of which appeared before the exile. A second edition of the work was prepared by an editor subsequent to the exile. Some of the passages embodied in his edition are 1 Kings, chap. 8; 9: 1-9; 2 Kings, chaps. 17; 21 (in part); 22: 15-20. These two editors are designated by R<sup>1</sup> and R<sup>2</sup>. The real editor who gathered together the material from different sources was R<sup>1</sup>, the pre-exilic compiler. The synchronistic material, and such prophetic material as 1 Kings 12: 33-13: 34 and 2 Kings 19: 21 ff., are to be attributed to R<sup>2</sup>. But his other contributions are not always easy to detect in the ongoing of the text.

Benzinger finds the best help for text correction in the Greek translation, examples of which he cites in abundance. His method of constructing the chronology, by getting the total of the years of the reigns of the kings in each kingdom, will not aid in the solution of the problems. The chronology of Israel and Judah that will be fixed henceforth will take into account several overlappings, or synchronistic reigns or parts of reigns. The sum total of the years in either kingdom is a misleading element and should not enter the question.

The method of the commentary is that of the Marti series in general. There is regrettably no translation of the whole text, such as is found at the top of the page in the Nowack series. The literary critical treatments are printed in small type, and the textual and exegetical discussions in large type. It is a decided weakness of the series that it presents no continuous translation. The force of the results of textual discussions can often be shown *only* by a translation which exhibits both the new sense of the passage in itself and in its relation to the context. To omit that is to lose part of the real value of the work.

The textual critical part of the work shows eminent good sense. The author wisely omits an encyclopædic collection of opinions, but rather cites one or two late authorities or simply gives his own. He slavishly follows no one, but makes large use of Klostermann. Occasionally he makes an assertion (*e. g.*, p. 78, second sentence; p. 79, first

statement under vs. 18; p. 195, under vs. 33) that is merely an assertion, with no proof given or cited. But he lays under contribution to his work the best textual and historical literature of this day. With the exception of the omission of the translation, this is the most compact, brief commentary on the books of Kings.

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ESRA, NEHEMIA UND ESTHER. Übersetzt und erklärt. Von C. SIEGFRIED. (= "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," I. Abtheilung: Die Bücher.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 175. M. 3.80.

PROFESSOR NOWACK was disabled by a severe illness when this volume went through the press, but the editorial work seems to have been well done by Baentsch. Unusual interest attaches to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah at present, because critical discussion has for some time been directed toward them, and some startling conclusions have been put forth. The questions which have been most to the front are two: What part of the so-called memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah are authentic? and, What is the value of these books as historical sources? There has been a tendency to reduce very largely the compass of the memoirs, and to question the historical value of the rest of the books. We therefore naturally turn to the brief introduction to see what conclusion Siegfried has reached in regard to these points.

Like everyone else, our author holds that the present book of Ezra-Nehemiah is the work of the chronicler. But he assigns to his pen very little except the working over of some of his sources. Siegfried holds that Ezra 7:27-8:34; 9:1-5 are "*verbatim* extracts from Ezra's memoirs," while 7:1-10; 10:1-44; Neh., chaps. 8-10, are extracts which have been worked over. *Verbatim* extracts from Nehemiah's memoirs are found in Neh. 1:1-4:17; 5:1-7:5; 11:1 f.; 12:31, 32, 37-40; 13:4-31, while Neh. 11:3-24 is an extract which has been edited. The Aramaic portions are said to be "partly authentic translations of the royal Persian decrees, partly portions taken from Aramaic documents and colored by the chronicler." The different sources are marked in the translated text by different kinds of type, but without proper explanation. A much better plan is to indicate sources by symbols on the margin. The necessarily great variety of type makes unpleasant reading. It will be seen that this treatment is conservative, the writer being little influenced by the recent opinions.

In the treatment of the book of Esther, Siegfried mentions the effort of Lagarde and Zimmern to trace the story to a Persian or Babylonian origin. He finds even Zimmern's work incomplete, and turns to Jensen's identification of names, saying that "the combination of Esther with Ishtar, Marduk with Mordecai may be received as certain." He apparently follows Jensen in identifying Haman with Humman, the national deity of the Elamites. "Humman is the enemy of Marduk as Haman of Mordecai." The story of Haman's struggle with Mordecai has as its basis an old Babylonian history of the conquest of the Elamites by Babylon. The basis of the festival (Purim) is found in the Gilgamesh epic. Gilgamesh is supported in his heroic deeds by his wife (Kallatü=Hadassah). This wife and Ishtar blend into a single person, Hadassah-Esther. Siegfried admits that many things are left doubtful by this explanation of the source of the book, but holds, nevertheless, that the foundations of the Babylonian myth are clearly discernible, especially as many changes would be sure to occur in the transfer of the story to the Jews. In regard to the date of the book, the author notes that the writer was far removed from the Persian age; for he has only legendary notions of Ahasuerus and his reign. There is no sign of the religious revival of the early post-exilic days. The book is marked by national fanaticism, hatred of the heathen. The situation seems to be that which came in after the removal of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. Haman's murderous scheme is regarded as an exaggeration of the command of Antiochus, who ordered the execution of those who disobeyed the royal edict. While Siegfried holds, with all other scholars, that Esther was written to show the supposed origin of the Purim festival, it will be seen that his treatment of this book is much more radical than that of Ezra and Nehemiah. But he has clearly presented a view of the book which no scholar can disregard.

L. W. BATTEN.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP. By JOHN P. PETERS. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xi+328. \$1.50.

THIS is one of the volumes of "The Churchman's Library," edited by J. H. Burn. The author endeavors to set before his readers: (1) "the fundamental problems involved in the acceptance of the Old Testament as Sacred Scripture;" (2) "the history of that thought-

development which has resulted in the modern methods of Bible study; or, how the application of the principles of evolution and comparison has affected our view of the history of the religion of Israel;" (3) "an illustration of modern methods of Bible study in general by a particular application in the case of one book — Psalms;" (4) "a survey of archæological discoveries bearing on the Old Testament."

The first part of the volume is divided into four heads: "The English Bible;" "The Bible, the Church, and Reason;" "The Incarnation and the Newer Criticism;" and "Our Lord's Treatment of the Old Testament." The themes, while fresh for the popular reader, seem to lack that unity which he looks for in such a work. Each theme, however, is handled with the freeness expected of one thoroughly familiar with his field of investigation. The Lord's treatment of the Old Testament receives largest attention. "He accepts the Old Testament spiritually and not literally." "The proof of the truth of any given passage is not its authorship nor its external claim to be the word of God, but itself" (p. 76). On that troublesome verse, Matt. 12:40, he says: "This verse . . . is not to be taken as the words of our Lord, but as the explanatory comment of St. Matthew, who sees in the story of Jonah a sign of our Lord's resurrection. Use a modern device, bracket the verse, and the difficulty vanishes" (p. 67).

The part (II) dealing with "Evolution and the Bible" is the best-unified portion of the book. It sets forth quite clearly the newer results of the critical study of the Old Testament. Instead of "Jehovah" he usually adopts the form "Yahaweh," though we find both on the same page (128).

Part III, on "The Book of Psalms," does not entirely agree with the theory that David wrote no psalms. He maintains that "the evidence of tradition forces us to assign to David an important part in the development, not merely of secular, but also of religious, lyric poetry" (p. 175). Again he says, with eminent good sense: "The current method of criticism of the Psalter, which fails to recognize the older elements in the psalms because it dates them entirely by their latest elements only, is as unscientific as it would be to date every portion of the Hexateuch on the evidence of the latest additions to the priest code" (p. 177).

While he somewhat depreciates the full value attributed by other scholars to archæological results, his liberal references to the reversal of earlier current opinions regarding Greek, Roman, Indian, and



Persian history and literature, and his remarks on the tendency of Old Testament scholars to divide and subdivide, show that he appreciates the beginnings of what we may designate a reaction in Old Testament critical study.

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ÉTUDE SUR LES ORIGINES ET LA NATURE DU ZOHAR. Précédée d'une étude sur l'histoire de la Kabbale. Par S. KARPPE. Paris: Alcan, 1901. Pp. x + 604. Fr. 7.50.

A STUDY of Jewish mysticism along critical and scientific lines, as may be expected, dates from the nineteenth century. It is sufficient to mention the works of Franck, *La Kabbale*, 1843; Joel, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar*, 1849; Landauer, posthumous articles in *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, 1845; Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, 1852; Stern, "Versuch einer umständlichen Analyse des Sohar," in *Ben-Chananja*, 1858-60; Grätz, principally notes 3 and 12 in the seventh volume of his *Geschichte der Juden*, 1873. The net result of those investigations was a more or less clear presentation of the "zoharitic system" and the fastening of the authorship of the Zohar, the Bible of Kabbalism, upon Moses de Leon, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century. It was furthermore the merit of Grätz to give emphasis to Landauer's important discrimination between the Kabbalah proper and the older mysticism of gaonic times. Jellinek was well on the road toward giving a synthetic, truly historical view of the rise of the Kabbalah out of the mysticism that preceded it. To present this view in full is the aim of Karppe's work. The author has used to good purpose the *Vorarbeiten* mentioned above. He might also have referred in the chapter dealing with gaonic mysticism to Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (chap. 9, "Geheimlehre"), 1832 (second edition, 1892), and in that portion of his book in which he compares Philo and the Zohar (especially with regard to the allegorical method of interpretation) to Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875.

Jewish mysticism is older than the canon. It is found imbedded in its third section. Its origins may be sought in that vast store of mythology that came to Palestine from Babylon. Persia contributed its share. A fresh impetus came from Greece. It meant a reaction against Jewish orthodoxy with the Law as the canon *par excellence* and

its disdain for speculation. For Jewish mysticism, we believe Karppe is right, is essentially speculative. "Thou hast no business with secret things"—such was the motto of official Judaism. But speculation could not be driven back. Parasitically it wound itself about the Law and the prophets. The first chapter of Genesis (the minimum of speculation that the Law made room for) was made the substratum of physical, and the first chapter of Ezekiel that of metaphysical, speculations. The method of interpretation was naturally allegorical. The Mishna had to reckon with those speculations which had enticed some of its best men. They speculated on "what is above and what is below, what was before and what shall be in the end." In gaonaic times mysticism became grossly anthropomorphic. It received a philosophical turn under the hands of the master-minds of Jewish theology: Saadya, Ibn Gabirol, Maimonides. Ibn Ezra contributed his speculations on numbers. The "sefiroth" are met with in the gaonaic "Book of Creation." But neither the casuistry of talmudism nor the rationalism of the philosophers offered sufficient consolation to the victims of the crusades. The mystics of the thirteenth century gave themselves over to metaphysical speculations of an exceedingly abstract and abstruse character. The essential doctrine of the Kabbalah (as Jewish mysticism now called itself) is that of the "sefiroth," which are the divine attributes hypostasized, intermediaries between the finite world of matter and the infinite Deity. One readily perceives in the Kabbalah elements akin to the Philonian philosophy on the one hand and to the Gnosis on the other. In the Zohar we have a precipitate of all previous movements upon which the peculiar stamp of the Kabbalah proper is imprinted. It takes up a hostile attitude to talmudic Judaism. The Mishna is the handmaid that arrogates to herself the position of right belonging to the mistress, that is, the Kabbalah. Yet the official Judaism of pre-Mendelssohnian times was tinged with kabbalistic doctrines. Thus the Kabbalah represents a noteworthy side of Judaism. It abounds in absurdities; but it aims high and sees deep. Much *unsinniges* it has, but also *tiefsinniges*. The Kabbalah is indeed a Jewish Gnosis. Of the practical or thaumaturgic Kabbalah Karppe does not treat.

Karppe's book is written in a delightful style, which one should expect from a book inscribed to the memory of Renan and (James) Darmesteter. It is to be regretted that the Hebrew quotations are disfigured by misprints so as to be at times unreadable. Errors occur also in the French, *e. g.*, "patriotiques" for "patristiques," pp. 27 and

229; "d'écoule" for "s'écoule," p. 162; "voix" for "voies," p. 139, and a few more.

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✠ *ܬܬܪܐܘܥܝܬܐ ܫܢܬܐ* ✠ TETRAEVANGELIUM SANCTUM, juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad Fidem Codicum, Massorae, Editionum denuo Recognitum. Lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat PHILIPPUS EDWARDUS PUSEY. Auxit, digessit, edidit GEORGIUS HENRICUS GWILLIAM. Accedunt Capitularum Notatio, Concordiarum Tabulae, Translatio Latina, Annotationes. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCCI; New York: Frowde. Pp. xvi + 608. \$14.

A WEALTH of critical editions has of late been crowding upon workers in the textual criticism of the Old and New Testaments. The Cambridge Septuagint, the Coptic gospels, the Vulgate Latin have all been important accessions to our resources, and with these now stands the Oxford Peshitto, in a form appropriate for the queen of the versions. It is many years since the work of collecting and sifting the readings of the Vulgate Syriac was begun by Philip Pusey, and since his death his labors have been continued by Mr. Gwilliam, with whose name it has of late years been customary to associate this long-expected edition. The first edition of the Syriac New Testament, published by Widmanstadt in Vienna in 1555, was in general reproduced by later editors, without any very serious re-examination of the manuscript witnesses. Scholars were thus without any text adequately representing the Peshitto version, when the discoveries of Cureton and Mrs. Lewis and the theory of Dr. Hort brought the problems of the origin of that version acutely to their attention. Before the new facts could be interpreted or the new theories tested, an answer must be had for the question: Precisely what is the Peshitto version, as preserved in its best manuscripts? and this question the Oxford editors have set out to answer. Forty-two manuscripts, dating from the fifth to the twelfth century, have been used, whole or in part, in the construction of the text. The vowel system is that of the manuscripts of the Jacobite Massora. To the text is prefixed the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus, explaining the harmonistic sections and canons which accompany the text. Throughout the book the Syriac text occupies the right-hand page and a Latin translation the left-hand, while the apparatus of Syriac readings fills a wide margin at the bottom of both pages. One's

first feeling is of a little disappointment at the use of Jacobite type instead of the splendid Estrangelo usual in Syriac publications nowadays. Doubtless practical considerations of space and vocalization impelled the editors to retain the type usual in Peshitto editions.

The editors' conclusions are none the less valuable for being somewhat negative. The text put forth by Widmanstadt they find on the whole a faithful representation of the text current in the Syrian church of the fifth century, the Peshitto manuscripts having suffered no very material corruption during their centuries of transmission. To enter into the problem of the relation of the Peshitto gospels with the Curetonian and Sinaitic has been no part of their task, but for the solution of that great question this admirable edition affords important material, in definitely establishing the ancient text of the Peshitto.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE EARLIEST GOSPEL: A Historical Study of the Gospel according to Mark, with a Text and English Version. By ALLAN MENZIES. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xii + 306. \$2.75.

THE succession of excellent commentaries on Mark, by Gould, Swete, and now by Menzies, is significant of the peculiar esteem into which this gospel is destined to come, in view of the increasing agreement among scholars that it is in fact "the earliest gospel." And there is room for all the above-named works and more. Gould has followed the model of German critical commentators, with many improvements in the way of typographical arrangement; Swete, that of Lightfoot. Menzies strikes out a new model for himself, which includes not only the entire text (Westcott and Hort's, excepting variants adopted for cause given), as in Lightfoot's and Swete's commentaries, but a translation on the opposite page somewhat freer than the Revisers', and reproducing the vernacular character of Mark's style.

But the main peculiarity of Menzies's work is in the comments, which are not composed of separate discussions of selected phrases, but are continuous, forming a sort of paraphrase of the text, interrupted only by an occasional excursus explanatory of this or that peculiarity of the story. It is evident that by this means the author aims to secure his purpose of a distinctively "historical study," philological, grammatical, and critical notes being reduced to a minimum.

Clearly there are advantages in this method. The ordinary lay reader is no longer repelled by the constant interruption of Greek phrases and the necessity of glancing from text to notes and from notes back to text. He reads an interesting and well-written account of the narrative, as though it were a life of Christ, by a critic of modern views and historical insight. Besides, have we not in Gould and Swete abundant discussion of the philological and textual minutiae? *Per contra*, the method is highly repetitious. When, in addition to text, we are given a free translation, almost a paraphrase, and over and above this comments which make almost a second paraphrase, the question cannot but arise whether the space and type are really economically employed.

Still, let us by all means have the *historical* commentary. There is nothing which can do more to widen the view of the exegete and to restore to the public a taste for the actual reading of commentaries.

BENJ. W. BACON.

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DIE BERGPREDIGT (Matth. 5-7; Luk. 6:20-49) QUELLENKRITISCH UND BEGRIFFSGESCHICHTLICH UNTERSUCHT. Theil I: *Die quellenkritische Untersuchung der Bergpredigt*. Von C. F. G. HEINRICI. Leipzig: Dürr, 1900. Pp. 81. M. 1.60.

DIE BERGPREDIGT NACH MATTHÄUS AUF IHRE ÄUSSERE UND INNERE EINHEIT, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des genuinen Verhältnisses der Seligpreisungen zur ganzen Rede neu untersucht und dargestellt. Von FRIEDRICH GRAWERT. Marburg: Elwert, 1900. Pp. 77. M. 1.20.

THAT there is no first-class work in English dealing with the Sermon on the Mount specifically and exclusively is an indication that theological interest has centered upon the Pauline writings rather than upon the teaching of Jesus. Germany has preceded us in the historical investigation of the Sermon on the Mount. While English and Americans have been content with a translation of Tholuck's commentary on the discourse, published in 1860, the first German edition of which appeared in 1833, a considerable number of books on this subject have been appearing in Germany,<sup>1</sup> and, in addition to

<sup>1</sup>Notably ACHELIS, *Die Bergpredigt*, 1875 (an elaborate commentary of 492 pages, only second in importance to Tholuck's work); FEINE, "Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Texte der Bergpredigt bei Matthäus und bei Lukas," in *Jahrbücher für*

the special treatises, the recent commentaries on the gospel of Matthew—particularly that of Bernhard Weiss (1898)—have given more attention to this discourse. There can be no question that the Sermon on the Mount is to assume a position of primary importance in the field of biblical interpretation during the next twenty-five years. The two monographs whose titles are here given make a valuable addition to the literature already at hand.

Heinrici's contribution is but half-made, since the present publication gives us only Part I, containing the study of the sources of the material in the sermon; the study of the teaching itself is to follow in Part II. He reaches the conclusion that the Sermon on the Mount does not represent an actual historical discourse, but is instead a literary composition. The evangelist brought together various teachings from the public ministry of Christ, and arranged them into a sort of unity, to produce a "Magna Charta of the true discipleship of Jesus."<sup>2</sup> In these sayings Jesus appears as the preacher of a better righteousness, showing how the aims and requirements of the law and the prophets are to be understood and realized. He sets himself forth as the reformer of the old covenant, yet his testimony to himself is not exhausted with that; for he goes farther and makes claims for himself, which no one of the Old Testament worthies would have dared to make. The contents of Matt., chaps. 5-7, are gnomic; most of these gnomic utterances, in accordance with the Hebrew "wisdom," are given in concrete, often paradoxical and pregnant form, with an inimitable clearness, ease, and pithiness. In Luke 6:20-49 we have a discourse which is compiled from similar material and on similar lines, but lacking the distinct local color. The likenesses and the differences of the two accounts give the impression of a common tradition preserved under varying conditions and undergoing various vicissitudes. In Matthew we have the form in which Jesus' words survived among his Palestinian disciples; in Luke, the form in which his sayings were circulated among the gentile Christians.

Strong arguments can be presented to show, against Heinrici, that there was a historical Sermon on the Mount, of which we have similar accounts in these two gospels. It is not unlikely that there is

*protestantische Theologie*, 1885, pp. 1-85; IBBEKEN, *Die Bergpredigt Jesu*, 2te Aufl., 1890 (pp. 216); HUGO WEISS, *Die Bergpredigt Christi in ihrem organischen Zusammenhang*, 1892 (pp. 111); and STEINMEYER, *Die Rede des Herrn auf dem Berge*, 1885 (pp. 156).

<sup>2</sup> Similarly WEIZSÄCKER, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 2te Aufl., 1891, pp. 378 f.

compiled material in these reports, but in both Matthew and Luke we have an actual original nucleus, containing the theme and main development of the sermon. But otherwise one finds Heinrici's discussion highly satisfactory and valuable.

Grawert, however, in his scholarly study, goes to the other extreme and attempts to prove the absolute historical unity of the discourse as given in Matthew. The argument for its integrity is developed on a new line. He holds that the beatitudes as given by Matthew constitute the key to the whole discourse, each beatitude corresponding to a particular section of these chapters and forming its epitome. For this reason the beatitudes must have stood originally, he thinks, at the close of the sermon instead of at the beginning, so that Matt. 5:13-16 was the proper prologue to the discourse (pp. 5-8). The eight beatitudes as they now stand in Matthew are in inverse order as compared with the material of the discourse, thus: 5:10=5:11-16; 5:9=5:17-26; 5:8=5:27-37; 5:7=5:38-48; 5:6=6:1-34; 5:5=7:1, 2; 5:4=7:3-5(6); 5:3=7:7-11 (p. 66). Now, Grawert is certainly right in his view that the beatitudes contain the essential ideas which are expanded and illustrated in the subsequent material of the sermon. But no such absolute connection between the beatitudes and the remaining contents can be shown as shall guarantee that *every verse* of Matt., chaps. 5-7, was a part of the historical discourse. Grawert's analysis, parceling out a number of verses to each beatitude as its epitome, is artificial, and its absurdity becomes manifest when he is forced to make "Blessed are they who mourn" (Matt. 5:4) the epitome of the saying about the mote and the beam (Matt. 7:3-5). Not only this, but he has entirely ignored the phenomena of Luke's parallel account and the distribution of much of Matthew's discourse through chaps. 10-14, 16, of the third gospel. While, therefore, Grawert fails to make good his claim that every verse of Matt., chaps. 5-7, is in its original position, his arguments have great weight against Heinrici's theory of the sermon as a pure compilation accomplished in transmission.

The purpose of the Sermon on the Mount, according to Grawert, was "the consolidation of the disciple-group." By this he means "the inner and outer separation of the disciples from their former Jewish past, and the establishment of their new position on the basis of their relation to the Lord, and in their actual outer connection with him as his followers and future messengers of the kingdom of heaven" (p. 18). But the discourse has a double character, for it also

"indicates the point at which Jesus steps forth from his former reserve with respect to the ever-increasing hostility of the Pharisees and scribes, and engages in open war against them" (p. 18). It was this that made the selection and the union of the disciples a necessity. The occasion of the sermon, as of the appointment of the Twelve with which it was immediately connected, was the daily increasing labors of the Pharisees against Jesus and their persecution of his followers, which called out a public manifesto from Jesus and a positive resistance (p. 33). In this conception which Grawert has of the theme, occasion, and purpose of the sermon there is a great deal of truth, and it might readily be held in conjunction with a mild compilation theory. But one fears that the negative aspect of the discourse has been given too much prominence in Grawert's view; he presses to an extreme the idea of the pharisaic opposition to Jesus and his followers at this stage of the ministry; he postulates a much sharper separation between the Christian and the Jewish adherents than was at this time at all probable; and he does not do justice to the magnificently positive and constructive nature of the sermon as a whole.

C. W. VOTAW.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES VIERTEN EVANGELIUMS. Von JULIUS GRILL. Theil I. Tübingen: J. Mohr, 1902. Pp. xii + 408. M. 8.

THIS is, in our judgment, the most thorough and valuable contribution to the Johannine problem which has appeared for a decade. The method of approach is the biblico-theological method, that of a study of the origin, history, and kinship of the dominant ideas, which so far, of course, includes no consideration of the external evidence, but is purely interpretative. For this reason even readers who may refuse to consider the question of authorship an open one will find the book of incomparable value; for, while the author makes no secret of his conviction that the place of the gospel is among the anti-Gnostic writings of the time of the Ignatian epistles or later, there can be no question of his learning, the marvelous completeness and range of his reading, and the keenness of his analytical discrimination. These granted, it follows that the effort to trace the genesis and kinship of the great Johannine ideas will be richly rewarded. No mere commentary can compare with such a work for the light thrown upon the book



as a whole, illuminating, as it does, the author's purpose, his material, the intellectual ground on which he stands, and the environment which he confronts.

Part I of the *Untersuchungen*, now before us, does not reach beyond the prologue, but easily surpasses in importance the treatment of both Harnack and Baldensperger. Contrary to the view of Harnack, Grill finds the Logos-idea of the prologue not a mere attachment to, but the real keynote of, the gospel. Contrary to Baldensperger, the motive of opposition to Hemerobaptist ideas is made of very subordinate, scarcely appreciable importance. The rival system to be counteracted by an exposition of a Christology genuinely Pauline in its root-ideas is Gnostic and Docetic; and here Grill sweeps the very foundations from under the extravagant fancies of Kreyenbühl.<sup>1</sup> As against Wendt, Delff, and all superficial attempts to analyze in disregard of the fundamental unity of the work in both its narrative and discourse elements, Grill's exhibition of the pervasive dominance of the prologue ideas of Christ as the pre-existent Logos, the Life and Light, "tabernacling" in the flesh, is masterly. As against the attempts of Beyschlag, Wendt, and Gilbert to reduce the pre-existence doctrine to a mere "logical" or "ideal" pre-existence, it is unanswerable, because it starts from no false premises as to the existence in pre-Pauline times of any Jewish doctrine of actual or real pre-existence. Scholars will await the subsequent parts of Grill's *Untersuchungen* with highest interest.

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THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS. By JAMES H. KENNEDY. London: Methuen, 1900. Pp. xxviii + 202. 6s.

THE aim of this work is to prove that the epistle of Paul which we call "Second Corinthians" is in reality made up of portions of two epistles; chaps. 10-13 constitute the major portion of a letter which was written earlier than that which is contained in chaps. 1-9. By the terminology of Dr. Kennedy's title, which is somewhat unfortunate, 2 Cor., chaps. 10-13, is called the "second epistle" and 2 Cor., chaps. 1-9, the "third epistle." In fact, we seem to know of *four* letters which Paul wrote to the Corinthian Christians (as our author also holds):

<sup>1</sup> See my review of this book in this JOURNAL, Vol. VI (January, 1902), pp. 131, 132.

(1) the letter referred to in 1 Cor. 5:9; which is supposed to be entirely lost, but of which 2 Cor. 6:14—7:1 is perhaps a portion; (2) our first canonical letter, the unity of which has not been seriously questioned; (3) a letter which came in between 1 Corinthians and 2 Cor., chaps. 1-9, and which is described in 2 Cor. 2:4; 7:8, as a letter written out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears, and the sending of which had for a time caused him regret, because of its emotion and severity (this letter is probably to be identified with 2 Cor., chaps. 10-13); (4) the letter that now appears in 2 Cor., chaps. 1-9 (unless chap. 8 or chap. 9, or both, belonged originally to other connections), which narrates the successful outcome of Paul's conflict with his enemies in the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 7:13-16).

Dr. Kennedy published two articles in the *Expositor* for 1897, arguing the composite character of the canonical 2 Corinthians. The present volume is an outgrowth of that study. As yet he stands almost alone among British scholars in his partition theory of the epistle; Dr. Sanday in the article upon the "Corinthian Epistles" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and Dr. Robertson in the corresponding article of the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, give this theory little consideration; while introduction writers and commentators have generally ignored it. Nevertheless it has earnest advocates in Germany (especially Hausrath and Schmiedel), and the arguments which are adduced in support of it go far toward giving it probability. Dr. Kennedy, therefore, has made a useful contribution to the British and American study of Paul's Corinthian epistles. He has met many of the *a priori* objections to the partition hypothesis, and has shown the inadequacy of many previous interpretations of the passages most concerned in the discussion. To some of the author's reconstructions of events and explanations of facts it would be easy to offer objections. Perhaps the details of Paul's relations with the Corinthian church cannot now be fully worked out. But the question whether we have two epistles or one in the second canonical epistle does not have to wait upon a complete recovery of the details involved; it can be decided upon general lines.

More difficulty is admitted by the author than really exists, in the matter of how the two epistles came to be combined into a single manuscript. He speaks of it as happening through the "mistake of a copyist" (p. xxvii, 153). But the joining of the two shorter epistles may have been intentional and well advised. Copies in papyrus roll were made of the first canonical letter for use by other individuals and

churches outside of Corinth. Later it was considered useful to extend also the knowledge of Paul's third and fourth letters to the Corinthian church; but these were comparatively brief, and it may have been deemed advisable to combine them in order to make a papyrus roll more nearly of the same size as the former already in circulation. The same hypothesis would best explain why the fragments of other letters (2 Cor. 6: 14—7: 1, and perhaps chap. 8 or chap. 9, or both) may have been combined with these two larger writings into a single manuscript. Copies of these epistles were made for the *practical use* of the churches, not for the purpose of narrating the exact history of Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians. Such combining of smaller letters, and instructive portions of letters, would seem useful and likely rather than otherwise; that it would make trouble for future historians of primitive Christianity would not enter into their thought, for the churches were primarily interested in these writings for the service they might render in the spread and inculcation of the gospel.

C. W. VOTAW.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PETER AND ST. JUDE. By REV. CHARLES BIGG. (= "The International Critical Commentary.") New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. ix + 353. \$2.50.

THIS volume, the tenth to appear in the series (the sixth on New Testament books), next to the smallest in bulk, is worthy to rank beside the best in value. It is gratifying to note that the editors do not deem uniformity in size essential. Their volumes vary from a total of 246 pages in Dr. Vincent's *Commentary on Philippians and Philemon* up to 678 pages in Dr. Plummer's volume on Luke.

Canon Bigg's work is pre-eminently characterized by judicial open-mindedness and sympathetic insight into historical conditions. His realistic interpretation of the relations of the apostles and the circumstances of the early church renders the volume invaluable to students of these themes. The differences between Peter and Paul, actual, and yet not violently antagonistic (as the Tübingen school maintained), are brought out with illuminating discrimination. Peter is termed a disciplinarian, "one who hears God speaking to him," while Paul is a mystic, "one who feels the presence of God within." As further stated, "these two words denote, not a difference in the thing believed,

but a difference in the way of believing it." "The leading disciplinarian ideas are grace, considered as a gift, law, learning, continuity, godly fear—in all these human responsibility is kept steadily in view. But the leading mystic ideas are grace as an indwelling power, freedom, the inner light, discontinuity (law and gospel, flesh and spirit, world and God), and love." "The Petrine theology regards God as the object of Christian thought, aspiration, worship, rather than of experience, possession, inner realization." The term "apostle," or "envoy," was used in a popular and in an official sense. Paul claimed apostolic authority and assumed the term "apostle," in the official sense, at the time of writing Galatians and Corinthians, and then ceased to baptize with his own hand. His claim met with opposition. Jewish and gentile Christians were in every church throughout Asia Minor. Paul's contact with them was not great; other missionaries were in the region, and Paul left it largely to them. There came at length to be two types of churches in the region, a Pauline and a Petrine type, to the latter belonging the larger number. Mark and Silvanus could take orders from either Paul or Peter; for, while there were differences between these two leaders, yet the differences were not such as to lead to separation or strife. The apostles knew each other's work.

First Peter was written between 58 and 64 A. D., not by Peter, but by an "interpreter," *i. e.*, an amanuensis, probably Silvanus. The amanuensis corrected the Greek; "the main points handled, the manner in which they are developed, the general tone of thought, are those of Peter himself." Likenesses to Paul's phraseology may be due to the amanuensis having often heard Paul preach, or they may be "the pulpit formulæ of the time." Peter is nearer the synoptic gospels than any other apostolic writer. The readers are the churches in the whole of Asia Minor except the south coast. The letter resulted probably from a mission started by Pontic Christians, and Peter was asked to write a circular letter which would give an authoritative basis to the enterprise. The place of writing was Rome. The lady sending salutation is Peter's wife, who was well known and well beloved in many places. The address and conclusion are genuine (against Harnack). Christ's preaching to spirits in prison took place between the crucifixion and the ascension; it was to men who had refused to listen to Noah; it was the proclamation of the gospel and the offer of a place of repentance; it applies to those who have not heard, not to those who have heard, the gospel; the whole idea was derived from current Jewish doctrine.

Second Peter exerted a considerable and widespread influence in very early times. The tradition, preserved by Irenæus, that Mark's gospel was written after Peter's death is probably based on 2 Peter 1:15; the one thousand years of this letter is the probable basis of chiliasm; belief in the destruction of the world by fire, which became prevalent, doubtless issued from this book; and the prolific family of pseudo-Petrine literature probably also sprang from 1:15. Canon Bigg agrees with B. Weiss that no document in the New Testament is so like 1 Peter as 2 Peter; after careful examination of the evidence, he decides that they are from the same author, and accounts for the differences between them by supposing them to have been written by different amanuenses. Second Peter is prior to Jude. It was addressed to nearly the same readers as 1 Peter, doubtless to some particular Christian community of Asia Minor, and not to the church at large. The place of writing is unknown; the time was early in the first century, later than 1 Corinthians and 1 Peter. The subject is to defend the doctrine of the parousia. In it no signs of the second coming are given; there is no expectation of a personal experience mentioned (therein according with John 21:18, 19). Peter speaks well of Paul; he is less polemical than James, expressing himself with wisdom and moderation. Paul is still alive.

Jude was written not later than 65 A. D. The author was our Lord's brother (in the Epiphanian sense). The likeness to 2 Peter is due to borrowing. Probably the errors denounced in both are those of Corinthians. The disorder was spreading. Peter took the alarm and wrote his second epistle, sending a copy to Jude with a warning of urgency and danger. Jude immediately issued a similar letter to those churches in which he was personally interested. The place of writing is unknown; also the persons addressed are unknown; it "may have been addressed to almost any community in which Greek was spoken." Second Peter and Jude may have gone in different directions. Pfeiderer's view that the epistle is a polemic against the Carpocratians is emphatically combated.

The exegetical work in the volume rests on the broad basis of careful linguistic study, acquaintance with apocalyptic literature and the writings of the Fathers, a sane judgment, and good sense.

Not a few statements regarding Paul are in the phraseology of assumption, thus: "it is evident," "must surely," "no doubt," "is probably." That Paul was not a member of the Sanhedrin, that he "extorted" a dispatch from the high-priest, that his anger and irony

toward the apostles are manifest in Galatians, need proof to many minds. The author has failed to give a clear delineation of the literary style of Jude as compared with 2 Peter. A collection of the adjectives which in the exegetical portion are applied to Jude's style, presents an array of inconsistencies which should be reduced to order. Exaggeration, sharpening, hardening, and confusing the text of Peter are phrases not consistent with smoothing, clearing, simplifying, and correcting the text. "It is clear," says the author, "that he was a better writer than 2 Peter, and in particular that he dislikes needless iteration." While this may be true, the author has not made it clear. The Epiphanian view of our Lord's brothers is hardly proved by the statement of Hegesippus that grandsons of Jude were brought before Domitian, and therefore Jude must have been older than Jesus. A younger brother of Jesus could easily have had grandsons who were old enough to come before Domitian with callous hands. Ninety years readily allows for three generations.

Three indexes accompany the book: "Subjects and Names," "Latin Words and Phrases," "Greek Words and Phrases." Why the names of modern scholars and commentators should not be included in the first is not plain. Is an index to be regarded simply as a cloister in which may be accumulated memorial tablets to the dead? If the reader, on closing the book, wishes to turn again to Pfeleiderer's contentions respecting Carpocratianism, there is no clue to guide him save the name of Carpocrates. Neither Hegesippus nor Epiphanius is mentioned in the index. The student who recalls the unique bearing given to the testimony of Hegesippus must remember to look for the topic "Brethren of Lord" and the sub-topic "older than our Lord." Many an author has proved that it is easier to make a good book than to make a good index.

ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY.

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THE TEACHING OF JESUS. By GEORGE BARKER STEVENS. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xii + 190. \$0.75.

THE usefulness of this series of "New Testament Handbooks," edited by Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, is freshly proved by each new number issued. The volumes present the results of modern scholarship with a clearness and simplicity that fit them to be widely influential in the new era of intelligent study of the Scriptures upon which the thoughtful laymen of the church are entering.

This volume by Professor Stevens is constructed along the lines laid out in that portion of his well-known *Theology of the New Testament* which is devoted to the teaching of Jesus, although somewhat more elementary in its character, being intended to serve "as a text-book for schools and Bible classes and as a manual for private study." The various topics are treated in the sane and thorough manner that characterizes all of Professor Stevens's work. When it is necessary to do so, various divergent views are fairly stated, and the conclusions of the author himself are always clearly presented. He bases his presentation mainly upon the synoptic gospels, though the fourth gospel proves irresistibly attractive to him, as it must to anyone who attempts a thorough presentation of the teaching of Jesus. In his chapter on "The Sources" he does not attempt to distinguish and evaluate the constituent elements of the synoptic gospels, and any effort to do so would probably be out of place in such a text-book.

In the present state of New Testament scholarship finality is too much to expect from any such treatise. It does its work if it contributes to the steadily clarifying presentation of Jesus and his teaching that is being made in our day. There is still much to do in the reproduction of Jesus' environment, and much depends upon such reproduction, for Jesus evidently kept his immediate environment steadily in mind and adapted his teaching to it. The importance of such reproduction is still more clearly evident when it is realized that the report of Jesus' teaching comes to us through a portion of that environment, namely, those who knew him and heard him teach. One has to ask both what Jesus meant, and what his immediate disciples and other reporters of his words understood him to mean. Professor Stevens makes clear recognition of this in his discussion of the "Second Coming." Our presentations of the teaching of Jesus will gain in vividness and power also as we come increasingly to the recognition of the fact that Jesus' teaching was the product of his own personal religious experience.

EDWARD I. BOSWORTH.

OBERLIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
Oberlin, O.

AUTOUR DE LA MER MORTE. Avec 34 illustrations d'après les photographies de l'auteur, et une carte. Par LUCIEN GAUTIER. Genève: Eggiman & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1901. Pp. 137. Fr. 4.

THE author of this little book is already known to us through his *The Mission of the Prophet Ezekiel, Notes on the Decalogue, Souvenirs of*

*the Holy Land* (a second edition of which appeared in 1898), and *Ad-Dourra al-Fakhira*. In the volume before us, which does not claim to be a contribution to the science of geography, he gives an interesting account of a tour around the Dead Sea which he made in the month of March, 1899. His itinerary was as follows: Jerusalem, Hebron, Engedi, Masada, the Slime Pits of Es-Sebkha at the south end of the Dead Sea, Ghor es-Sâfiyeh, Dera', Libb, Ma'in, Madeba, Mashitta, Mount Nebo, Jericho, and back to Jerusalem.

His dragoman he had had before in 1893-94. Two sheikhs of the Jehalin Arabs escorted him from Hebron to Kerak. Fortune favored him and his caravan in crossing the Slime Pits of Es-Sebkha; for others have not been able to make it, as did our author, in two and one-half hours. Jebel Usdum, which suggests the name of ancient Sodom, he thinks to have come from the Bible or the Koran, rather than to have been handed down four thousand years. The Dead Sea is said to be rising (p. 46). The Turkish government at Kerak is praised for establishing peace and order. The missionaries of the C. M. S. are commended for their tact and ability, as is also Dr. Pater-son, of Hebron. The palace at Mashitta is supposed by our author to date from the end of the sixth or the commencement of the seventh century A. D.

At the close of the volume is attached as an appendix the author's article entitled "Dead Sea," contributed to and already published in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and which is a well-written and comprehensive epitome of the facts—geological, biblical, and historical—known about that very interesting and unique body of water. A complete bibliography of the literature on the subject closes the volume.

GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

THE McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

GOLGOTHA UND DAS HEILIGE GRAB ZU JERUSALEM. Von CARL MOMMERT. Leipzig: Haberland, 1900. Pp. 280. M. \$5.50.

THIS volume must have cost its author a vast amount of study and labor. All available authorities—his list shows one hundred and seventy-two authors—have been consulted, and we have as a result an elaborate compilation to prove the writer's thesis, namely, the authenticity of the Holy Sepulcher as the place of the crucifixion and burial of Christ. The evidence brought forward for this is contained practically in the first chapter, embracing only twenty pages, the remainder



of the volume being occupied with a history of the church since the time of Constantine. The word "church" here used embraces the various sacred spots now grouped in one locality. Each of the nineteen chapters treats of a separate topic, all having a certain interest, for example: "The Different Names of the Place of Christ's Death, as Golgotha, the Skull, Calvaria, and Several Others" (ii); "The Cleft in the Rock of Golgotha" (x); "Extent of the Surface of the Still Existing Rock" (viii); "Chapel of Modestus and the Crusaders" (v); "The Chapel of Adam" (xi); "Total Destruction of the Tomb in A. D. 1010" (xvii); "Destruction of the Church in A. D. 1808" (xix). Space prevents us from giving the entire list.

The success or failure of the author's theory must be decided by what is contained in the first chapter, which is entitled "The Location of Golgotha." Dr. Mommert has, of course, no more evidence than exists. The evidence which he brings forward has been presented many times before him, and it is identical with that presented by every advocate of the traditional sites.

It is universally admitted that on the site of the present Holy Sepulcher certain buildings—a rotunda over the supposed tomb of Christ, and a grand basilica farther to the east—were erected by order of Constantine. It was three hundred years (for convenience say 30 A. D. to 330 A. D.) after the death of Christ when these were built, and it is claimed that they marked the identical places where our Lord was crucified and buried. The proper question to ask is: What evidence existed at the time which led to the selection of these places? This question is not raised as a new one, but as one which the advocates of the traditional sites ought to answer. Writing an elaborate history of the church since 330 A. D. does not answer it; that is comparatively an easy task. No one denies that in 326 A. D., Helena, Constantine's mother, an old lady—she died in 328—shortly after she had embraced Christianity visited Jerusalem, and while there, this is alleged, the sites were discovered. Later historians assert that she chose these points in consequence of a dream she had about the three crosses. The historian who lived at the time, Eusebius, who died in 340 A. D., does not mention this circumstance. The event was one of very great importance, and if in 326 evidence existed which led to the selection of these places, why did writers of ecclesiastical history who lived seventy-five years later omit all mention of that evidence and ascribe their location to a dream? Some advocates of the traditional theory declare that since the year 326 "there is an unbroken

line of testimony as to the genuineness of the site of the Holy Sepulcher." Do such persons understand what they are saying? "The unbroken line of testimony" is to the fact that the Holy Sepulcher has existed since 326 on the spot where it now stands. *This no one disputes.* To assert this and reassert it a thousand times is not to furnish the evidence asked for. To say that additional arguments or facts have been brought to light since 326 A. D. confirming the authenticity of these sites is to state what is absolutely untrue.

The advocates of the traditional site have a right to be heard, and their arguments should receive fair attention. As has been intimated, they all use the same arguments, with a slight difference perhaps in the statement of them. Of this class of persons Dr. Mommert may be considered a fair representative, and the following is a summary of his case as he presents it. The words in quotations and in italics, with which each proposition begins, are Dr. Mommert's own :

- a. "*It is beyond doubt*" that the place of the crucifixion and burial of Christ was known to his immediate followers.
- b. "*It is beyond doubt*" that the place was not lost sight of by the building of Agrippa's wall three or four years before his death.
- c. "*It is beyond doubt*" that the place was not lost sight of during the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 70 A. D.
- d. "*It is beyond doubt*" that the site was known in the time of Hadrian (he died in 138 A. D.).
- e. "*It is certain*" that the site was not lost by the efforts of Hadrian to obliterate all traces of the locality.

These five points, if we exclude the contemporaries of Christ from the first one, are precisely what we ask to have proved. Dr. Mommert furnishes no proof, no other advocate of the traditional sites has ever furnished any proof; the simple fact is that no proof exists. Dr. Mommert and others of his class put forth these points as arguments and say, "therefore the site is authentic." It is a curious way of reasoning: (1) the place ought to have been known; (2) the place probably was known; (3) the place was well known. Why do not the advocates of the traditional site admit at the outset, as everybody must admit, that for three hundred years there is an absolute blank, so far as any history or evidence is concerned bearing on its authenticity? Historical accuracy demands that such a declaration be made. The first bit of historical light we get is from Eusebius, that the finding of the tomb (*a tomb*) "was contrary to all expectation." The only natural inference is that the place was not previously known. The advocates of the site say "the place was well known;" Eusebius, writing

from personal knowledge, says that the place was found "contrary to all expectation." It is not possible to reconcile these statements.

In regard to the fifth point, Dr. Mommert takes it for granted that "efforts were made by Hadrian to obliterate all traces of the locality." He ought to have stated, what is the fact, that there is no historical evidence for any such alleged efforts. He states it as a fact that Hadrian built a temple to Venus on the spot. Eusebius, however, does not say this, or even imply it.

The advocates of the traditional site constantly assert that the place "was made a dumping ground," and that "a temple of Venus was erected upon it." Both cannot be true; we have a right to demand that they give up either the dump-heap or the Venus temple.

To some minds the claim is no doubt a very plausible one that the place of Christ's burial could not have been lost, that it was always well known. His relatives would be the most likely to remember it, but they lived in Nazareth or Capernaum. After a while Joseph, who made the tomb, or his family, would need it for themselves. Are there not in our own country some important historical events the scenes of which it has been found impossible to locate after the lapse of one hundred and fifty or two hundred years? In the case we are considering three hundred years elapsed. And how different the conditions! With us, one people, the same interests and pursuits, and uninterrupted peace; in the other case, frightful commotions, revolutions, and upheavals, social, religious, and national. Account must be taken of the many persecutions which the Christians underwent; the clashing of different races and religions in Jerusalem; the terrible destruction under Titus (70 A. D.); the destruction by Bar Cochba of the entire Christian church, which was composed wholly of Hebrews; the ruin and devastation visited upon the city by Hadrian in quelling the second Jewish revolt, when the Jewish population was practically exterminated; the extensive building operations that went on under Hadrian and others—the position of walls changed, broken walls repaired, old houses removed for new ones; for three hundred years is a long time for buildings to last. Changes innumerable took place, and still we are asked to believe that the appearance of Jerusalem in 326 A. D. was about what it was in 33 A. D., and further that, in spite of all these persecutions, banishments, local conflicts, and wars—all this devastation, ruin, and rebuilding—the particular tomb in which Christ was laid was remembered and was "perfectly well known" in 326 A. D. It seems rash to assert that it was so remembered. Such a thing would

have been nothing less than miraculous ; and it is not to be wondered at that the shrewd leaders among the Christians, at the time when the relic craze was becoming rife, should summon to their aid a miracle to justify their act in connecting a certain tomb with the tomb of Christ, which had been irrevocably lost.

JERUSALEM, SYRIA.

SELAH MERRILL.

ÉLÉMENTS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CHRÉTIENNE. Par HORACE MARUCCHI.  
2 vols. I, Notions générales ; II, Les catacombes romaines.  
Paris : Desclée, Lefebvre & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1900. Pp. xxxvi + 399 ;  
450. Fr. 12.

THESE two volumes of Marucchi's work on Christian archæology have been written in such a fashion that either may be used independently of the other and of a third volume now in preparation. The first volume is a general survey of the field of Christian archæology, so far as it is exemplified in remains in or near Rome. The author seldom goes far afield from the city in this work. The first portion of the book gives a hasty sketch of the persecutions suffered by the Roman church and of its history up to the barbarian invasions. This part of the work is in no way distinguished by new material or new treatment of well-known facts. It is in fact a mediocre performance. The second, and by far the best, division of the volume treats of Christian epigraphy. The hundred pages devoted to this subject are marked by a rigid adherence to conventional divisions of subject-matter, yet, nevertheless, furnish a compact, well-written, and amply illustrated elementary treatise on the subject. It is particularly gratifying to observe that Sig. Marucchi has given so many inscriptions in full and not a few from photographs. The concluding portion of the first volume is occupied by a summary of the history of early Christian art. The subjects depicted in mural paintings and on sarcophagi, rather than the technical and artistic side of the works described, receive attention. Here again we have a convenient manual, but few valuable results of original research.

The second volume is devoted to the catacombs of Rome and the immediate vicinity. It has evidently been prepared as a guide-book for students rather than as an exhaustive treatise. It seems admirably adapted to that purpose. Certainly no other portable work is of such value as this, and it should serve a very useful purpose. Moreover, in this volume the author has used his very extensive knowledge of the

catacombs and his acquaintance with the latest discoveries to good advantage.

The numerous illustrations with which the book is furnished are of very unequal merit. Not a few of them are evidently made by photographing illustrations in larger works, particularly the famous volumes of De Rossi, and printing them on a greatly reduced scale. A few of the plans have been made from original drawings, and there are some good reproductions of photographs. The number of inscriptions reproduced in this volume also is gratifying.

The author is naturally somewhat pronouncedly Catholic in his interpretations both of history and of archæology, but he is seldom bigoted or abusive of his opponents. The purely archæological portions of his work are those of the greatest merit, precisely because he is in them dealing with matters with which his long service on the Roman Commission of Sacred Archæology has made him thoroughly familiar. His third volume, to be entitled *Les basiliques et anciennes églises de Rome*, should prove a worthy successor to the second.

WM. WARNER BISHOP.

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NOTES INTRODUCTORY TO THE STUDY OF THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS: A Course of Lectures. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xv + 158. \$1.25.

NEARLY twenty years have passed since these lectures were written, and so they cannot claim to have the value that would certainly have belonged to a new and up-to-date expression on the subject by Dr. Hort. They are of real interest, however, as affording a new glimpse of the mind and method of that admirable scholar, and embodying an ideally keen and judicial scrutiny and estimate of the evidence available in 1884 for the problems of the origin and history of the Clementine Recognitions. A few passages which it is felt Dr. Hort would have modified in the light of discoveries made since 1884 have been judiciously bracketed by the editor, Mr. Murray, to whom the table of contents and marginal analyses are also due. The preface is from the pen of Dr. Hort, and shows that he contemplated the publication of the lectures. The matters principally treated are the attestation of the Recognitions in early Christian literature, the sources lying

back of the *Περίοδοι*, or "Circuits," of which work both Recognitions and Homilies were abridgments, and the doctrine of the Recognitions. The hand of a keen, judicial, exhaustive investigator and critic is discernible through all. In form these lectures are marked by a genial and human quality, in strong contrast with the chill altitude of condensed scientific expression so characteristic of the author's great *Introduction*, and even after these years they may well serve to introduce students pleasantly and helpfully to the problems of the Clementine Recognitions.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

APOCRYPHA ARABICA: (1) Kitāb al Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls; (2) The Story of Aphikīa; (3) Cyprian and Justa, in Arabic; (4) Cyprian and Justa, in Greek. Edited and translated into English by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON. (= *Studia Sinaitica*, No. VIII.) Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Pp. xxxi + 78 + 82. 10s., *net*.

THIS somewhat belated number of the Cambridge Sinaitic series contains one Karshuni, one Greek, and three Arabic texts. The Book of the Rolls, designed to prove the Davidic descent of Mary, is a work of the sixth century or later. It has already been published in Arabic and Syriac by Bezold (1888), but from manuscripts which Mrs. Gibson believes generally inferior to the Sinaitic authority from which she derives her text. The Story of Aphikīa is presented in Karshuni and Arabic, with an English translation of the former. Aphikīa was the wife of Jesus ben Sirach, who is here, with fine disregard for historical limitation, represented as the vizier of Solomon. The Story of Cyprian and Justa, already known in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic, is published in Greek from a Sinaitic manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, and in Arabic from a Sinaitic manuscript of the twelfth. There is no translation, and the reason assigned—that Mrs. Lewis had published the Syriac with a translation in 1900—does not altogether satisfy, as the Arabic form is very different from the Syriac. Several good facsimiles illustrate the manuscripts used. The Greek page thus reproduced shows some differences from the text printed, having *συναθροίσας* for the printed *ὄν ἀθροίσας*, *ἔρρυψε*, *ἐρᾷ παρθένον* for *ἐρᾷ παρθένου*, and *εἰδωλολατρίαν* for *εἰδωλολατρείαν*. The text might certainly have been more exactly transcribed. More systematic introductions, at least naming any other

forms of the same monuments extant, would have increased the book's usefulness to workers in these byways of patristic learning, who already owe so much to the diligent and learned editor.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CYPRUS, from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation (A. D. 45-A. D. 1878), together with Some Account of the Latin and Other Churches Existing in the Island. By J. HACKETT. London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. 720. 15s.

THIS is the work of a scholarly chaplain who served some years in Cyprus. He tells us that, "though it does not profess to much original research, sources of information have been used which are generally inaccessible to the ordinary reader." The four pages of "principal authorities cited in this work" abundantly support this statement. Latin, English, Italian, French, Greek of all periods appear in the bibliography. Only German works are missing. Besides the material from all these sources worked into the text, they yield many footnotes, and forty-one pages of appendix. The work is arranged in twelve chapters which treat: (1) "Services of Cyprus to Christianity;" (2) "The Third Crusade and its Results for Cyprus;" (3) "Conflicts of Latin and Greek Churches;" (4) "Turkish Rule;" (5) "Constitutional History of the Cypriot Church;" (6) "Lists of Orthodox Sees with Their Occupants;" (7) "Orthodox Monasteries;" (8) "Saints of Cyprus—Native, Foreign, German;" (9) "Relics;" (10) "The Latin Church;" (11) "The Latin Prelates of Cyprus;" and (12) "Religious Orders of the Latin Church in Cyprus." Maps are given of the former Latin sees and of the present orthodox sees; also pictures of typical churches and monasteries. An elaborate index of twenty-eight pages adds to the value of the work.

So large a book on what seems so small a subject carries with it naturally two elements: first, an outline of the general history both east and west which touched and influenced Cyprus as it passed; and, second, very full and detailed information on the island itself and church life upon it. This latter part contains most that is new to the student of church history, with its accounts of sees and their boundaries, lives of bishops, stories of saints, descriptions of relics and holy

places, and monastic life in all its particular forms. One would need to know as much as the author himself of Greek mediæval writers to criticise his work. It shows everywhere ample information, careful use of authorities, and is written in a clear, if not very animated, style. Most readers of church history know the Middle Ages only as seen under the dominion of the Latin church; this book of Hackett's presents the other half of the picture: mediæval religious life under the influence of the Greek church.

HUGH M. SCOTT.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

L'IMPERATORE GIULIANO L' APOSTATA. Studio storico di GAETANO NEGRI. Seconda edizione. Milano: Hoepli, 1902. Pp. xx + 509. L. 6.50.

CHAMFORT, in one of his imaginary conversations, makes the emperor Julian say that he would have no fault to find with the title "Apostate," were it not that the majority of men inconsequently assume therefrom that he is "*l'apostat de toutes les vertus*." In the preface to his interesting historical study of Julian, Negri claims that he at least is free from all prejudice in approaching the story of Julian's pagan reaction against Christianity as he envisaged it at the court of Constantius, and that his treatment is rigorously objective. The days when apology or attack was in place in dealing with Julian's career are indeed long past. Nothing, for instance, could be more impartial or serene than Naville, whose study of Julian's relations with paganism Negri's longer work will hardly supersede. The treatment is general, and there are no special investigations of disputed points, nor are any new theories put forward. The writer's conclusions are sound enough, and the book is very readable; but we were surprised to see that so able a historian accepts the letters to Iamblichus as authentic. Apparently Negri has not met with the work of Cumont and others in this field. The difficulty of date alone would make the supposition of a correspondence between Julian and Iamblichus impossible. Negri writes from the point of view of the historian rather than the classical scholar, and is inclined to overvalue Eunapius as an authority for Julian's life. The truth is that none but a classical scholar who is well read in the sophistic writings of post-classical Greece is fitted to estimate the writings of Julian, though he may be admirably qualified to reconstruct the tale of his life and aims. We do not wish to cast any slur on Signor Negri's scholarship apart from his



qualifications as a historian when we go on to say that the accents and breathings of the Greek references in this book need a thorough revision.

WILMER CAVE FRANCE.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

MUHAMMAD AND HIS POWER. By P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. ix + 238. \$1.25.

THIS book is one of the latest issues of "The World's Epoch-Makers" series. It is an interesting popular summary of the conditions under which Mohammed grew up and came to his prophetic office, of his career as a prophet, of his immediate successors, and of his system of religion. Generally speaking, the presentation of facts is correct, though the sketch given of the Qurân and of Islâm is somewhat confused, and hardly sufficient as a basis of impartial judgment. The writer, in passages here and there, has taken the rôle of an apologist for Christianity to a degree unwarrantable in the writing of history. He has, however, in this the example of Muir's *Life of Mahomet* as his justification. The uninitiated must be careful about accepting too readily the independent opinions which are expressed, as, for example, when the final peopling of north Arabia is ascribed to about 2000 B. C.; also when the practice of female infanticide in Arabia is attributed to family pride, which feared a possible future alliance of the daughter with a man of lower rank. In places the author's sources have been misread. He calls Abu Jahl the uncle of the prophet (p. 94), and Osama's expedition at the beginning of Abu Bekr's caliphate is said to have been a brilliant success (p. 164). Some proper names appear in an incorrect form, *e. g.*, Abu Sufiyan, Abu Lahb, Amru, Bani Saad (and similarly Bani for other tribes). Tamûsa (p. 138) is a misprint for Tamîm. The preface does not indicate marked discrimination in its judgment on the literature of the subject. On the whole, this small book will serve ordinary readers by enabling them to obtain a fair general impression of the founder of Islâm and his work. It does not seem to be intended for special students.

WALTER M. PATTON.

BEACON FALLS, CONN.

PETER ABÉLARD. By JOSEPH McCABE. New York: Putnam, 1901. Pp. viii + 402. \$2, net.

UNTIL the appearance of this book there was in English no satisfactory presentation of the remarkably dramatic career of this epoch-

making, but luckless, Breton philosopher. Mr. McCabe, having had a "monastic, scholastic, and ecclesiastical experience," could approach the task with a certain confidence. The result is an almost ideal biography. The course of Abélard's checkered life is followed in its development from the time when he set out on his "quest for Minerva" to its end at Cluny, in 1142, at the age of sixty-three. The Paris of Abélard's time is most graphically described. Here he met William of Champeaux, and won his first brilliant victory as a dialectician. This first victory was followed up by a long academic war which ended in Abélard's becoming the idol of Paris. But just when he had reached the highest academic position in Christendom "there arose one of the forces which shattered his life, beginning its embodiment in an idyl and ending quickly in a lurid tragedy."

There are men whose soul is so absorbed in study or in contemplation that love never reaches their consciousness, or, if it does, its appeal is faint, and quickly rejected. . . . But Abélard was not one of the "purely intellectual;" he had a warm imagination and artistic power. . . . He awoke one day to a consciousness that a large part of the new sweetness that pervaded his life was due to the birth of a new power in his soul—a power as elusive to recognition as it is imperious in its demands.

Then comes the sad story so delicately and sympathetically told in the chapter entitled "Dead-Sea Fruit." The author, we think, disproves the indictment that Abélard had fallen from virtue before his liaison with Heloise, which indictment had been made especially strong by Mr. Cotter Morison. The ninth chapter, on "The Letters of Abélard and Heloise" which passed between the "abbot husband and the abbess wife," is timely, and will serve to correct many wrong impressions such as are made by Pope's *Heloise*. But we are not to infer that Mr. McCabe appears as the unqualified champion of Abélard. He simply aims to do justice to him. Perhaps this will be sufficiently shown in the closing sentences of the work:

He was not of the stuff of martyrs, of Scotus Erigena, or Arnold of Brescia. He had no particle of the political ability of Luther. But, such as he is, gifted with a penetrating mind and led by a humanist ideal that touched few of his contemporaries, pathetically irresolute, and failing because the fates had made him the hero of a great drama and ironically denied him the hero's strength, he deserves at least to be drawn forth from the too deep shadow of a crude and unsympathetic tradition.

Almost the only defect that we find in this volume, so elegantly written and so attractively published, is its meager treatment of

Abélard the philosopher, educator, and theologian. We would suggest two or three additional chapters on these subjects in a possible future edition.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANCIS AND DOMINIC, AND THE MENDICANT ORDERS. (= "The World's Epoch-Makers.") By J. HERKLESS. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. 237. \$1.25.

THE biographical chapters in this volume are preceded by a brief but interesting survey of mediæval ecclesiastical life up to the appearance of the mendicant monks. Only three chapters are devoted to Francis and Dominic, the second half of the book dealing with the salient features in the history of the mendicant orders, with special reference to the Inquisition, scholasticism, and the degradation of the orders. The author emphasizes the influence of the troubadours on the ideals and character of Francis. "His education in the school of the troubadours," he says, "more than the education of the church's school, prepared him for the wandering life of poverty. . . ." It was also because of his fascination for the troubadours that there was even an element of joy in the religion of Francis. Dr. Herkless relieves Dominic of all responsibility for the Inquisition, claiming that the Dominicans, in taking charge of that iniquitous institution, departed radically from the aims of their saint. In this the author is only partially justified. There are several facts, to which no reference is made, which show that, while Dominic was not the creator of the Inquisition, he was guilty of winking at coercive measures. The author's style is commendable for its terseness, simplicity, and clearness. His spirit is eminently judicial and sympathetic. The average reader, for whom the book was prepared, will find it most instructive, trustworthy, and captivating. It is vastly superior to the ordinary popular history.

ALFRED W. WISHART.

TRENTON, N. J.

AGOBARD VON LYON UND DIE JUDENFRAGE. Von F. WIEGAND. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. Pp. 32. M. 1.

ANYTHING deserves attention which helps to reveal that clearest of the thinkers of the ninth century, Agobard. His theory of inspiration puts him among the conservatives, for he says the words of Scripture

were formed of the Holy Spirit in the very mouths of the writers. For his time, on the other hand, he was most free when he declared the magicians frauds who professed to be able to create storms. No wonder Dr. White, in his *Warfare of Religion and Science*, lingers with pleasure over his name! For his attitude toward the Jews, five of his writings are extant. Wiegand, with his usual thoroughness, shows what it was, as the Jewish historian Graetz also had done. The synods of Burgundy—Orleans, Clermont, Macon—in the fifth and sixth centuries had forbidden marriage between Christians and Jews and the possession of Christian slaves by Jews. But times had changed. The Jews were the leading merchants of Lyons and the leading dealers in slaves. Louis the Pious was yielding, sanctioned the construction of synagogues, transferred the market from Saturday to Sunday, and even gave letters to certain rich Jews protecting them against the Christian propaganda and against the enforcement of the old canons that a slave, on being baptized, had the right to claim his freedom upon payment of twenty solidi. Agobard boldly defended the church law, declared that slaves belonged primarily to God, that no one had the right to check the missionary carrying to them the message of God, and that the church and Judaism were as far apart as Gerizim and Ebal. In his *De insolentia Judaeorum* he made a personal appeal to the king to enforce the canons, but in vain. Agobard's anti-Semitism, however, struck out the path which the policy of the church pursued in the later Middle Ages.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

DIE AVIGNONESISCHE OBEDIENZ DER MENDIKANTEN-ORDEN; sowie der Orden der Mercedarier und Trinitarier zur Zeit des grossen Schismas. Beleuchtet durch die von Clemens VII. und Benedikt XIII. an dieselben gerichteten Schreiben. Von KONRAD EUBEL. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1900. Pp. xx + 232. M. 9.

THIS is the second part of the first volume of the *Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, published by the "Görres-Gesellschaft" in connection with their historical institute in Rome. The author is well known as the editor of the *Bullarium Franciscanum*, which he supplements by the present publication. It is known that during the great schism both popes and antipopes generally found honest and loyal supporters among the secular and regular clergy.

Thus, while some of the branches of the Franciscans followed the obedience of Urban VII., Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII., others recognized Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., whom they held to be the true successors of St. Peter. Consequently the *Bullarium* of a religious order is incomplete, and loses much of its historical interest, without the bulls addressed by the antipopes to that order. This is the reason of the present publication. Father Eubel gives us in this supplementary work what could not find its place in the *Bullarium*, and yet could not be entirely omitted without creating a gap in the history of St. Francis's family. The author, however, did not restrict this work to the Franciscan order, but took in all the other mendicant orders, inclusive of the Mercedarii and Trinitarii. The documents, we hardly need to say, are taken from the Vatican archives, where the Avignon archives were transferred "in the seventies of the past century."<sup>1</sup> The *Regesta* of the Avignon series were originally all written on paper; they were later on copied on parchment and inserted into the Vatican series, with the exception of those of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. These have not been copied; they have been, however, like the others, taken into the Vatican series.

The first document of Clement is dated *Fundis*, November 8, 1378; the last of Benedict, *Paniscolae*, May 1, 1418. This represents, therefore, forty years of the world-history. The documents amount to 1,419 numbers for the mendicant orders, and 57 for the Mercedarii and Trinitarii. As is customary in the publishing of pontifical *Regesta*, the substance of the various writs only is given, retaining, however, for each original text the first words by which it is generally known, together with the date. All those documents are analyzed in a short, but well-documented introduction. This will suffice for the average reader; copious indices of persons and places will facilitate the work of specialists.

H. HYVERNAT.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

THE TEACHINGS OF DANTE. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE.  
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. xiv + 221.  
\$1.50.

THE *Divina Commedia* belongs to all times and all peoples. And this is why new studies reiterating its old thoughts, catching new

<sup>1</sup> Father Eubel might have expressed himself more clearly in a book dated 1900, and printed in Germany.

glimpses of meaning, and impressing its leading truths upon the student's particular age are always acceptable. Students of Dante may well be thankful that Mr. Dinsmore, on that hot summer morning as he was starting out for a day of leisure, happened to select Longfellow's translation of the *Divine Comedy* to make the day more enjoyable; and that this proved to be the beginning of a study which has given them *The Teachings of Dante*. For it turned out that he had just those qualities of mind that could penetrate the deep thoughts of the great Florentine and express them in limpid speech. It is a matter for hopefulness and congratulation that the interest in Dante in our age is very great.

Our greatest writers are not engrossed with the actions of men, as was Homer; they are not absorbed in delineating their passions, as was Shakespeare; but are turning their thoughts into the depths of the soul to learn the meaning of life and the realities confronting it. Of this realm of the spirit Dante is pre-eminently the prophet. His robust faith makes to us a mighty appeal. (P. 5.)

Perhaps the portion of the *Commedia* that should receive most attention is "The Vision of Sin." In our happy age, with its enlarged sympathies and its disposition to find "a soul of good in things evil," Lord Acton has reminded us that we are in danger of not leaving a single culprit for execution. But whatever we may think of Dante's realistic portrayal of the consequences of sin, his reader cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that sin is a terrible reality. Mr. Dinsmore's chapters give a profound and moving interpretation of this vision. All in all, one is inclined to say with Ruskin: "The central man in all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest, is Dante."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DANTES GÖTTLICHE KOMÖDIE IN DEUTSCHEN STANZEN. Freibearbeitet von PAUL POCHHAMMER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901. Pp. 1 + 459. M. 7.50.

THIS is the latest addition to the long list of German translations of Dante. The first complete version of the *Commedia* in German was that of Bachenschwanz in prose, Leipzig, 1767. Among the score of versions since the most widely diffused has been that of Streckfuss, while the best have been, probably, those of Francke, Gildemeister, Witte, and Philalethes (King John of Saxony). The author of the

present translation is already known to the reading public as the author of *Dante in der Schweiz* and *Durch Dante*, a genial poetic introduction to the study of Dante. The present version does not aim to represent the meter of the original, but is in the *octava rima* of Ariosto or Byron's *Don Juan*. The author considers that he has faithfully represented the spirit of the original, but it is evident that the change of meter, and the consequent attempt to give independent unity to stanzas of a very different nature from those of the original, lead to the same result as in Parson's English version of Dante, or Pope's *Iliad*. That is to say, the poem has the swing and vigor of an original composition, but it does not at all closely render the thought of Dante.

The stanza corresponding to "Inferno," V, 115-26, illustrates this:

"Franziska," sagt' ich drauf zu ihr, "nicht senken  
Will ich den Blick. Sieh! Er ist thränenfeucht!  
Doch sag': Wie kam's? Willst Du Vertraun mir schenken?  
Was hat die ersten Zweifel euch gescheucht?"—  
Und sie: "Im Leid ans Glück zurückzudenken  
Ist, was auch mir das Allerschwerste däucht!  
Doch, willst von unsrer Liebe Erstlingsleben  
Du Kunde, will ich sie—auch weinend—geben."¹

The accompanying essays and diagrams add much to the value of the book. Especially interesting is the discussion of the relation of Goethe to Dante, and of the probable date of the vision, which the translator, contrary to the common belief, fixes in March, 1301. The language of the translation is harmonious and well chosen, and, if one's ear is not haunted by the melody of Dante's own words, will be read with much pleasure.

GEORGE C. HOWLAND.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

¹ Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io,  
E cominciai: "Francesca, i tuoi martiri  
Al lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.  
Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,  
A che e come concedette amore  
Che conoscesti i dubbiosi desiri?"  
Ed ella a me: "Nessun maggior dolore  
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice  
Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore.  
Ma se a conoscer la prima radice  
Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto,  
Farò come colui che piange e dice."

MARCUS WHITMAN AND THE EARLY DAYS OF OREGON. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1901. Pp. 341. \$1.50.

WHETHER or not Marcus Whitman, an earnest pioneer Protestant missionary in the far Northwest, had any influence in determining the ownership by the United States of the Oregon country, the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific ocean north of the California line, has been a much-mooted question. The Whitman story is an attractive one, which appeals strongly to hero-worshipping Americans. The Oregon country was occupied jointly by Great Britain and the United States under conventions of 1818, 1828, and 1838, the ultimate determination of ownership being left to a later time, owing to the unimportance of the territory so far as population was concerned. If more British than Americans should settle there, the presumption would be British ownership, or *vice versa*. The quick glance of the alert missionary detected the intention of the British to gain control by colonization, and, feeling the absolute need of arousing the officials at Washington, yet having no way to send a message rapidly, his duty seemed clear to go east himself, and so he undertook a long journey on horseback from his frontier mission station to Washington, where he urged upon President Tyler and Secretary Webster the importance of the distant territory, secured their prompt and decisive action, and then hurried away to stimulate migration to the coast, and thus "saved Oregon" for the United States. Such is the story, often repeated in prose and verse, and best presented now by Dr. Mowry. The volume is the result of years of study, and is the expression of a sincere conviction of the truth believed to be proclaimed. Unfortunately it has appeared just at a time when Professor E. G. Bourne, of Yale, has succeeded in completely demolishing the whole "Whitman myth," proving conclusively, in a paper before the American Historical Association, that the claims set forth for Marcus Whitman had no basis in fact, but were the product of H. H. Spalding, one of Whitman's associates, who did not bring them before the public until twenty years after his hero was dead, and then in connection with a controversy involving the loss of mission lands, and a light estimate of the value of the work done by the missionaries.<sup>1</sup> It is a very curious case illustrating the growth of American legends, and, while Dr. Mowry makes a strong statement of the Whitman story, it is at best an appeal for the claims of a "lost cause."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON.

<sup>1</sup>See *The American Historical Review*, Vol. IV (January, 1901), pp. 276-300.



THE REFORMATION. A Religious and Historical Sketch. By J. A. BABINGTON. London: John Murray; New York: Dutton, 1901. Pp. x + 362. \$4, net.

THE plan of this book does not require the apology with which the author presents it to the public. As long as there is a body of thoughtful general readers, who get spiritual solace and mental stimulus from surveying the movements and crises of history, a book of this character, which, though nourished upon the materials of scholarship, does not address itself to the limited class of special students, will receive a grateful welcome. The idea that it is worth while to cast the results of contemporary research into popular form was the fundamental conception of the author; to it he added the resolution of presenting the story of the Reformation from a frankly Evangelical standpoint. Under the circumstances the business of the reviewer must be to inquire, first, into the value of the book as a popular Evangelical treatise, and, second, whether or not the partisan outlook permits the author to survey his field with a calm and generous breadth of vision.

With regard to the first point, it may be asserted that this work is a marked improvement over all the current manuals in the English tongue. To begin with, it has a notable and laudable unity, due to the fact that it develops the whole story from the assumption that the Reformation was, in spite of its many interesting sides, primarily and essentially a movement in religion. This compactness will be grateful to everyone who has been annoyed by the loose texture of such otherwise eminent works as Fisher and Häusser, and is further enhanced by a mild philosophic atmosphere, the special emanation of the author's personality, in which the book, from cover to cover, has been steeped. Regrettable it is, however, that, with such logical and spiritual gifts, Mr. Babington should have been denied the power of dramatic presentation—what we may call the vitalizing touch. Luther, Melancthon, Calvin—we may in fairness expect, in a popular treatise like this, that they be set breathingly and palpably before us; but, instead of their live selves, all that we get is a cold, conventional catalogue of their intellectual sines and cosines.

The second feature of the proposed test also redounds, in the main, to the author's honor. The scientific students of history have constantly urged, during the last half-century, the necessity of an impersonal attitude in the presence of the facts of the past, but, everything considered, it may be doubted whether anyone can be found

who, however high-minded his intention, will examine without any prepossession events and conditions which still profoundly affect him at this present moment. Better perhaps than the self-deception of the blind followers of the modern method is the honest avowal of partisanship, coupled with the sincere resolve of giving the adversary fair play. Such, at least, is the course followed in this book, and this reviewer, for one, does not find that the author's unqualified acceptance of the Reformation as a movement which has, on the whole, redounded to the immense profit of the human race, involves him in a mean and vindictive attitude toward the old church.

The text shows an extensive acquaintance with the leading sources—above all, the theological sources—of the period. In spite of this fact, the author refuses to make the slightest exhibition of his scientific apparatus—a resolution which may enhance the beauty of the printed page, but will awaken a lively regret among the more serious portion of his readers.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER PIETISMUS GESCHICHTLICH UND DOGMATISCH BELEUCHTET.  
Von W. HÜBENER. Zwickau: Schriftenverein der sep.  
ev.-luth. Gemeinden in Sachsen, 1901. Pp. iv + 140. M. 1.

THIS vigorous tract originates from the circle of the Separate Lutheran churches of Germany which have no organic connection with the state. They are associated with our own Missouri Lutherans, whose able leader, the late Professor Walther, sent back some of his preachers to Saxony, his native country. Its purpose is to show that the German Pietism of the seventeenth century was an unhealthy movement, because it put in the foreground conversion, and sanctification, and disparaged the doctrine of justification by faith and the sacraments. The attempt to combat it was in vain at that time, because of the union of church and state. Such union will always make fruitless an attempt to combat Pietism, as will also the undue prominence given to philosophy in the department of theology. A successful war against it can be carried on only in a "genuine Lutheran free church" and by the proper use of the means of grace, justification by faith being made central. Whether the author speaks only for Germany does not clearly appear, but this is not likely; for it is known that our good Missouri brethren hold pretty high views of their prerogative. Major, Johann Arnd, Calixtus, and especially Spener and Francke, who introduced the

"Methodistic element into Pietism," and other Pietists are given a due share of attention and condemnation for departing from the doctrine of justification by faith and taking up with conversion and sanctification.

True to himself is the author when he pays his respects to Albrecht Ritschl, "that heresiarch of our day who has recently gone to his own place." Ritschl is represented as pouring contempt on true Pietism in his three ponderous volumes and as showing his dexterity by withholding all definition of piety and Pietism. For had he defined, he would have had to include all the prophets and apostles among the Pietists and so defeated his fell purpose of deceiving the unwary. Whether this failure to give a clear definition is characteristic of Ritschl or not, those can say who have more clear ideas than I have of what the Ritschlians really want the church to believe. Hübener quotes the Göttingen sage at length and reminds the reader that he pours contempt again and again on the mystical union, *unio mystica*, as a *Luxusartikel*. This sharp polemic is stimulating reading. If freedom of the church from the state were a panacea for all theological evils, then in this good land of ours the mistakes of Spener and Francke would not flourish. Nevertheless we cannot help wishing we had a good many of the sort of men they were.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND RELIGIOUS REFORM. An Account of Ecclesiastical Legislation and its Influence on Affairs in France from 1789 to 1804. By WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE. Based on the *Morse Lectures* for 1900 before the Union Theological Seminary. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xxviii + 333. \$2, net.

THE title of Professor Sloane's book gives its limits and describes its contents. The work was based upon a series of lectures delivered before an audience of theological students and bears the marks of its origin. The subject treated is one of large proportions, and it was impossible, in two hundred and fifty pages, to present more than a general outline of it. An introduction dealing with the beginning of things religious in Europe and the vicissitudes of church history to the eighteenth century is followed by a survey of the religious and ecclesiastical history of France under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. The remaining twelve chapters are devoted to the consideration of the

events that led, first, to the subordination of the church to the state, in the civil constitution; later, to the separation of church and state; and, finally, to the renewal of the relations between the pope and the French church under the Concordat.

The book was clearly intended to be a semi-scientific presentation, in condensed form, of a comprehensive and important period of French history; this is the only standard by which it can fairly be tested. That it is attractive reading, like everything that Professor Sloane writes, goes without saying, but it may be fairly questioned whether the content is as satisfactory as the form. I am quite certain that we need a single volume in English that shall treat the subject that this book deals with, but I am not so certain that Professor Sloane has given us the volume that we need. In a book of this kind a clear, well-connected, and thoroughly reliable narrative of events is without question a matter of the first importance. To accomplish this, in treating a large subject in a few pages, it is necessary to resist the temptation to sacrifice space to judgments upon men and affairs. These things may, and doubtless do, render a lecture attractive, but they are expensive superfluities when the historian's space is limited and the narrative of events is curtailed to make room for them. They are probably less justifiable in a book than in a lecture. It is just in this particular, it seems to me, that Professor Sloane's book will prove unsatisfactory to those who are more interested in the events than in the writer's opinions upon the events. Assuming too much knowledge on the part of his reader, he often neglects connections and details that are necessary to make his narrative intelligible to those who might make use of it.

Not infrequently Professor Sloane fails to maintain that scientific restraint upon the imagination and upon expression that should always characterize the work of the historian, even when he is writing for the general reader. There are some unsound generalizations, some inexcusable misstatements of fact, and many expressions, like "the amazing and preposterous monstrosity of Theophilanthropy," that suggest the *abandon* of a lecture delivered from notes, influenced at times more by the audience than by historical method. Furthermore, the footnotes would be more valuable if they were more critical. On pp. 14 and 15 the references appear to be to two different editions of the *Mémoires* of d'Argenson. As sources for the debates in the different assemblies the *Moniteur*, the *Archives parlementaires*, and the *Histoire parlementaire* are cited indiscriminately. Now, every careful student of the

Revolution knows that the *Archives parlementaires* and the *Histoire parlementaire* are little more than compilations, and that the information contained in them touching the debates is drawn at all times largely and often wholly from the *Moniteur*. When the same material is found in all three, it is drawn from the *Moniteur*, and the proof is not strengthened by the additional citation of the other two. Moreover, for the period between May and November, 1789, the *Moniteur* itself is not a source. The real sources for the debates of this period are found in the *Procès-verbal* of the assembly, in newspapers like the *Point de jour* and the *Courrier de Provence*, in the correspondence of the members of the assembly, and in reliable collections of the speeches of the leaders. With this explanation the value of the reference (p. 92) to the *Archives parlementaires* for the debates of October, 1789, and for Mirabeau's speeches may be appreciated. It should be added that the *Archives parlementaires* is not only a compilation, but a notoriously unreliable compilation.

It is certainly unfortunate that a volume that is so attractive could not have met the requirements that would have made it a thoroughly reliable introduction to the subject. It is to be hoped that in a second edition Professor Sloane may see fit to render his book as acceptable to the critical historian as the present edition will undoubtedly prove to be to the general reader. It is certainly possible to satisfy both at the same time.

FRED MORROW FLING.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

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ATONEMENT AND PERSONALITY. By R. C. MOBERLY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. xxviii + 418. \$4.

THIS work, though following in general the lines marked out by McLeod Campbell, is notable as adding an important element to the "Moral Influence Theory of the Atonement"—the element of Christ's union, as Logos, with the entire human race. The author maintains that Christ is man, not generically, but inclusively. The humanity of Christ is the humanity of deity—hence its capacity of universal relation through the Spirit. Christ can act for the human race, because he is identical with the human race. Dr. R. W. Dale had hinted at this truth, but he had seemed to lay the emphasis on Christ's union with the believer, which is rather an effect than a cause of the atonement. Dr. D. W. Simon had spoken of Christ's relation to universal humanity as its head and life. But Dr. Moberly makes this relation

more clear than has any previous theologian. He shows that all human reason is rooted in him who is the Reason or Logos of God; that our wills are free only as they are joined to Christ, and that we can work out our own salvation only as God works in us to will and to work; that "our loves in higher Love endure," so that he only truly loves who abides in God. Man's personality is complete only in Christ. Christ's atonement is therefore our atonement—the atonement of that humanity of which he constitutes the basis and ground.

The author has treated of punishment, penalty, and forgiveness, with much subtlety of thought and beauty of expression. He holds that punishment is meant to be transmuted into penitence; only as penitence has it any restorative or atoning quality; punishment as retribution cannot be predicated of Christ. Penitence is a real change of self, the triumph of righteousness within, identical with holiness itself, so that God's holiness must embrace it. Such penitence man cannot render—it is possible only to Christ. Since God's forgiveness is *right* forgiveness, the forgiveness of righteousness, it can be extended only to Christ, who unites with the deepest consciousness of sin the most complete identity with holiness. Christ atones for sin by condemning sin in the flesh, and his atonement becomes ours when we join ourselves to him.

This treatment is defective, as all forms of the moral-influence theory are defective, by failing to show the demand for atonement in the nature of God. We make the same objection to the view of Dr. Moberly that we make to that of McLeod Campbell. When it is said that Christ is the great penitent, and that his atonement consists essentially in his confessing the sins of the world, we reply that no confession or penitence is possible without responsibility. If Christ had no substitutionary office, the ordering of his sufferings on the part of God was manifest injustice. Dr. Moberly's view can be rationally maintained only by connecting with it a prior declaration that the fundamental attribute of God is holiness; that holiness is self-affirming righteousness; and that this righteousness necessarily expresses itself in the punishment of sin.

The universe is a reflection of God, and Christ the Logos is its life. God has expressed his holiness in the universe by connecting happiness with righteousness and suffering with sin. Christ as the revealer of God in the universe and in humanity must condemn sin by visiting upon it the suffering which is its penalty; while at the same time, as the life of humanity, he must endure the reaction of God's

holiness against sin, which constitutes that penalty. While Christ's love explains his willingness to endure suffering for us, only his holiness furnishes the reason for that constitution of the universe in general and of human nature in particular which makes that suffering necessary. His sufferings are substitutionary, since his divinity and his sinlessness enable him to do for us what we could never do for ourselves. Yet this substitution is also a sharing—not the work of one external to us, but of one who is the life of humanity. This sharing, by virtue of the fact that our personality has its ground in Christ, it is the great merit of Dr. Moberly to point out; that this sharing of our penalty was necessitated by God's righteousness Dr. Moberly has failed to indicate. Scripture declares the ultimate aim of the atonement to be that God "might be just," and no theory of the atonement will meet the demands of either reason or conscience that does not ground its necessity in God's righteousness, rather than in his love.

AUGUSTUS H. STRONG.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE NEW EPOCH FOR FAITH. By GEORGE A. GORDON. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. xvii + 412. \$1.50.

THIS book was written to show, by a study of the characteristic moods and intellectual movements of the nineteenth century, that a new era has dawned for faith in the Christian conception of God and the Christian view of the world. In the first chapter, after the introduction, the author undertakes to show that the central concern of the century is man. As witnesses he cites and discusses the French Revolution; the universal popularity of the poetry of Burns, with its ringing note of democracy; the influence of Browning, "the century's one supreme humanist;" the world-wide movement for the popularization of all higher literature; the socialistic agitation; the assimilation, by the idea of humanity, of science in general and of evolution in particular, which "has raised man to heaven instead of casting him down to hell;" the great and growing missionary activity of the universal church, which views all men of every race as possible children of God; and, lastly, the manifold and far-reaching influence of the great American republic in fostering and spreading the idea of man's dignity and value. A new appreciation of Christianity has arisen from the fact that men find Christianity in accord with the spirit of the century in its valuation of man. Not only so, Christianity has done much in making man solve the riddle of the cosmos. Man is the

interpretation of the cosmos; Christianity is the interpretation of man. The highest meaning of the universe can be known only through man, its highest product, and especially through the Man of Galilee, who is the highest instance of humanity. Man, as the interpretation of nature, becomes the revealer of God. Instead of a theology founded on "nature" is substituted a theology founded on man as the highest product of nature. Christ and Christ's Christianity are the highest, the only adequate expression of this higher theology. The chapter on "The Discipline of Doubt" is admirably suggestive and informing. Among the sources of doubt in the nineteenth century are the passionate but ever baffled quest for clearness and certainty; the desire for ultimate and ideal knowledge; the seeming indifference of the cosmos to man's ethical nature and endeavors; the naturalistic habit of mind, which is ever trying to reduce the universe to the compass of man's thought; personal temperament, and ill-fortune; and the persistent failure of all these moods to look for God through man and the best man at his best. But even doubt itself has rendered service to faith. It has eliminated superstition from men's minds and corrected many wrong views. It has given to the negative mood its strongest possible expression. And a doubt is really and finally answered only when it is met and answered in its strongest form. Perhaps the most signal service that has been rendered by doubt is the reorganization of knowledge and the discovery of a deeper philosophy of knowledge. Hume's destructive criticism reasoned philosophy into an eternal silence. She had to find a new set of principles before she could open her mouth. This is just what she did. Hume's merciless and absolute negation led to Kant's critical construction, and this to the idealistic philosophy of Kant's successors, which, reconstructed by British and American thinkers, is wholly on the side of man's higher spiritual interests.

And so there is a return to faith, due to the idea of humanity, elucidated and emphasized by Christianity; to the resurgence of conscious religious need; to the influence of an idealistic philosophy; and to the illustration and confirmation which a new reading of history gives to the principles on which faith ultimately rests. This return is not to faith in the old orthodoxies, like Calvinism, or the old heterodoxies, like Unitarianism, but to faith in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

This admirable book is unnecessarily burdened with matter which, though good in itself, is not strictly germane to the discussion. For



this reason it is not always easy to trace the main current of the thought. The book is, therefore, hard to read at first, but it grows clearer and better with each reading, and when one comes to understand its method, even the sections which are not strictly relevant become suggestive and valuable. It is difficult to recall a book that abounds more with pregnant suggestions, or that contains so many and excellent summaries and estimates of men, books, movements, systems. The reader of severe taste will find the style in some places diffuse and over-rhetorical. But no man can read the book understandingly without thanking the gifted and genial author with all his heart for the distinct and decided benefit which it abundantly affords.

GROSS ALEXANDER.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,  
Nashville, Tenn.

THEOLOGIE UND METAPHYSIK. Das Verhältnis der Theologie zur modernen Erkenntnistheorie und Psychologie. Von GEORG WOBBERMIN. Berlin: Duncker, 1901. Pp. xii+291. M. 4.80.

THE author begins by pointing out the close relation which subsists (and should be recognized as subsisting) between theology and metaphysic, on the one hand, and between both of these and epistemology, on the other. Theology and metaphysic are occupied to a very large extent with the same fundamental questions. They stand, therefore, to that extent, upon common ground. But the relation of both to epistemology is no less close and vital; and this relation has been clearly recognized by modern philosophers, though not always by modern theologians. Now, in what sense can the transcendent realities with which theology and metaphysic have to do, be objects of knowledge for our consciousness? All experience points to such transcendent realities; but experience in the ordinary sense does not reveal them, or make them objects of positive knowledge. Two fallacious lines of reasoning are then pointed out and criticised: (1) *Empirio-Kriticismus*, which obliterates altogether the distinction between immanent and transcendent, and between subject and object, and reduces all reality to *Umgebungsbestandtheilen*. The teaching of Avenarius is really materialism, in spite of its author's assertions to the contrary. (2) *Ritschlianism*, which rests too completely upon subjective factors, and fails to vindicate the essential objectivity and supra-phenomenal character of the objects of Christian faith. These objects

are beyond experience, and yet experience constantly points to them. Intellect cannot compass a knowledge of them, but feeling and will have a right to be heard as well; and for these the transcendent realities which make up the content or object of Christian faith are appropriated in a personal conviction and belief that invest them with objective and eternal reality. *E. g.*, by this personal conviction of will the Christ becomes, not merely a historical person, but also the eternal, pre-existent Deity, and Lord of heaven and earth. Metaphysic, as taking account of this feeling-will element, is called *formal* metaphysic, as distinguished from metaphysic as intellectual speculation, which is *material* metaphysic. Beyond pointing out the misleading character of this distinction between "formal" and "material," it is hardly necessary to make any further remark, since it is by no means clear that any positive contribution to the subject in hand, carrying us much beyond what had already been achieved, is made in this volume.

FREDERICK TRACY.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

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SOCIAL CONTROL: A Survey of the Foundations of Order. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 463. \$1.25.

DR. ROSS here gives us the fruit of several years of severe study, having begun publishing upon the subject by a series of articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* running as far back as March, 1896. Its studies, he tells us, "fall within one narrow tract of the province of sociology." This tract, "social psychology," falls into two subdivisions—social ascendancy and individual ascendancy. And once more, "social ascendancy is further divided into social influence—mob mind, fashion, convention, custom, public opinion, and the like—and social control." The last is the subject of this book, whose object is "to determine how far the order we see all about us is due to influences that reach men and women from without; that is, *social* influences."

The book has three divisions, relating respectively to the grounds, the means, and the system of control. The first includes sympathy, sociability, sense of justice, individual reaction, working out a natural order, "that is to say, an order without art or design," and discussions of the need, direction, and radiant points of social control. The second division treats of public opinion, law, belief, social suggestion, education, custom, religion, the type, ideals, art, personality, social

valuations, the genesis of ethical elements, and the like. The third part deals with class control, and the vicissitudes, system, limits, and criteria of social control.

It is one of the most vigorous, suggestive books in its general field. Dr. Ross has read widely and made the knowledge gained his own. He is full of clear, original thought, though the reader may at times think his originality is little more than that of vivid expression. The minister will read him with great profit for his challenges of conventional opinions, for the way the author compels the clergyman to revise his own conclusions or their defenses, and for the new fields into which he is taken.

The method of the book, as given in the statement of its object quoted above, is substantially that of the psychological school of sociology, from which most of the books on sociology for the last dozen years have come. That is, it attempts to account for the facts and explain the operations of human society by starting with the various psychical forces that produce social phenomena, and then tries to find out the way in which these produce social life and institutions. Or, to use an old phrase, it proceeds from the dynamic to the static rather than in the reverse order. This is certainly alluring. But are the results likely to be of permanent value? Does not this method reverse that of most of the other modern sciences, which begins with the familiar, concrete forms of social life, analyzes, compares, classifies them, and thus discovers their functions and moving forces and the way they work? If not, it assumes that this elementary work has been so far completed that approach from the psychological point is now safe and intelligible, which some will greatly doubt.

SAMUEL W. DIKE.

AUBURNDALE, MASS.

IDEALS OF MINISTRY. By A. WALLACE WILLIAMSON. London: Blackwood & Sons, 1901. Pp. 205. 3s. 6d.

THE author of this book is a Presbyterian pastor in Edinburgh. He was also lecturer on pastoral theology at the university, and we have in this volume the substance of his lectures. He calls attention to the historical continuity of the ministry from apostolic times to the present hour. True ministers are called to their work by Christ and by the church, the representative of Christ. Their work is "the cure of souls." Their distinctive characteristic is self-dedication, and the ideal of their service is self-surrender. After the elaboration of a few

such pithy and fundamental conceptions, our author briefly, but admirably, discusses the ministry of the word. The central truth of this ministry should be "God in Christ the salvation of the sinful world." The preaching should be real. "Preach what you know, or do not preach at all." Preach with that simplicity which comes from a clear, firm grasp of the truth. The author discourages preaching on disconnected texts. The truth should be presented in an orderly, systematic manner, so that all the fundamental truths of the gospel shall be unfolded in their vital relations to each other. Different kinds of sermons are designated; the style in which they should be uttered and the manner in which they should be delivered are discussed. The ministry of worship supplements that of the word. In thought the two are distinct. Neither can take the place of the other. The core of worship is the devotional spirit. In worship we approach God through Jesus Christ. The author helpfully sets forth the various parts of ordinary public worship, the elements that should find place in pulpit prayer, and the prominence that should be given to the public reading of Scripture. He condemns studied eloquence in prayer as contrary to its very nature, and recommends the perusal of devotional literature as an aid to the expression of worshipful thought. He also gives careful directions as to the ministry of the sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. He sets forth with considerable fulness the ritual that has grown up around the latter, with some of its variations, and closes his book with a chapter of unusual excellence on the ministry of life, the keynote of which is: "*Vita clerici est evangelium populi*." While the book cannot fail to be helpful to all ministerial students, there is in it a distinctive local element. The lectures were delivered to young men preparing to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and their duties as ministers of that church are specially pointed out; still most that is urged is equally well adapted to ministers of other communions.

But much of the volume has an ecclesiastical rather than a New Testament atmosphere. The author calls baptism and the Lord's Supper "sacraments;" designates the latter as "the holy communion" — all of which is utterly foreign to the New Testament. He says that infant baptism is "based on no absolutely certain evidence of apostolic precept or practice," and yet he declares that it is "an ordinance of God," "an institution of Christ." When and where did God ordain it, or did Christ institute it? Such assumptions, to say the least, are hardly scientific. As to the consecrated bread and wine of the Lord's

Supper, he holds that "something less than material change we see, something higher than symbol—even seal as well as sign." Ordinary mortals find it quite impossible to apprehend what the middle ground between transubstantiation and symbol can be.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

HOMILETIK. Von F. L. STEINMEYER. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901.  
Pp. 329. M. 5.25; bound, M. 6.

ORIGINALITY of conception, freshness of thought, and clearness of presentation make this book one of the best German contributions to the study of homiletics. It consists of lectures delivered in the university of Berlin by the late Steinmeyer, and collected in a volume by M. Reylander after the author's death. After a valuable introduction, treating of the theme, the necessity, the possibility, and the leading principles of the science of homiletics, there follows a discussion of (1) the substance or subject-matter, (2) the organism, and (3) the purpose of the sermon. A historical sketch of celebrated preachers is given in an appendix.

If any preference is to be expressed regarding the contents of a book every part of which is valuable, we should say that the discussion of homiletical exposition, its ideas, principles, and method, deserves special mention. Of great value is the emphasis given to the fact that the Scriptures are the primary source from which should emanate all thought for the sermon; and of equal importance is the excellent advice given in this book to student and preacher in the study of homiletics and the use of the Bible.

Steinmeyer was an independent thinker in his chosen field, which makes these lectures not a mere reproduction of current views and rules, but an original treatment of the questions involved. At the same time, the author presents and defends the conception which, since Schleiermacher, has to a large extent become traditional among German writers on homiletics, namely, that the significance and purpose of the sermon consists chiefly, if not exclusively, in its being the expression of religious devotion.

Some points in his system would seem to demand a more precise statement. When, for example, in his treatment of the substance of the sermon he contends against the use of Christian dogmatics as material for the sermon, the question will arise at once: In what sense

and to what degree should the use of Christian dogmatics as material for preaching be condemned? No one will defend the formal and scientific use of dogmatics in the sermon, but if by dogmatics is meant Christian doctrine as contained in the Scriptures, it seems to us that, if this is to be excluded, a large portion of Scripture material will have to be excluded, and that the very principle of scriptural preaching which the author so ably defends is undermined. Positions like these, which have the aspect of being extreme, are found in this book now and then; but, even in cases where the reader is bound to question the author's views or dissent from them, he is at the same time forced to ponder over them.

J. S. GUBELMANN.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

QUIET HINTS TO GROWING PREACHERS, IN MY STUDY. By CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON. New York: Crowell & Co., 1901. Pp. 214. \$1.

THIS is a unique book. The author, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York city, though only a little more than forty years old, represents himself as taking his growing ministerial brethren into his study, and there, with all the laymen shut out, he talks to them in wondrous fashion about their foibles and faults that hinder, if they do not utterly destroy, their usefulness. Things of vast importance to Christian preachers are lucidly and racily discussed. Every sentence is clear and terse. Every arrow from the author's full quiver goes straight to the mark and pierces some folly. He ridicules the shortcomings of the ministry, but does it without bitterness. Many of his paragraphs bubble over with humor; deficiencies and sins are so depicted that even one conscious of them could not but laugh at, while he loathed, his likeness thus drawn to the life. To criticise so good a book seems almost ungracious. The writer, however, at times apparently makes an effort to be smart; if this observation is baseless, we regret that some parts of his book are so written as strongly to suggest it to one who admires as a whole what the author has so well said. Moreover, he declares that Jesus was not a popular preacher, and that his brethren who hold the contrary view have misinterpreted Mark's declaration that "the common people, the great multitude, heard him gladly." What made them glad, our author assures us, was the way in which Jesus met and exposed all the snares laid for him by the Pharisees, whom the people detested. By such an explanation of the

evangelist's words he seems to us both to slander the common people and to misinterpret a very plain text. The title of the book is a misnomer. If the author's strictures are "quiet hints," what would be the full expression of his thoughts? If these utterances are gentle taps, what would be sledge-hammer blows? If these paragraphs are just the gentle cooings of a dove, the roar of the lion would split the welkin. Still we should be glad to see these *Quiet Hints* in the hand of every pastor, ministerial student, and layman in all the land.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

*Akten des Fünften Internationalen Kongresses katholischer Gelehrten zu München vom 24. bis 28. September 1900.* (Freiburg: Herder, 1901; pp. 524; M. 8.)—*Études de théologie et d'histoire*, publiées par les professeurs de la faculté de théologie protestante de Paris en hommage à la faculté de théologie de Montauban à l'occasion du tricentenaire de sa fondation. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901; pp. 360; fr. 10.) The proceedings of the International Congress of Catholic Scholars for 1900 comprise in a volume of 500 pages the addresses pronounced before the entire assembly and abstracts of the papers read in the several sections. Of the latter there are 251, the greater number of which (180) are in German, while the others are in French, English, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. The work done in the ten sections includes papers on the science of religion, philosophy, the science of rights and of society, general history, the history of culture and art, orientalia, philology, archæology, epigraphy, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The keynote of the council respecting science appears to be its subordination to the dogmas of the church. Dr. Grauert, in the opening address, congratulates the assembly on the union in a common labor of men who know how to harmonize the spirit of "free" scientific research with the idea of the divine authority in the church; and Professor Lapparent, the president of the congress, in discussing its general work, hopes that it may "promote a movement toward science that runs no risk of going wrong because it remains constantly respectful of the teachings and traditions of the church." How science may be "promoted" in such a subordination one may learn from the procedure of the church in the cases of Copernicus and Galileo. The abstracts of the papers read before the several sections are tantalizingly meager, and in a brief notice like this their titles cannot

be given.—The most important paper in the second work is that by the late Professor Sabatier on the doctrine of expiation and its historic evolution. A review of the biblical doctrine, including the Old Testament notion of sacrifice, the moral doctrine of the prophets, the gospel of Jesus, the Pauline theory of redemption, the doctrine of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the Johannine teaching, is followed by a historical sketch of the ecclesiastical doctrine. The attempt to cover so much ground in an article of seventy-five pages compels a brevity of treatment that is very unsatisfactory. This is particularly apparent in the examination of the Pauline teaching, which is confined to three pages. The other important papers are : “ Étude comparative de l’enseignement de S. Paul et de S. Jacques sur la justification par la foi,” by Professor Ménégoz ; “ Les sources des récits du premier livre de Samuel sur l’institution de la royauté israélite,” by Adolphe Lods ; “ Michel Nicolas critique biblique,” by Professor Stapfer ; and “ De la valeur du mithriacisme comme facteur religieux du monde antique,” by Professor Jean Réville.—ORELLO CONE.

*New Wine Skins.* Present-Day Problems. (Boston : The Morning Star Publishing House, 1901 ; pp. x+302 ; \$1.50.) This volume contains ten lectures delivered before the Maine ministers’ institute at Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me., September, 1900. The lecturers were J. H. W. Stuckenberg, F. C. Robinson, C. S. Patten, A. T. Salley, A. W. Anthony, B. F. Hayes, and C. M. Sheldon. The subjects of the lectures cover the fields of sociology, natural science, philosophy, biblical interpretation, and the practical work of the minister. The aim of the lectures has not been to put forth new and startling theories, but to state in a popular way some of the more assured results of modern investigation and to indicate their bearing on the practical work of the ministry. For this reason the book will be found helpful and stimulating to the busy pastor who has found his time so much taken up with parish duties that he has been unable to keep abreast of the newer movements of thought. Dr. Stuckenberg’s three lectures on sociology not only remove several misconceptions as to what that study really is, but they form a very good elementary introduction to that important and growing science. These lectures alone ought to be worth the price of the book.—W. R. SCHOEMAKER.

*The Meditations, and Selections from the Principles of René Descartes.* Translated from the Original Texts by John Veitch, LL.D. (Chicago :



Open Court Publishing Co., 1901; pp. 30 + 248; \$0.35.) The publishers have rendered a real service to all students of philosophy by this translation. The introductory essay on Descartes by M. Lévy-Bruhl, of the Sorbonne, and the notes on the Cartesian terminology prepare the reader for scholarly work. We ought to have more of just such translations for use in university classes and seminars.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Public Worship.* A Study in the Psychology of Religion. By John P. Hylan. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901; pp. 94; \$0.25.) The writer asks: "May it not be possible to indicate the position which public worship has in the economy of human life as a whole, by means of an analysis of the individual worshiper, and by uniting this with the broader range of facts from a study of biology and comparative religion?" Accordingly, he has propounded a questionnaire to determine the effect of Sunday and of religious worship upon average people. He obtained 203 replies to one list of questions, and 75 to another. In the light of the material thus gathered, the book makes its discussion of the significance of the sabbath, and of the nature and significance of worship. It is professedly a laboratory study, and interesting only as such.—GEORGE C. GOW.

*Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England, und ihre erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen.* Von Newton H. Marshall. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902; pp. vii + 136; M. 4.50.) We have in this monograph an admirably clear and concise survey of the chief movements of English thought in the last half-century with reference to religion. Following Dilthey, the author recognizes three distinct types of philosophy: naturalism (including men like Spencer and Huxley), objective idealism (including men like Bradley and the Cairds), and idealism of freedom (including men like Martineau and Upton). Each of these types leads to a paradox, which involves some recognition of a double realm of truth in order to admit religion. The author concludes that metaphysics has crowded epistemology out of its rightful place, and has made theology vulnerable. "Scientific philosophy of religion and theology are possible in the future only on the basis of a sound theory of knowledge" (p. 125). We wish the author might supplement this critical study by indicating the character of this desideratum.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*The Book of the Dead:* An English Translation of the Theban

Recension, with Introduction, Notes, etc. By E. A. Wallis Budge. With 420 vignettes. Three volumes. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901; pp. xcvi + 702; \$3.75, *net.*) These volumes are a reprint in handy form of the third volume of Dr. Budge's elaborate edition of the Book of the Dead. The learned world is by this time pretty well agreed as to the value of this translation, and one can only express gratitude to the publishers for bringing it within the reach of many whom the high price of the former volume would have prevented from possessing it. Indeed, the present edition contains some additional matter; the translation has been carefully revised; many vignettes carefully reproduced from out-of-the-way manuscripts. On the other hand, the chapter of the introduction on the magic of the Book of the Dead and some other matter have been omitted.—*The Great Epic of India: Its Character and Origin.* By E. Washburn Hopkins. (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. xvii + 485; \$4.) The eminent successor of Whitney at Yale University has gathered the results of his many years of special study on the Indian epic in this handsome volume of the "Yale Bicentennial Publications." Date, relationships, origin, development, versification, philosophy are among the great topics treated. To the reader of this JOURNAL the chapter on "Epic Philosophy" will be most attractive. It is as much religion as philosophy which is discussed, and with the vigor and incisiveness characteristic of the author. Only an expert capable of writing so elaborate a treatise is capable of criticising the work. Others may express their gratitude for the wealth of information contributed, and their admiration of the extent and profundity of the knowledge exhibited.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens.* Transcription, traduction et commentaire. Par François Martin. (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1900; pp. xxx + 144; fr. 6, *net.*)<sup>1</sup> Father Scheil's pupils are beginning to be heard from. Of these M. Martin is, by no means, the least. He has given us a very readable treatise, consisting mainly of transliterations, translation, and a short commentary of twenty-one texts published in the second volume of James A. Craig's *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts, Being Prayers, Oracles, Hymns, etc.*<sup>2</sup> One of the chief difficulties

<sup>1</sup> The 130th fascicle of Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences philologiques et historiques.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1897. = Vol. XIII, 2, of "Assyriologische Bibliothek," herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. See ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIV (April, 1898), pp. 171-5; and FATHER SCHEIL in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, September-October, 1897.

Martin had to contend with was the unreliableness of Craig's copies, as pointed out by Jensen and Zimmern. He collated the texts with the originals and points out a number of mistakes and errors of Craig's. This alone would make the thesis quite valuable. The introduction (pp. iii-xxix) contains remarks on the origin and nature of Babylonian hymns and prayers, and on the general character of Assyrio-Babylonian religion, with special reference to and comparison with Hebrew monotheism. The author (pp. xi, xii) emphasizes the prominent part occupied by "pork" in the Babylonian sacrificial system; in general, "la distinction entre les viandes pures et les viandes impures était inconnue en Babylonie" (p. xi). In very friendly but firm manner Martin criticises the often heard statements that the whole body of Old Testament doctrines and belief is to be found in the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. True it is that the religious spirit as found on the part of worshiper is the same in Babylonia as it was in the Old Testament, *i. e.*, the subjective disposition was the same, but the objective point of worship was totally different in Babylonia from that of the Old Testament; and it is this former point which makes the study of Babylonian hymn and psalm literature so important for Old Testament students. Pp. xxii-xxix contain, on the basis of former work by Zimmern and Delitzsch, some good remarks on the nature of the hemistich found in the poetical portions of these hymns.—In the latter part of 1899 the great firm of Hinrichs in Leipzig issued for the German Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft the first instalments of an important series of monographs, written in a popular style by some of the best Semitic scholars of the Fatherland. The series is known by the title of "The Ancient East;" each volume consisting of four brochures and sold to subscribers for M. 2. To this series Winckler, Niebuhr, Billerbeck, Wiedemann, Landau, Steindorff, A. Jeremias, and Zimmern have thus far contributed on subjects touching the history, religion, and archæology of the ancient Egyptian and Semitic peoples. Alfred Jeremias, in his *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, 1900 (32 pp.) (see this JOURNAL, Vol. V, p. 423), summarizes the results of the most recent researches, and presents a concise and interesting statement of the ideas and usages of the ancient Babylonians in connection with death and burial; the under-world; necromancy; the delivery and return from the land "whence none return;" the journey of Gilgamesh, the Babylonian Nimrod, to the island of the blessed; the paradise of the first human beings, located in Eridu; the bread and the water of life

in this Babylonian paradise; and points out the psychology underlying these views and usages. The treatise is a fine counterpart to Wiedemann's treatment in his *The Dead and Their Realm in the Belief of Ancient Egypt*, published as No. 2 of Vol. I of the whole series. No. 3 of Vol. II is contributed by Heinrich Zimmern, who writes on *The Babylonian and Hebrew Genesis*, 1901. The learned Leipzig Assyriologist discusses the account of the creation, paradise, the early patriarchs, and the deluge as recorded in the Old Testament and in the Babylonian inscriptions. Zimmern holds that the Israelites learned of these ancient legends from the Canaanites, who in turn received them from the Babylonians toward the middle of the second millennium B. C., at the time when the famous correspondence known as the Tel el-Amarna letters was written, a collection which, among other interesting material, contained also a tablet with a mythological text, the Adapa legend. This legend corresponds in essential points to the story of paradise as found in the Old Testament. Such texts were usually sent by the Babylonians to Egyptians and Canaanites to facilitate their acquirement of the Babylonian language. The constant perusal of these texts for the purpose of learning the language familiarized these foreigners with their contents and assisted in spreading these mythological accounts among the Canaanites, from whom the early Israelites inherited them, as soon as they had become firmly established in the possession of the promised land.<sup>3</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Mounds, Monuments, and Inscriptions*, by Mark B. Chapman (Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith, 1901; pp. xii + 264; \$1.25), is a compilation, from various sources, of the material revealed by the discoveries in Bible lands during the past half-century. There is no attempt at chronological order, as seen in the fact that chap. viii discusses the Moabite stone and the Tel el-Amarna tablets, and chap. ix the origin of Egyptian civilization. The author, apparently, has done all his work at second-hand, not being familiar with the original sources of his information. This is evident from the method of treatment, the evident lack of coherence and of accuracy, and the general compilatory character of the book. The series of papers—for such they should be named—may serve the useful purpose of leading readers to pursue the subject in larger and more authoritative works.—*Daniel, Darius the Median, Cyrus the Great*, by Joseph Horner (New York:

<sup>3</sup> English translations of some numbers of the "Ancient East" are being published by the London firm of David Nutt, and are sold for 1s. 6d. a piece, cloth bound.

Eaton & Mains, 1901; pp. 142; \$1.20), is "a chronologico-historical study based on the results of recent researches, and from sources Hebrew, Greek, cuneiform, etc." The discussion of Daniel is largely a defense of the traditional view of the authorship, as against Sayce's view set forth in his *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*. The character of Cyrus is mainly that presented by the inscriptions. But the copying of the translation of others should be exact (cf. pp. 49, 50). The longest chapter in the book is devoted to "The Identification of Darius the Median." This astounding statement concludes a marvelous discussion (p. 107): "With these facts, coincidences, and suggestions before us, and duly weighed, it is hoped that it is not hazarding too much to submit that there is sufficient justification for accepting as true the statement that Darius the Median, the son of Ahasuerus (Cyaxares I.) in Daniel, Ahasuerus (Cyaxares II.) of Ezra 4:6, Cyaxares II. of Xenophon, and Gobryas (Ugbaru) governor of Kurdistan and Babylon of the cuneiform inscriptions, are but different names for one and the same person, and that enough at least is established to warrant the belief that Daniel wrote with absolute accuracy and in perfect accord with the monuments." The switch that side-tracked the author is found in Ezra 4 (not 5 as on p. 87): 6 ff. It is not "certain that the Ahasuerus and the Artaxerxes named are placed by Ezra, and in this order, between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius." Rather, the correct view of the literary structure of the fourth chapter of Ezra would tell us that it is *certain* that these two kings *followed* Darius Hystaspes. This error is fatal to much of the argument of the author on this theme, and shakes the confidence of the reader in the general conclusions of the volume.—*The Šamaš Religious Texts*, by Clifton Daggett Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; pp. 26; 20 plates; \$1 net), is a doctor's dissertation, which has already appeared in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* for July, 1901; it is here neatly dressed in its own cover with *Vita* and all complete—a creditable and valuable document.—*Die Motive des Glaubens an die Gebetserhörung im Alten Testament*, von Privatdozent Lic. Justus Köberle (Leipzig: Deichert, 1901; M. 1), is a *Festschrift* of thirty pages. It collects within this space the wealth of material in the Old Testament, touching national and individual prayers. And, better than this, the author attempts to find in each instance the grounds on which the suppliant expects an answer to his prayer. For example, Hosea bases it on repentance; Isaiah, on faithful allegiance to Yahweh; Jeremiah, on his divine call and his moral fidelity. This is a

valuable treatise, and will be productive of greater good if it were liberally expanded.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Études bibliques.* Par Alfred Loisy. (Paris: Picard, 1901; pp. 161.)  
—*Biblical Lectures.* By Francis E. Gigot. (Baltimore: Murphy, 1901; pp. 385; \$1.25, net.) These two volumes have a common subject, and present a general similarity in its treatment. Both are collections of essays by Catholic scholars, on biblical topics, with apologetic purpose, and both are unmistakably under the influence of the critical and scientific spirit of the age. The present consideration at the Vatican, under the supervision of the pope, by what we should in the United States call a committee, of the question, How far may Catholics go in applying scientific methods to the study of the Bible? is happily illustrated by these books. This problem is clearly a live one for the Catholic church. M. Loisy has brought together six essays originally published in journals almost unknown in America. These essays, expository and critical in method, are on "Biblical Criticism," "The History of the Dogma of Inspiration" (a review of Dausch's *Schriftinspiration*), "The Biblical Question and the Inspiration of the Scriptures," "The First Twelve Chapters of Genesis" (a review of Ryle's *Early Narratives of Genesis*), "Catholic Opinions on the Origin of the Pentateuch" (a review of papers by von Hügel, Lagrange, Mechineau, and Lucas), and "The Gospel according to John." Written in that engaging style which one recognizes as almost innate in the French, these essays set forth the thesis that, so far as the church is concerned, neither the criticism nor the exegesis of the Bible is constrained to any particular conclusion by the deliverances of popes or councils. While the author seems to admit a distinction between the theological and the literary and historical content of Scripture, the trend is to accept unqualifiedly the conclusions of impartial criticism, and to ignore as much as possible such theological dogmas as seem to oppose those conclusions. Professor Gigot's essays, dealing with such topics as "The Bible as Literature," "Its Historical Aspect," "Its Dogmatic Teaching," "Religious Worship and Theocracy in the Bible," etc., are confessedly more popular than those by M. Loisy. They are also more distinctly devotional and theologically more Catholic. They bear the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Gibbons, and so are in a manner expository of American Catholic opinion concerning Scripture; are interesting for this reason. They take note of recent discoveries in Bible lands, but rather after the fashion of Professor Sayce than of Professor Driver. Of this we can

hardly complain, for we are only too glad to welcome approach to a less dogmatic and more scientific, and therefore (in spite of the seeming incongruity) more sympathetic, appreciation of the spirit of the Bible. We wish every lay Catholic would read these essays by Professor Gigot.—GEO. W. GILMORE.

*The Garden of Eden and the Flood.* By J. C. Keener. (Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith, 1901; pp. xviii + 258; \$1.) This book is a theological curiosity, if it is worthy of having the term "theological" applied to it even remotely. In the view of Bishop Keener, the late Professor Green and the bishop of Ely have forever disposed of the race of "higher critics." The Bible is all literally true. The world was created in six days of twenty-four hours each. The flood was universal, and the waters actually rose at one time fifteen cubits above the tops of the highest mountains. The special aim of the book is, however, to prove that the garden of Eden was situated in the neighborhood of Charleston, S. C. The method of proof is this: Man was cast out of Eden; the animals were left. Presumably the animals continued to live in paradise till the flood came and destroyed them. Now, at the fossiliferous beds at Ashley, S. C., all kinds of fossil animal remains are found *in situ*, as though destroyed by some one cataclysm; therefore this must have been the site of the garden of Eden! Such books are a grievous pity! The bishop states (p. xv) that "every creature has been fossilized." It is to be feared that this is only too true, and that, as regards the process, some theologians are "a kind of first-fruits of His creatures."—GEORGE A. BARTON.

*Das Mosaische Strafrecht in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Von Gerhard Förster. (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1900; pp. 91; M. 2.80.) The author of this work is not a specialist in Old Testament studies, but rather a student of primitive law and the development of legal institutions among early peoples. In his treatment of the subject he relies on the general results of modern Old Testament science and confines his attention to the study of the origin and growth of the penal laws of the Hebrews as they are found imbedded in their early literature. Among the Hebrews, as elsewhere, he finds the law of revenge characteristic of the primitive phases of society—the efflux of the untamed and violent passions of early man. Later comes in the law of retaliation, the *lex talionis*, which represents the efforts to regulate revenge and find a suitable recompense for crime. Law, in this primitive life, is left for its administration, both as to manner and

extent, to the will of the injured or his friends. But custom and usage gradually become hardened into legal standards; and so a long process of development went on before law received such an expression as we find in the several codes. The law, as found in the Pentateuch, is no longer a mere expression of the will of the people, but has its basis of authority in being a revelation from God. The book, while perhaps lacking in clear arrangement of its materials, is a suggestive treatment of the subject, and is to be recommended to the student interested in the study of primitive institutions.—FULTON J. COFFIN.

*Alttestamentliche Studien.* Von G. Stosch. V. Teil: "Die Urkunden der Samuelsgeschichte." (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 200; M. 2.50.) Stosch has written a series of simple reproductions of the charming narratives of the books of Samuel, with reflections and remarks of his own. The entire rejection of the "critical" conclusions on these books and the strong assertion, without proof, of the traditional authorship of the Old Testament writings deprive the work of scientific value. It does not contribute anything to a better knowledge of the Scripture writings on which it rests.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*The American Jewish Year Book, 5662.* September 14, 1901, to October 1, 1902. Edited by Cyrus Adler. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1901; pp. x + 321; \$1.) The third issue of *The American Jewish Year Book* is, like its predecessors, a veritable thesaurus of valuable and interesting information concerning the Jews. The "Statistical Summary by States" (pp. 126-52) will be to many readers a surprise at the extensive activity of the Jews in America in charitable, philanthropic, and educational work. The survey of the year (pp. 15-24) records all the important and significant happenings in the internal life of the Jews, as well as in their relations to the outer world everywhere. A distinctive feature of this year's issue is an original sketch of the history of the Jews in Roumania, by Dr. E. Schwarzfeld (pp. 25-87), which is just at present of special interest on account of the persecution and oppression of the Jews now prevailing in that country. A valuable contribution, and also of interest to Semitic students, is the "Selected Hebraica and Judaica," with explanatory and descriptive notes, from the pen of Israel Abrahams (pp. 160-77).—I. M. CASANOWICZ.

*Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Objects of Jewish Ceremonial,* deposited in the U. S. National Museum by Hadji Ephraim



Benguiat. By Cyrus Adler and I. M. Casanowicz. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901; pp. 539-61 of "Report of the U. S. National Museum" for 1899.) The two authors continue in this publication their joint work, referred to in Vol. III, p. 846, of this JOURNAL, in the careful and scholarly manner for which they are known to all Semitists throughout the country. The introduction states that Hadji Ephraim Benguiat is the descendant of an illustrious Spanish Jewish family, which traces its origin as far back as the beginning of the eleventh century. Many members of the family have distinguished themselves in biblical and rabbinical learning, in philosophy and letters. The love for religious art has been a tradition in the family, and many of the objects of the collection are family heirlooms. The collection comprises all the important objects which come into use in Jewish religious life, and is unique for its artistic and historical value.<sup>1</sup> The text contains excellent summaries descriptive of the objects, and is of special interest to all students of Jewish ceremonial. Thirty-six plates of illustrations greatly enhance the value of this timely publication.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*The Twentieth Century New Testament.* A Translation into Modern English, Made from the Original Greek (Westcott and Hort's Text). In three parts. (Chicago: Revell, 1899-1901; pp. 513; \$0.50 each part.) This English translation of the New Testament is published anonymously and tentatively. The authors are "a company of about twenty persons, members of various sections of the Christian church," who have undertaken the work as a labor of love. One infers that the company is composed entirely of British scholars, from the nature of the translation—it is not in American "English." The purpose of the work is to furnish a new, fresh English form of the New Testament, in the modern language and idiom. The translation is neither so literal as to be slavish, nor so free as to be paraphrastic; it attempts a medial course, yet does not depart so far from the detail of the original as to cease to be a translation. The printed page is well arranged and attractive: chapter and verse numbers on the right margin, Old Testament quotations in italic, several paragraph inset heads to

<sup>1</sup> The collection falls into six groups: i. Objects used in the service of the synagogue, concerning one of which, the ram's horn, Dr. Adler wrote a learned article, published in the *Proceedings* of the U. S. National Museum, XVI, pp. 287-301. ii. Objects used at prayer. iii. Objects used on festal occasions at the Jewish home: (a) sabbath, (b) Passover, (c) Tabernacles. iv. Wrapper for carrying child to synagogue; marriage contract. v. Miscellaneous (Mezuzot, Amulet, etc.). vi. Illustrations of Bible narratives, mostly textiles.

each page, quotation marks about all direct discourse, and the text broken up into bits like a modern novel. The translation itself is certainly excellent; one need not hesitate to say that we have here the most successful effort thus far made to reproduce the New Testament in the modern English of Great Britain. One can criticise it in many respects, but it is a brave and able attempt. Indeed, criticism is solicited by the authors, who promise to consider carefully all suggestions received, and to improve as much as possible by this means the permanent edition of the work which is to follow in due time.—*Word Studies in the New Testament*. Complete in four volumes. By Marvin R. Vincent. (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. 822, 607, 565, 624; \$8 the set.) In the year 1900 Dr. Vincent completed this work, the first volume of which he had published as early as 1887, when he was a pastor in New York city. The first volume, treating the synoptic gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of James, Peter, and Jude, was well received, a second edition being required in the next year. The second volume, treating the gospel, epistles, and apocalypse of John, was published in 1889. The third volume, treating the major epistles of Paul except Galatians, appeared in 1890. Then ten years elapsed before the concluding volume was published, which treats the remaining epistles of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews. The nature of this work is therefore well known to the public. Its primary aim is to assist those who cannot—or do not—use the New Testament in the original, but work only from an English translation. It attempts to impart to such, in a simple way, something of the atmosphere, perspective, and light of the Greek text. Standing half-way between a New Testament commentary and a New Testament lexicon, the essence of both is distilled for the reader to give him a clear interpretation of the words of the New Testament for practical use. To scholars it is, of course, a rudimentary work; but to the mass of ministers and Bible readers it contains elements of great usefulness. Previously the volumes have been held at \$4 each; with the announced reduction of that price by one-half, the work will probably find a wider circulation.—*A Critical and Historical Enquiry into the Origin of the Third Gospel*. By P. C. Sense. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1901; pp. xvi + 604; 7s. 6d.) The main ideas of this book may be indicated most clearly by quoting a few sentences: "The third gospel, I find, was compiled from the writing used by the sect of Marcionites, known as the Marcionite gospel, and from the writings of minor apostles known as the apocryphal gospels. . . . I have been able, not only to recover

the Marcionite gospel, but also to restore the text of the original or first edition of the third gospel. . . . The date of publication of the canonical third gospel was between 168 and 177 A. D." (p. vi). "Ecclesiastical history represents Jesus to be the founder of the Christian religion. This is a serious error. The Christian religion, as we have it, was constructed in the second century, long after the death of Christ [which event is assigned to 57 or 58 A. D.]. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, has the best historical claim to be regarded as its founder" (p. x). "The scheme adopted was the publication of canonical gospels, containing the declaration of one common or catholic faith, compiled of selections from the writings and doctrines of the chief contending sects" (p. v). "The fundamental beliefs of ecclesiastical Christianity are essentially archaic noodleisms" (p. 21). "The literary immorality of early Christian divines, displayed in the falsification of ancient documents, is a very serious embarrassment to the investigator. This weakness of the moral sense appears to be inherent and very tenacious in the ecclesiastical character, and is prevalent in the present day amongst clerical writers" (p. 280). The author closes his preface with the hope that "editors of reviews will confide the scrutiny of my facts and inferences to men who, besides being scholars, are also gentlemen who have a regard for the truth."—C. W. VOTAW.

*Jésus et l'église des premiers jours: Esquisses historiques.* Par Jules Bovon. (Lausanne: Bridel; pp. 283; fr. 3.50.) This volume contains six papers, all relative to the first days of Christianity. In the first of these the author treats very instructively of the Christ of legend and the Christ of the gospels, pointing out the dignity and lifelikeness of the portrait of Jesus as drawn in the canonical gospels by furnishing a parallel portrait derived from apocryphal sources. The second essay is an exceedingly suggestive study of the temptation of Jesus as reported in Matthew. The third deals psychologically with the character and conduct of Judas Iscariot. The fourth gives the teaching of Paul on individual liberty. The fifth is on the subject of ministers and congregations in the apostolic church, and the last on the development of the literature of the New Testament.—*Die Herrlichkeit Jesu Christi.* Nach den drei ersten Evangelien. Von Johannes Kunze. (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1901; pp. 33; M. 0.50.) The sense in which the term "glory" (*Herrlichkeit*) is used in this essay is neither that of popular usage nor that of the Old Testament. In the first the conception is broad and vague, and admits of attributing glory to

almost anything. The second is restricted, and carries with it the notion of quasi-physical phenomena, such as those presented in the vision of Ezekiel (chaps. 1-3). Professor Kunze uses the term rather in the middle sense in which it is evidently used in the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer. In this sense it is something peculiar to God. Professor Kunze contends that such divine glory is claimed by Jesus for himself as portrayed in the three synoptic gospels. And in our judgment he successfully maintains his thesis by a careful collation and scientific exegesis of the utterances of Jesus as recorded by the first three evangelists. If, in the face of his argument, one should still feel disposed to deny the transcendent and unique element in the consciousness of Jesus evinced by this claim to divine glory, he must resort to the radical position that the synoptists do not give us an accurate portrait of Jesus.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Foundation Truths of the Gospel: Essays Contributed to the Christian.* (London: Morgan & Scott; pp. viii + 184; 3s. 6d.) The preface states that "the times call for a statement of evangelical truth in the language of the people. 'Ruin by the fall,' 'redemption by the blood of Christ,' 'regeneration by the Holy Spirit,' are watchwords of the gospel; and here their meaning is set forth plainly and in harmony with the teachings of Holy Writ." To meet this need, this volume of essays, first contributed to a London religious paper, has been gathered. It is printed on very thick and light paper, in the effort to make the volume of considerable size out of rather slight material. The articles are distinctly conservative in tone, and are usually spiritual and kindly in spirit. There are nineteen essays, following the general lines of the familiar treatise on systematic theology. Dr. J. Guinness Rogers writes on "The Value of a Creed," Rev. F. B. Meyer on "The Fall," Dr. A. T. Pierson on "The Significance of the Cross," and Henry Varley, the lay evangelist, on "The Resurrection of Christ." Canon Girdlestone contributes the chapter on "God," and two essays on the "Bible."—W. E. BARTON.

*Typical New Testament Conversions.* By Frederick A. Noble. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 326; \$1, net.) The author discusses fifteen individual New Testament conversions and the conversion of the thousands on the day of Pentecost. This involves the exposition of some of the most instructive passages of the gospels and the Acts. And the work is skilfully done. The main object, kept constantly in

view, is to show what a vast variety there is in Christian experiences. While at bottom all such experiences are essentially the same, the processes of mind and heart through which genuine converts pass are as various as human faces or human dispositions. This vastly important lesson should be learned by all believers, since their pre-eminent work is the winning of souls to Christ; and they should no more expect all Christian experiences to be of the same type than they expect the flowers in their gardens to be all of one unvarying pattern.

There are some slight blemishes. On p. 88, speaking of the testimony of the maid mentioned in Acts, chap. 16, the author says that it brought no credit to her, while he evidently means that it brought no credit to Paul and his associates. On p. 145 he refers to "Jonah and the whale;" "great fish" would be accurate. We noted also some ambiguous sentences. The proof-reading was not thorough. On p. 79 we have "uncompromising" for unpromising; p. 133, "on" for one; p. 203, "in" is repeated; p. 217, "at Joppa" for from Joppa; p. 219, "he" for be, but with "be" the sentence is meaningless; p. 229, "Sir Thoman More;" p. 245, "haw" for how; p. 301, "saced" for sacred; p. 302, "baptized *with* the name of Jesus." Somebody nodded.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Early Church: Its History and Literature.* By James Orr. (New York: Armstrong, 1901; pp. 146; \$0.60.) By following the chronological order, Professor Orr is able to present events, personages, writings, parties, etc., in their historic setting, but this necessitates the recurrence of the same kinds of matter in each new connection. For example, the persecutions are treated in no less than five of the ten chapters. By following the topical method the principal subjects would be treated continuously, and the impression would be more distinct and enduring. Below the superficial question of historic method lies the deeper doubt of the utility of manuals of this kind. Events so numerous and momentous as crowd the early years of Christianity cannot be packed into a nutshell. A few topics presented with enough fulness to convey a definite impression are of more value than a multiplicity of topics treated in a cursory way. This truth is happily illustrated in the author's earlier and edifying discussion of *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unederte Dialoge.* Von Josef Schmidt. (München: Lentner, 1901;

pp. 54; M. 1.60.) This is No. 7 of the publications of the Munich church history seminar. It is a contribution to the history of the Greek schism. Not much is known about Basilus, and yet he was one of the most important men of the time of Comenius. The whole period is not well known, and this pamphlet will be a valuable contribution to the subject. It contains a prolegomenon, consisting of a biographical sketch and an abridgment of the contents. Then follows the Greek text of the dialogue itself. — *Regula Antiqua Fratrum et Sororum seu Tertii Ordinis Sancti Francisci*. Nunc primum edidit Paul Sabatier. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901; pp. xii + 30; fr. 3.50.) This is the first part of a series to consist of unedited documents, descriptions of manuscripts, pieces already published, but which are now very rare, and whose texts leave much to be desired. The first series will make a volume of about 400 pages, and can be had for 10 francs. The text of this document is found in the library of the convent of Capistran. It is faithfully reproduced from that manuscript, and carefully annotated. The editor gives an introduction of sixteen pages. The entire work seems to be admirably done, and it is to be hoped that the entire enterprise will meet with the approval and support which it deserves. — *The Development of Doctrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation*. By John S. Banks. (London: Kelly, 1901; pp. viii + 265; 2s. 6d.) In Vol. IV, p. 905, of this JOURNAL Professor Banks's *Development of Doctrine During the Ancient Period of Church History* was noticed. This volume continues the subject through the Reformation. The author relies much upon the same sources of information as in the preceding volume, but he criticises his sources freely and reaches his own conclusions. He maintains that Romanism today is more liberal than its creeds; that Protestantism and Romanism have many of the fundamentals of the faith in common; that the division between Calvinism and Arminianism is no longer so sharp and the strife no longer so bitter as formerly—for the simple reason that the two sides begin to realize that the root questions in the controversy are insoluble; that the question is no longer dogma or no dogma, but rather one of fixed dogma or dogma in process of constant readjustment. The author's sane and large-minded treatment of the subject is to be commended to all students seeking a brief and clear view of doctrinal development. — *The Reformation Dawn*. By F. V. N. Painter. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society; pp. vi + 245; \$0.40.) The author of this little volume, belonging to the "Lutheran Handbook Series," has met a present need in making a

careful review of the history of the great Protestant movement. This need was specially pressing just now, since the papacy is attempting to rewrite this history in the interests of Rome. In Romanism we see unity, co-operation, and zeal; in Protestantism, divisions, discord, and apathy. Yet he thinks that the divine logic of events is against Romanism, but much time would be saved if Protestants were more zealous. — *La controverse de l'apostolicité des églises de France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Par A. Houtin. (Paris: Fontemoing, 1901; pp. viii + 136.) The controversy concerning the apostolicity of the churches of France is one of long standing. M. Houtin's contribution to the subject is now in its second edition, revised and enlarged. He has gone very fully into the documents, and, on whatever side of the debate one may be, one will find here much of interest. — *The Crime of Christendom*; or, The Eastern Question from its Origin to the Present Time. By Daniel Seelye Gregory. (New York: The Abbey Press; pp. v + 330; \$1.50.) Most readers will appreciate this little volume because it is a succinct and spirited account of the whole eastern question considered in the light of its history. The great races with their characters and purposes — as the Turk, the Russian, Great Britain, and the other races involved — are viewed in their relations to the subject in an introduction. Then follow chapters on "The Greek Revolution," "The Crimean War—Its Aims and Results," "The Slavic and Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8," "The Armenians and the Eastern Question," "The Armenian Crisis and Massacres," "The Latest Phases of the Eastern Question," and "Conclusions, Possibilities, and Responsibilities." The author, we think, proves that diplomacy, the concert of Europe, reformation of the Turk, have all failed and will continue to fail. The only true solution is to dispossess him of all governmental power, and not simply drive him out of his present possessions to continue to scourge the peoples of the farther East. He lays a heavy responsibility upon the nations of Europe that claim to be Christian. He speaks a good word for Russia. — J. W. MONCRIEF.

*An Introduction to Christian Mysticism*. By Eleanor C. Gregory. With Prefatory Letter by Dr. Alexander Whyte, of Edinburgh. (London: Allenson, 1901; pp. 96; 1s. 6d., net.) One closes this treatise with a reassuring conviction of the noble effort of the Mystics to realize the being and presence of God. It was first read to a literary club of Portsmouth, England. Dr. Whyte, who has anew familiarized us with Boehme, St. Theresa, and John Bunyan, well says that whatever

may bring this generation into contact with the great spiritual writers is to be welcomed. To do this is the praiseworthy effort of the author. She touches pleasantly upon the surface of the subject. She does not make clear the distinction between the different coteries of the Mystics. This would no doubt have been attempted in a more elaborate treatment. The succession of Mystical thinkers is made to pass before us from Plato, Plotinus, and Augustine down to the Quietists and even Maeterlinck. To St. Bernard and the school of St. Victor is given the bare mention of their names. Emerson, following the authority of Inge, is mentioned at some length. Whittier, who wrote of Tauler in the spirit of Tauler and Nicholas of Basel, is not named. Canon Kingsley is declared to be a more lofty character than Fénelon. But Fénelon will long be remembered. Our stock of English books on the Mystics is meager. The best part of Vaughan's, one is almost tempted to say, is its title. Inge's is a much better book. We have nothing else. This treatment assures us again that, apart from the rattle of our religious machinery, there are quiet paths of devotion where the intuitional man has his rights and the further things of God are perceived, ministering unto Christian character and peace.—  
DAVID S. SCHAFF.

*Johannes a Lasco und der Sacramentsstreit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit.* Von Dr. Kruske. (Leipzig: Dietrich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1901; pp. xi + 216; M. 4.50.) This is a volume in the excellent series edited by N. Bonwetsch and R. Seeberg, "Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche," and forms the first part of the seventh volume. Its motto is the uncomplimentary remark of Farel to Calvin on August 16, 1556: "I don't know how it comes, but the more a Lasco does, the less peace is produced." This gives the key to the author's position. He does not admire a Lasco; quite the contrary. But he goes into the matter thoroughly, with the design of showing that a Lasco was so wedded to his Calvinistic conception of the Lord's Supper, and so determined to force it upon everyone, that, although sincerely desirous of promoting union among the jarring divisions of the Protestant host, he completely failed. Like the good bishops with their famous quadrilateral, he sought Christian unity by insisting that everyone should go his way. A Lasco's failure was most pronounced, the author declares, in Poland, among his own countrymen. The book is written in a critical and unsympathetic spirit. Is the author ashamed of his baptismal name? His use of the



surname only is unworthy of a historian. The book is indexed.—*Die Augsburger Reformation in den Jahren 1533/34.* Von Karl Wolfart. (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1901; pp. 158; M. 3.50.) This is the second part of the seventh volume of Bonwetsch and Seeberg's excellent series referred to just now. In a word, it is itself excellent. Among the many places subjected by German scholars to a minute study as to their relation to the great "Los-von-Rom" movement of the sixteenth century we must now put Augsburg. It is remarkable that it has been so neglected. Considering the political importance of the city and its great confessional interest as the scene of the memorable diet of 1530, it would seem likely to have early attention paid to it. But the delay has perhaps been an advantage, for Wolfart, its first historian, has style, enthusiasm, historical instinct, sense of proportion, and, we judge, also youth. With such a combination of qualities at command he has produced a noteworthy book. It is really interesting, and in a quiet way graphic. He has gone to the printed sources, which he enumerates, and has also used manuscript sources, some, no doubt, for the first time; and some of these he prints in his appendix. Thus he has made an honest effort to get at the facts. But alas! he was so eager to print his book that he forgot to provide an index.—*Die Gegenreformation in Graz in den Jahren 1582-1585.* 145 Actenstücke aus zwei bisher unbekannten Actensammlungen vom Jahre 1585. Im Auszuge mitgetheilt von J. Loserth. (Graz: Selbstverlag der Historischen Landes-Commission für Steiermark, 1900; pp. 128; M. 0.90.) Anyone interested in the counter-Reformation, especially in the city of Graz (or Gratz), the capital of Styria, will find this pamphlet invaluable. The fact that the selections from the archives here given were made and are here printed by J. Loserth, the famous Wyclif scholar, is a guarantee that they are intelligently made and correctly printed. The archives are proof that the drastic measures used in Styria to force all into at least outward conformity to Rome were not approved by others than the immediate sufferers. The extracts are briefly introduced. Loserth came upon the documents in the course of general studies in the period. The language throughout is German, but such German!—*Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Büchern und Handschriften der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek.* Von Otto Clemen. Erstes Heft. (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1900; pp. 83; M. 2.40.)—These are veritable "chips from a German workshop"! And only a sharp ax wielded by a strong arm upon a large tree could have produced such chips. In itself the

miscellaneous information here brought together has little interest, but it contributes to that perfect whole which German assiduity is so industriously laboring to produce, when every scrap of knowledge from the times of the Reformation will be gathered up. The occasion of the present publication is the exploration of its treasures, made by Dr. Clemen preliminary to printing the part of the catalogue of the library of the "Ratsschule" which relates to the Reformation. He has discovered many books and manuscripts which throw light upon problems in unexpected fashion, and so he sends forth the *Beiträge* now under notice and proposes to follow them by others. Of especial interest are (1) the discussion of the first appearance of pasquinades in German Reformation literature; (2) the categorical denial of the alleged recantation of the first evangelical martyrs, July 1, 1523, at Brussels; and (3) the sketch of Antonius Musa, one of the now forgotten worthies who in the first half of the sixteenth century contributed to the success of the Protestant cause.—S. M. JACKSON.

*Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.* Edited, with an introduction and notes, by G. W. Sprott. (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1901; pp. lvi + 165; 4s., net).—*The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland*, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by G. W. Sprott. (*Ibid.*, 1901; pp. lxiii + 210; 4s. 6d., net).—*The Westminster Directory*. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Thomas Leishman. (*Ibid.*, 1901; pp. xliii + 205; 4s., net.) A desire has recently been awakened for information as to the worship of the church of Scotland in earlier times, and the Church Service Society is meeting this desire by editing a series of volumes containing "the Liturgies and Orders of Divine Service used or prepared for use in the Church of Scotland since the Reformation." Six volumes have appeared thus far, of which the above are a part. After the Reformation, the Prayer Book of Edward VI. was used for a few years in public worship by the Scottish church, but was soon superseded by the Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy, which was the Book of Geneva remodeled. The first volume of the above books contains the liturgies in use prior to the Book of Common Order and during the period of dissatisfaction with Edward's Prayer Book, while the second volume contains in full the order of worship which embodied the law of the church until 1645. At that time the Westminster Directory, a revision of all orders of worship, was laid before the General Assembly, and, being approved by it, became the authorized book of worship. The text of this directory is contained in the

third volume. Aside from the main text of these books, which has more than ordinary interest, especially as part of it is from hitherto unpublished MSS., the historical introduction and the appended notes are of much value.—W. P. BEHAN.

*The Unitarian Church, Its History and Characteristics: A Statement.* By Joseph Henry Crooker, D.D. (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1902; pp. 64; for free distribution.) In this brief but compact pamphlet Dr. Crooker aims to set forth the history, principles, fruits, and aspirations of the Unitarian church. It is written in an earnest, sympathetic, discriminating spirit, and is a marvel of condensation. The author shows both skill and sobriety of judgment in threading his way through ecclesiastical history and indicating the various lines of liberal thought. The one fault of the pamphlet is that so almost unavoidable in any apologetic attempt—the fault of assuming that the rest of the world is “coming our way,” when, in fact, the whole world, we with it, is moving on to new points of view. The historical spirit, and indeed the entire modern spirit, has taken possession of Unitarianism and transformed its theology and its life no less really than it is transforming the rest of Christendom. The Unitarian church, in its more recent history, has had the advantage, confessedly great, of meeting this spirit of the modern world with less *impedimenta* than has been the fortune of some others.—FREDERIC E. DEWHURST.

*Joseph Parker, D.D. His Life and Ministry; Minister of the City Temple, London.* By Albert Dawson. (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1901; pp. 176; \$0.75.) Mr. Dawson takes pains to explain in the preface of his little book that it is written from an absolutely independent point of view, since he is not now in Dr. Parker's service. The explanation is hardly needed. While the reader may smile over this long-drawn eulogy, he will not doubt its entire sincerity. It is the naïve praise of a frank idolater. Of criticism there is not a single sentence. But Dr. Parker survives this trying ordeal. It is possible to read this preposterous book, even the amazing chapter entitled “Anecdotes and Incidents,” and lay it down with the conviction unshaken that Joseph Parker is not only one of the greatest preachers of his generation, but a good man, who has abundantly earned the honors he wears.—*The Practical Life Work of Henry Drummond.* By Cuthbert Lennox. With an Introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie. (New York: James Pott & Co., 1901; pp. xxii + 244; \$1, net.) George

Adam Smith has already written the life of Henry Drummond with candor, sympathy, abundant detail, and unerring discrimination and taste. One eyes a new "life" of Drummond with suspicion. Was it necessary to tell the story again? The preface claims justification for the new book on the ground of fresh material and first-hand information, and in particular of a fuller treatment of Henry Drummond's "aggressive Christian work." From this point of view the book, it must be cordially conceded, has a distinctive value. It presents an attractive picture of "Drummond the evangelist" which it must do every Christian man good to study; and it will win many readers, one hopes, among the people who are, or think themselves, too busy to read the larger biography by Dr. Smith. For no one who loves manly goodness can afford to be a stranger to Henry Drummond. The book is well made, with three excellent portraits, a table of contents, and an index.—*Henry Drummond*. By James T. Simpson. ("Famous Scots" series.) (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. 164; \$0.75.) Mr. Simpson's little volume is entitled to a place of its own among the books on Drummond chiefly by its method. Not that it does not contain some fresh material. The letters published here for the first time are interesting and lively personal details abound. But the distinguishing merit of the book is its arrangement. Following the narrative of Part I, which flows on in a clear rapid stream, comes in Part II a summing up of Drummond's achievement in three chapters entitled respectively "Science," "Science and Religion," and "Religion." These summaries are critical, not eulogistic merely. The reader who would learn what Drummond stands for both in the realm of science and in the religious world will appreciate the skill with which this matter has been sifted out from the narrative and presented in these candid and judicious statements.—A. K. PARKER.

*Grundriss der Enzyklopädie der Theologie*. Von A. Dorner. (Berlin: Reimar, 1901; pp. viii + 142; M. 3.) This volume is well adapted for an introductory handbook for students of theology. It consistently confines itself to the task of indicating as briefly as possible the scope and method of each discipline in theological science. No attempt is made to summarize the content of the several branches, but merely to define their purpose and method. From a technical point of view the chief excellence of the book consists in the unswerving loyalty of the author to the principle of the scientific independence of all theological study. He therefore denies the legitimacy of

ecclesiastical or confessional restrictions, believing that the church will be better served by seekers after truth than by advocates of a creed. The main divisions of theology—scientific and practical—correspond roughly to the distinctions between pure and applied science. Scientific theology contains two main groups: historical theology, which includes all descriptive study, and speculative theology, which sets forth the normative principle of Christianity. The latter presupposes familiarity with the former. The point which will be most likely to provoke dissent is the inclusion of dogmatics among the historical disciplines. It thus becomes a mere description of the present *Glaubenslehre* of the church—a subdivision of symbolics (p. 93). Thus dogmatics and ethics are separated, the one having no normative function, while the other has. It would seem that here the author allows his zeal for objective accuracy to blind him to the fact that Christian faith furnishes a norm for belief as well as for conduct. Is it true, as he asserts, that this normative aspect can be adequately treated by apologetics?—*The Doom of Dogma and the Dawn of Truth*. By Henry Frank. (New York: Putnam, 1901; pp. xxi + 398; \$2.) The caricature of Christianity here presented leads to the suspicion that, although the author has "held responsible places in different evangelical denominations" (p. iv), he cannot have experienced evangelical faith. If orthodox Christianity were what he represents it to be, we should be eager to have him make good the extraordinary statement "that in every age the great majority of the devout and earnest Christians have been the heretics" (p. 304). As the motto of the religion of the future he gives us the following: "Doubt, not Faith, is the Redeemer of the Race" (p. 384). We recommend to the author his own advice, to "observe how much safer is the voice of history than the rhapsody of a prophet" (p. 307). He has given us quotations from books in the place of scholarship, and high-sounding rhetoric in the place of argument.—*De l'habitation du Saint Esprit dans les âmes justes, d'après la doctrine de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*. 2<sup>me</sup> édition. Par R. P. Barthélemy Froget. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1900; pp. xvi + 493; fr. 5.) This is not primarily a historical study, as might be inferred from the title, but rather a practical treatise written by a preacher. It is a lucid exposition of the doctrine of the indwelling of the spirit of God with religious applications. The author distinguishes between the causal presence of God in all the universe and the personal presence of God in the soul of the Christian. The results of this divine presence in the various virtues and gifts of the Spirit are discussed and illustrated.

An appendix is devoted to the refutation of the doctrine of Petavius, that the work of the Spirit is distinct from that of the entire Trinity. Much in the book is suggestive and helpful to any Christian. The Protestant reader, however, will find difficulty with the theory that the work of the Spirit is made effectual by the mysterious physical power of grace infused through the sacraments. He will read with amusement the statement that the absence of this physical transformation makes impossible any spiritual transformation in justification (p. 258). To the Protestant the magic operation of a supernatural force beyond the reach of conscious observation seems too vague and unreal to satisfy the demand for an assurance of the truth of religious experience. The failure to show the psychological reality of religion is an inevitable defect of sacramentalism and of traditionalism in theology.—*Weissagung und Wunder im Zusammenhang der Heilsgeschichte*. Von Hermann Cremer. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1900; pp. 84; M. 1.20.) This discussion is based on a sharp distinction between nature history and redemption history. Prophecy and miracles are significant only for the latter. The reality of miracles is to be determined, not by natural science or by historical investigation, but by religious insight. The traditional conception of the biblical narratives is defended on this ground against the evolution theory and against modern critical views. The author's purpose to defend a genuine revelation is commendable; but his failure to appreciate the real significance of scientific and historical criticism makes the argument convincing only to those who already are convinced.—*Die Bedeutung des Artikels von der Gottheit Christi für die Ethik*. Von Hermann Cremer. (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1901; pp. 32; M. 0.50.) Christian ethics cannot be detached from dogmatics, because the moral conduct of the Christian grows out of the transformed character resulting from divine redemption. "No one can develop himself into a child of God. One becomes righteous, not by evolution, but solely through grace." (P. 20.) The author declares that the theory of evolution is uncompromisingly opposed to the Christian doctrine of redemption, which he expounds in strictly orthodox fashion.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Heidentum und Offenbarungsreligion*. Ein Vortrag. Von F. Barth. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 18; M. 0.30.) This pamphlet is a vigorous presentation of the fundamental differences between the religion of the Old and New Testaments and the ethnic religions.

The author believes that comparative religion will serve to emphasize the truly valuable and unique in Christianity. After pointing out various elements in which Christianity and heathenism do not essentially differ, he finds the biblical religion unique in its character as a revelation of God and truth in history. The conclusion is not anything very new, and the method of its presentation rather commonplace.—*Science and Faith: An Address.* By John Gray McKendrick. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1900; pp. 76; 1s., net.) The author, professor of physiology in the University of Glasgow, originally delivered this address in various churches of Glasgow. It is a thoughtful utterance of a student of physical science, the conclusion of which is that there is a territory to the borders of which physical science can lead, the existence of which it cannot deny, but on which it can give no positive assertions. This is the sphere of religion, of faith.—*The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.* By Stewart D. F. Salmond. Fourth edition, revised throughout and reset. (Edinburgh: Clark; New York: imported by Scribner, 1901; pp. xix + 565; \$3, net.) This new edition of the now standard work of Professor Salmond, published at a reduced price, will, we hope, serve to make the book known to a much wider circle of readers. Its reverent yet scientific attitude, its cautious yet generous scholarship, are just the elements needed in dealing with this difficult subject. The many American friends of the author rejoice that he gave himself to such a task, and that so hearty commendation on all sides has greeted his achievement. May many more editions of the work be called for!—*Christianity Supernatural: A Brief Essay on Christian Evidence.* By Henry Collins Minton. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1900; pp. 167; \$0.75.) This stimulating little book is written quite along orthodox Presbyterian lines. It is therefore full of positive assertions on miracle, prophecy, Scripture, and the supernatural—assertions which modern science in the natural and in the biblical spheres would largely discount. Its style is breezy and bold, hardly the style in which to present evidence on problems so difficult. The old mistake is made of ascribing to James Russell Lowell the well-known statement about the "place ten miles square" where the "gospel of Christ has not first gone and made it decent." It was really written by H. L. Hastings. To everyone who occupies the inquiring attitude on the important topics taken up in this book the discussion will afford a convenient test of his progress, whether upward or downward.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*Christianisme et religion.* Par Jules Bovon. (Lausanne: Bridel, 1900; pp. viii + 299; fr. 3.) Professor Bovon may be characterized, broadly speaking, as a theologian of the mediating school. His standpoint is not that of the older biblicists who take the words of the Christian Scriptures as their ultimate source and norm of authority in theology. Neither is it that of the more recent subjectivists who base theology on the consciousness, either purely human and natural or Christianized, and thus made competent to serve as a safe guide to absolute truth in religion. Christian theology is to him the science which systematizes the facts of the Christian religion as created by faith in Jesus Christ. The Bible furnishes the main body of these facts. It is the most immediate and direct product of that faith. It is to be examined with no less diligence and interpreted with no less care and regard for accurate and thorough knowledge than if taken as the biblicists took it. Upon this basis the author writes the seven essays, collected together in this volume from various periodicals, where they had appeared previously. They are on such subjects as religious truth, the Word made flesh, the Christ of Calvary, faith, justification, holiness, and election. It is scarcely necessary to say that the views he presents are fresh and suggestive. Even those who may not agree with him at every point will find him a stimulating thinker. The paper on the atonement (the Christ of Calvary) is especially well thought out and helpful.—*Le mouvement religieux: Études et discours.* Par L. Birot. (Paris: Lecoffre, 1901; pp. xvi + 361; fr. 3.50.) This collection of essays opens with a vigorous and rigorous critique of a work entitled *La vie et la pensée*, by Émile Bournouf. M. Bournouf had put himself decidedly on the side of materialism in its warfare against the Christian religion. Reviving the atomism of Democritus and Lucretius, and furnishing it with modern apparel, he had given it to the French public as the result of a long and laborious life spent in the study of philosophical and religious problems. M. Birot subjects this system to a thorough and searching examination, and shows how utterly unsatisfying it is from the religious as well as from the philosophical point of view. As a piece of courteous and yet unsparing polemic the essay is a model. The other papers in the volume treat of various subjects of interest, historical, literary, and philosophical. They are all written from the Roman Catholic view-point, but, dealing as they do with the fundamental points which all Christian thinkers hold in common, the principles and conclusions contained in them will be recognized as valid by Protestants as well as Catholics.—



*Justification by Faith and Other Sacred Trusts in Harmony and Correlation.* By W. H. Holden. (London: Skeffington, 1901; pp. viii + 101; 2s. 6d.) Justification, according to Mr. Holden, is the favor of God obtained by man through the right attitude toward him—the attitude of faith. But faith includes, and grows into, good works. The antithesis, therefore, between faith and good works is not to be sharply drawn. Justification is not a peculiarly Christian acquisition. The heathen, as well as the pre-Christian saints of the old dispensation, have and do secure it. Wherever men exercise faith toward God they are justified. But justification is very distinct from salvation, and to confuse the two is as pernicious as it is common. This is the view of Mr. Holden. It is certainly interesting and plausible. It would be worthy of more serious consideration, were it presented as the result of an inductive study of the New Testament teachings on the subject. Instead of this, it is transparently devised in the interests of a sacramentarian view of the gospel. The reviewer should not, therefore, be censured if he touches on it rather lightly.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Protestant Principles.* By J. Monro Gibson. (= "Christian Study Manuals.") (New York: Armstrong & Son; pp. xii + 171; \$0.60.) A brief, detailed statement of the difference between Protestant and Catholic doctrines, with topics for further study suggested at the end of each chapter. The book is intended for the popular reader, and will well serve its purpose. The value of the work, however, might have been greatly increased by pointing out more clearly the *fundamental* difference between Protestantism and Catholicism—*i. e.*, the *essential principle* of each—and then by showing the significance of each principle for the entire life of man.—E. A. HANLEY.

*Kultus- und Geschichtsreligion* (Pelagianismus und Augustinismus). Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Psychologie und Volkskunde. Von Joh. Jüngst. (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 79; M. 1.60.) This book is not a résumé of Augustinianism or Pelagianism in Christian theology, nor is it a treatise on the doctrinal problems for which these two great systems of thought stand. These are not even stated. The author attempts to show how these two fundamentally different views of man's relation to the Almighty have influenced Christian life and worship. His conclusion is that both systems of thought mutually supplement each other, when their practical influence is observed; Pelagianism lacking the sure ethical criterion and Augustinianism the uplifting

religious forms. The book is somewhat abstruse in the early chapters; in the later portions, however, the author's observations of Christian life in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches are as correct as his criticisms are candid.—*Volkstümliche Apologie*. Von C. G. Steude. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 70; M. 0.80.) According to the author's contention, the most pernicious assaults upon Christianity in Germany at the present time are made by an anti-Christian press, largely under Jewish influence or control, and by the rapidly growing Social Democracy. He quotes extensively from this contemporaneous literature to show the nature and scope of these assaults. His plea is for a defense of Christianity which shall in its form be within the comprehension of those who would not read the more elaborate and scientific apologies. If any good shall come from apologetics, the literature must be popularly written. He thinks a more extensive use ought to be made of the platform and the pulpit to ward off the attacks upon Christianity. The book under review is in itself a good example of what is meant by popular apologetics.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*The Unfolding of Baptist Doctrine*. An Address to the Students of Drew (M. E.) Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. By Norman Fox. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society; pp. 39; \$0.10.) Before a Methodist theological seminary the author of this scholarly address sets forth without let or hindrance the principles by which Baptists are controlled. Such an incident is a sign of the times. Christian denominations no longer wage war upon one another, but, while co-operating with each other in the great work of saving men, are able in love candidly to discuss the things in which they differ. Our author presents to his Methodist brethren the views of Baptists with absolute fidelity and freedom, and notes with particularity the things in which Methodists and Baptists are in happy agreement. The address is clear and forceful in thought, but on p. 35 the sentence, "It would be better to do *like* the Friends," is unquestionably a gross barbarism of speech.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Church Building*. A Study of the Principles of Architecture in Their Relation to the Church. By Ralph Adams Cram. (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1901; pp. 227; plans and cuts, etc.; \$2.50, net.) Americans, as Bishop Potter has recently said, are apt to underrate the "value of the *visible* in religion." Especially is this true of those non-Anglican in faith. This book will serve as a corrective, for it is a

timely and earnest plea to the general reader from a churchman's point of view for more careful, conscientious, and intelligent church building. The author believes that the root of the best ecclesiastical architecture is to be found in the English Gothic of the early sixteenth century. He shows how, with modern modifications varied according to conditions and localities, it can be applied to all forms of church structure from the country chapel to the great cathedral. The work is choicely printed, profusely illustrated with reproductions of good and bad architecture, and contains an interesting chapter on interior decoration and furnishing.—JOHN P. LENOX.

*Die Homiletik und die Katechetik des Andreas Hyperius.* Verdeutsch und mit Einleitungen versehen, von E. Chr. Achelis und Eugen Sachsse. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1901; pp. iv + 214; M. 3.) Andreas Hyperius (Gerhard), born in Flanders in 1511, became a professor of theology at Marburg in 1542, which position he held until his death in 1564. From contemporary notes we learn that he was a man highly respected both for his learning and his exemplary life. He is said to have been exceedingly popular with the students on account of the personal interest he took in them. He left a few treatises in Latin on subjects connected with practical theology, which, though republished several times in the seventeenth century, were unknown to our present generation until in 1854, when attention was again directed to them. In the book before us we have a translation of two of his most valuable works, one a treatise on "Homiletics" (pp. 1-146) and the other on "Catechetical Instruction" (pp. 147-214). Each treatise is preceded by some valuable introductory matter. The special interest in both of these treatises for our time is probably historical only, in that the "Homiletics" was the first book which broke away from the formal scholastic rules of sermon-making and clearly defined the difference between rhetoric and homiletics, between the forum and the pulpit. In the second treatise Hyperius's main object seems to have been to stimulate the Protestant clergy of his day to more care and industry in the Christian training of the youth. He holds up to them as an example the catechumenate of the early church. The reader will find many of the suggestions of Hyperius valuable, when he reflects that catechetical instruction in the sixteenth century was much more needed than it possibly is today.—*Hausbrot.* Ein Jahrgang neuer Evangelien-Predigten. Von Bruno v. Hülsen. (Leipzig: Strübing, 1901; pp. viii + 373; M. 4.) This volume contains sixty-three sermons, one for each Sunday and the principal

holidays of the church year, all of them on some passage from the gospels but one, and that one is the sermon for Sylvester evening, the subject for which is the ninetyeth psalm. The book is a good illustration of the homily, which today is much more prevalent in the German state church than it is in the American pulpit. The thought is clothed in simple and vigorous German. There is also a pleasing warmth of religious feeling in the sermons, from which we may infer that they will really become "Hausbrot" to such readers who take the time to meditate upon them as they read.—ALBERT J. RAMAKER.

*Musical Ministries in the Church.* By Waldo S. Pratt. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 176; \$1, net.) The book begins with a rapid, untechnical survey of the history of ecclesiastical music, professedly incomplete, but sufficient to impress the reader with the important part which religion has played in the development of the art of music, and, conversely, with the important influence which music has had in the expression and stimulation of Christian feeling. In the opening chapter, the conclusion is reached that there is "an obstinate belief that music in connection with religion has certain unattained ideal values." "The real problem about church music, then, is not whether or not it has substantial values with reference to religion as an experience, but how better to realize its ideals by practical means." In the succeeding chapters upon "Hymns and Hymnology," "The Choir," and "The Organ and the Organist" the author sets forth the meaning of their various functions, and for certain defects points out practical remedies which naturally suggest themselves after the proper ideal has been grasped. The book should prove of more than ordinary helpfulness to organists and singers, to those who serve the churches as music committees, and especially to ministers, upon whom in greatest measure the spiritual burden of even the supposedly purely musical features of the church devolve. Professor Pratt says rightly and forcefully: "From him [the minister] will radiate, whether he wills it or not, a pervasive influence which shall either invigorate or deaden all practical efficiency." Accordingly the last chapter of the book is devoted to a survey of the minister's responsibility. Appendices are added, giving bibliography.—*Die Lauretanische Litanei.* Historisch-kritische Studien. Von Angelo de Santi. Aus dem Italienischen übersetzt von Johann Nörpel. (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1900; pp. 134; M. 3.60.) This treatise is an attempt to prove that the Litany of the Virgin Mary, now called the Lauretan, had its origin in Loretto, where it was first used as a form of private prayer during the famine of 1348, having developed by a natural

process of growth from the more commonly used All Saints' Litany; and that its use spread all over Italy until it almost supplanted the earlier litany. The fact that it does not appear in print until 1576 is the basis of a recent (1895) theory of Sauer, that the Lauretan Litany was brought to Loretto by pilgrims, for which he adduces further internal evidence. Our author, therefore, after stating that the litany was not known at Rome until 1587, concludes that the proof is irrefutable that it was not framed in that city and sent to Loretto, and devotes much space to internal evidence in support of his position. He makes close comparisons of Marian litanies existing previous to the Lauretan, and completes the book with citations of various litanies of the Virgin in their present form. It is the last and most valuable contribution to a subject of interest to students of litanies.—*Das evangelische Kirchenlied nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Von Johannes Westphal. (Leipzig: Dürr, 1901; pp. xvi + 198; M. 2.70.) Professor Westphal, in this little text-book, presents historically the development of song literature of the church from New Testament times to present German hymn writers. His topics are, respectively: "Church Song from its Start in Apostolic Times to the Beginning of the Reformation," "German Evangelical Church Song," and "Evangelical Church Song of the Reformed Church of the Separatists." The book is not an anthology, for with such a subject he is able merely to offer the briefest account of the various movements and to give to each writer a few words of biography and a discussion of his principal hymns without quoting them. The order and proportion of his material and the significance of his annotations make the book a valuable aid to the study of German hymn literature. A topical appendix of the most valuable pre-Reformation hymns, a bibliography, and indices of hymns and authors complete the book.—GEO. C. GOW.

*A Book of Common Worship.* Prepared under Direction of the New York State Conference of Religion by a Committee on the Possibilities of Common Worship. (New York: Putnam, 1900; pp. x + 418; \$1.) The committee which prepared this book consisted of R. Heber Newton, Gustav Gottheil, and Thomas R. Slicer. They have searched through the various religious books of ethnic, Jewish, and Christian literature for the gems of morality and religion, whether prayers, hymns; or Scripture passages, arranged them under suitable rubrics, and published them in this handy and neat volume. The Jewish and

Christian Scripture selections are kept separate from the ethnic scriptures. The source of each quotation is indicated in an elaborate index. As a convenient collection of the best thoughts on the highest themes drawn from world-literature, it will be found useful to everyone, even though the extent of its service in religious assemblies may prove to be limited.—GEO. S. GOODSPEED.

*The Sunny Side of Christianity*, by Charles H. Parkhurst (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 123; \$0.60, *net*) is a glowing treatment of the vital principle of love in the Christian's life. It shows how love melts mountains of difficulty, lets sunshine into the dark avenues of life, and opens before the Christian untold possibilities for good. The book is full of dynamic energy.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Times of Retirement: Devotional Meditations.* By George Matheson. (Chicago: Revell; pp. 301; \$1.25, *net*.) The blind preacher of Scotland enjoys a deserved popularity. He is at his best in devotional sermonettes, such as appear in this volume. While written for times of retirement, they are very brief, intended to be read quickly and thought of afterward. Each begins with a little meditation or homily on a Scripture text and merges into a prayer of aspiration. The volume contains a biographical sketch by Rev. D. MacMillan, editor of the *Saint Andrew*, the Scotch periodical to which originally these little sermons were contributed.—*Christ and Life.* By Robert E. Speer. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 230; \$1, *net*.) Mr. Speer is a very sane and helpful writer on practical religious topics. The twenty-three chapters which compose this book have all appeared in print before, in various religious publications. They are brief, sensible articles, especially helpful to young people, and well worth preserving in this form.—W. E. BARTON.

*The Things Above.* By George G. Findlay. (London: Kelly, 1901; pp. 256; 2s. 6d.) This volume is one of the second series of "Helps Heavenward," edited by W. L. Watkinson and Arthur E. Gregory. "Coming to Mount Zion," "Maran Atha," "The Ascension of Jesus," are chapter titles taken at random which indicate the scope and spirit of the book. It belongs to the general type of millenarian literature. It regards the scientific and social tendency of the present age as a tendency away from the pure spirit of Christianity. It speaks of this "Sadducean age which forgets or disbelieves in the

angels of the Bible." The book is a plea for the spiritual life, but the spirituality for which it pleads lacks reality. It is very plainly not "of the world," but it is just as plainly not "in the world," and herein, with all its class, it differs from the religion of Jesus, who knew how to weld together reality and spirituality.—FREDERIC E. DEWHURST.

*The Evangelization of the World in This Generation.* By John R. Mott. (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1901; pp. 250; bibliography; \$0.35.) In this remarkably clear, pungent, and powerful argument the leader of the student movement, in his best vein, has presented a plea for foreign missions from which there is no escape save in the positive rejection of Christianity itself. The definition of evangelization is sane and avoids all purely speculative vagaries and side issues. The obligation is enforced by cogent and sustained reasoning from Christian premises. The difficulties and forces are treated soberly, yet with the energy of conviction. The closing words are the clarion call of faith. In remarkable harmony with the book are the selections from the famous missionary address of our own Professor Northrup of blessed memory.—C. R. HENDERSON.

*Via Christi: An Introduction to the Study of Missions.* By Louise Manning Hodgkins. (New York: Macmillan, 1902; pp. xix + 251; \$0.50, net; paper, \$0.30, net.) This little book was prepared at the request of a "representative committee" of the Women's Boards of Missions in the United States and Canada, and is the first of a proposed series in aid of a more thorough study of missions. In six chapters it marks off six great periods of missionary endeavor, defined by Constantine, Charlemagne, Bernard of Clairvaux, Luther, the Halle missionaries, Carey, and Judson. To each chapter are added "themes for study," illustrative selections, tables of dates, and lists of books of reference. Under the direction of a well-informed leader a mission circle might find this manual convenient and helpful; but it will do little for the general reader. The "selections from the period" are useful so far as they are taken from books not easily accessible; but the inclusion in these "selections" of hymns to be found in every hymn-book is sheer padding. The make-up of the book is very attractive.—*Men of Might in India Missions.* The Leaders and Their Epochs, 1706-1899. By Helen H. Holcomb. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 352; \$1.25, net.) The "men of might" in this book are

thirteen in number, beginning with Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and closing with Samuel H. Kellogg, and to each biographical sketch about twenty-five pages are allotted. The names chosen may fairly be said to include the best-known leaders in Christian education and evangelization in India. The narratives are accurate and dull. One must be immensely interested in missions before the book is opened, if one is to read it without yawning, so unrelieved and monotonous is the style and so trivial are many of the incidents recorded. There is no attempt to supply the background of the particular life under consideration, to set forth clearly its task, to sum up comprehensively its achievement. The reader seeks in vain in these pages for a discriminating adjective or a quotable sentence. These popular books on missions would not be published if there were not a demand for them. Would that the demand might be adequately met by a student who has mastered his subject, who can distinguish large things from small, and can write of the large things in a clear, flowing, picturesque narrative. Mission boards and circles will rise up to call that man blessed, and his name and his praise will be in all the churches.—A. K. PARKER.

*The Old Evangel and the New Evangelism.* By Charles Aubrey Eaton. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. 162; \$0.75.) The church generally expects a revival. This expectation is reasonable. The need of it is manifest to all. By it the power of the church would be vastly augmented. To secure it believers must be separate from the world, must offer prayer born of faith, believe God's word, have the sympathy that God has for sinners, and believe in the reality of conversion like that wrought in Saul of Tarsus. The author's thought is weighty and clear; his style is simple and direct, though somewhat diffuse. But there are some slight blemishes. He splits most of his infinitives. At times sense seems to be lost in sound. He says that "the truth is a whole, perfect, loving, serving, seeing, personal humanity." Such a sentence lands an ordinary mortal in the fog. Then he speaks of "elemental truths which foundation all human life." This is a brand-new verb too barbarous for civilized English. Moreover, we must gently protest against such teaching as this: "There is no love in business, no love in war, no love in modern pleasure." Often there is not, but Christian love is not incompatible with either. In fittingly warning men against trusting in organization instead of in God, he says: "Don't organize, live." But why not both live and organize? That is what was done in apostolic times, and it is undoubtedly the



dictate of good sense. The author evidently nodded when he wrote: "Jesus Christ was God and man; so is everyone that is born of the Spirit." His discussion is also logically defective. He nowhere gives us an adequate definition of a revival, and in three chapters, under different headings, he dwells on the need of a revival. The recurrence of this thought in such different relations confuses and weakens the discussion of a vastly important subject.—*Spiritual Religion*. A Study of the Relation of Facts to Faith; being the thirty-first *Fernley* Lecture. By John G. Tasker. (London: C. H. Kelly, 1901; pp. x+179; 3s.) This "lecture" is divided into ten chapters, in which the author interrogates the facts of history, physical science, psychology, and experience, that he may ascertain what they suggest and teach concerning spiritual religion. He finds that these facts all tend to verify the fundamental revelations of God in the Scriptures. They confirm the claims that God is a personal spirit, that man is made in His image, that God communes with his children, and that they have access to him through Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit. The facts of experience show that men have communion with God, not only in secret worship, and in the church through the aid of its multifarious ministries, but also in the world, by faithfully performing the duties of our callings and by the discharge of our obligations to our fellow-men. In substantiation of his positions the author quotes freely, almost wearisomely, the declarations of celebrated scientists, metaphysicians, and historians of modern times, and shows how they, by the facts which they have brought to light, unwittingly confirm the primal truths of the gospel. The whole discussion is fresh and vigorous. The range of thought is high. The author is fully abreast with the best thinking of our day. His style, however, lacks simplicity and directness, yet the thoughtful Christian reader will find much in these pages to confirm his faith in the primal truths of Christianity.—*The Way of Perfection; and Conceptions of Divine Love*. By Saint Teresa. Translated from the Spanish by John Dalton. (London: Baker, 1901; pp. xxiv+329; 3s. 6d., net.) The author of these treatises is a canonized saint of the Roman Catholic church. She lived and wrought in the sixteenth century, and was prioress of the monastery of St. Joseph's, in Avila, Spain. She and those under her control subjected themselves to the greatest austerities. They ate no flesh, and fasted eight months in a year. At their request she instructed the nuns of the monastery in the duty of prayer, and her instructions constitute *The Way of Perfection*, written in 1563. Most of the work entitled

*Conceptions of Divine Love* has been lost; of its remaining seven chapters our translator has given us four in English dress. The volume has four appendixes: "The Saint's Advices and Aphorisms for Her Nuns;" "An Account of Her Literary Works," twelve in number; "Some Additional Account of Her Life;" and a "Minute Description of Her Personal Appearance," even to three moles on the left side of her face, "which added greatly to the natural beauty of her countenance." Her writings are full of Mariolatry and saint-worship. Her loftiest ideal of the Christian life is undisturbed contemplation, with manifold mortifications of the flesh. She generally designates God as "His Majesty." The multiplication of the Lutherans seemed to be her special horror, and she had not the shadow of a doubt that they were going straight to hell. But she was an able woman and very devout. She has given us some beautiful and profound thoughts concerning Christian experience. This volume is also a historical witness. It reveals to us the immense progress that has been made in Christian thinking, even in Roman Catholic countries, since the sixteenth century, and the vast distance that lies between this pious Spanish nun of the time of the Reformation and Frances Willard or Clara Barton. The world moves and in the right direction. Still in the writings of Saint Teresa we find some diamonds of truth scattered here and there over a vast field of error.—*The Key of Knowledge*. Sermons. By William G. Rutherford. (New York: Macmillan, 1901; pp. 272; \$1.75.) This volume contains twenty-seven sermons. Its title is the subject of the first sermon. These discourses are short. While the thought unfolded in them is orderly and clear, they have no formal divisions. They are ethical rather than dogmatic. They inculcate the unselfish life of Jesus, and commend the loftiest ideals of conduct. Still the central doctrines of the gospel lie at the foundation of the preacher's conceptions, and, while not directly discussed, have frequent and hearty recognition. The style of the author is clear, but his words are more largely Latin than Saxon. Greater simplicity and directness would have made these sermons still more forceful. And if, in addition to the presentation of high ideals and stimulating the boys of Westminster to struggle for their attainment, the preacher, in a part of his discourses, had set forth what God has done and is now doing to save them from the love and power of sin, he would have done them even a greater service. Nothing touches, subdues, and transforms men like the revelation to them of the love and grace of God.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

The JOURNAL has also received the following books :

*Essai sur le satanisme et la superstition au moyen âge*, précédé d'une introduction sur leurs origines. Par Alfred Jaulmes, pasteur à Dôle (Jura), France. Montauban : J. Ganié, 1900; pp. 110; paper.—A clear, precise, and satisfactory statement.

*An Essay on Religion*. By T. D. A. Cockerell. East Las Vegas : The Daily Optic, 1902; pp. 16; paper.—Terse, trenchant, to the point.

*Abriss der Heilsgeschichte nebst Bibelkunde*. Für die obern Klassen höherer Lehranstalten. Von Pastor W. Werbatus. Leipzig : A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1901; pp. viii + 128; boards; M. 2.—A compendium for catechetical use in either Sunday or day school, based on the author's two-volume book, a review of which will be printed in the JOURNAL at an early date.

*The Schools and Schoolmasters of Christ*. A Treatise on the Influences which Moulded the Character and Affected the Life of Christ. By Joseph Farquhar, M.A. London : Arthur H. Stockwell, 1901; pp. viii + 175.—A popular life of Christ considering "The Name that is above Every Name;" "Echoes from His Ancestry;" "Joseph and Mary;" "The Home at Nazareth;" "The Carpenter's Shop;" "Christ's Public Life;" "His Companion;" "The Cross;" "The Ever-Living Christ."

*Jesus as a Penologist*. By Hon. Samuel J. Barrows. Louisville, Ky.: Bradley & Gilbert Co., 1902; pp. 12; paper.—A paper read by the commissioner of the United States of the International Prison Commission before the International Prison Commission at Kansas City, Mo., November, 1901. It is based on a study of the four gospels as commonly received. The object of the paper is to see what light Jesus throws upon our duties to the delinquent and the criminal. The following subjects are discussed: "Christ's Rejection of Retaliation and Vengeance;" "Reformation Rather than Vengeance;" "Christ's Method Curative."

"What May the Prison Expect of the Church, and What May the Church Expect of the Prison?" By Rev. Henry Hopkins. *Ibid.*, 1902; pp. 8; paper.—A paper read at the same meeting, being an appeal to the church to increase its interest in prison and prisoners, and an appeal to the authorities who by law organize and govern prisons to lift up the moral character of the government of prisons with the assistance and co-operation of the church.

*Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus*. Der griechische Text übersetzt und erklärt zur Handreichung zunächst für Geistliche, Religionslehrer und Studierende von Emil Krukenberg, Superintendent in Pr. Holland. Gütersloh : Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. iv + 164; M. 2.40.—A popular study of the epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus. The Greek text is given, and beneath it translation and a running commentary.

*Studies in the Epistle to the Hebrews*. By Rev. Daniel Shephardson, Ph.D. Chicago : Fleming H. Revell Co., 1901; pp. 499; \$1.50.—A popular treatise on topics of the epistle to the Hebrews. A series of studies given in recent years in many cities east and west.

*The Bible in the Twentieth Century*. By T. Harwood Pattison, D.D. Philadelphia : American Baptist Publication Society, 1901; pp. 56; paper; \$0.10.—An address delivered in part before the American Baptist Publication Society at its anniversary in Springfield, Mass., May 22, 1901.—A good presentation by an able scholar.

*The Mormons and Their Bible*. By Rev. M. T. Lamb. *Ibid.*, 1901; pp. 152; paper; \$0.25, net.—Treats of "The Mormon Problem;" "Authenticity of the Book of Mormon;" "Miracles in the Book of Mormon;" "The Bible Undermined;" "American Antiquities vs. the Book of Mormon."—Popular, but interesting.

*Compendium Theologiæ dogmaticæ specialis*. Pars prior, continens doctrinam de Deo, creatione, redemptione objectiva, gratia; pars posterior, continens doctrinam de ss. sacramentis ecclesiæ et de novissimis. Auctore P. Parthenio Minges, O. F. M. Monachii : Sumptibus librariæ Lentnerianæ (E. Stahl, Jun.), 1901; pp. viii + 223; viii + 223; paper; M. 7.20.—A treatise on dogmatic theology from the Catholic point of view. It is recommended especially to the Catholic readers of the JOURNAL, its author being one of the best-known Catholic writers in Germany on subjects of systematic theology, Christian ethics, and philosophy.

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# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1901

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

By W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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## C. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

## OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

See also *Semitic Bibliography: General Subjects* (pp. 1, 2)

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## THE OLD TESTAMENT

## GRAMMAR, TEXT, TRANSLATIONS

## Grammar and Text

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## F. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

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- Gloria Deo*. Collection of hymns. NY-F&W 1.25
- KELLNER. Kirchenjahr u. Heiligenfeste in gesch. Entwickl'g. F-H (248) 5
- KRUIJF. Liturgiek. Groningen-Wolters (282) 2.90
- MALTZEW. Menologien d. orthodox-kath. Kirche des Morgenl. II. Tl (Mr-Ag), Deu. u. Slavisch. B-Siegismund (976) 10
- MEES. Chors & choral music. NY-S (260) 1.25
- OBERLEY. Testimony of the prayerbook to continuity of church. NY-Gorham (178) 0.75
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- RITTER. Illustrierte Encyclopädie der Musikgesch. I. L-Schmitz (131) bd 4.50
- RÖSSLER. Cath. Engl. hymns. St L-H (222) 0.50
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- HOWARD. American sabbath. *OW*, 13 JI
- Hymns & their helpfulness. *MR*(N), JI
- KNOWLES. Hymns as literature. *MR*(N), N
- PRATT. Liturgical responsibilities of non-liturgical churches. *AT*, O
- Church music as part of theological education. *HSR*, N
- ROOKS. Pedigree of ritual. *MR*(S), N
- SHERAN. Improvement of Prot. church service. *Ind*, 2 My
- STOCKLEY. Reforms in church music. *CW*, D
- Sunday-School Work
- AXTELL. Organized Su.-school. Nashv-Cumberland Pr (109) 0.50
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- Hoss. Su.-sch'l studies. Nashv (392) 0.50
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- Sunday school outlook. NY-L (104) 0.60
- ATKINS. Children of the church. *MR*(S), My
- Bible, the, & the child. *RCA*, R, O
- BROMFIELD. Growth of Presb. S.-s. polity. *PRR*, JI
- DEMAREST. Reconstruction in Su.-sch'l. *PRR*, Ja
- KLAUDER. Catechism & its requirements. *CW*, S
- Suggestions for questions of a S.-s. catech. *BW*, Ja ff
- WINCHESTER. Working hypothesis for religious instruction. *BW*, S
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- CLINCH. Anglo-Sax. missionary methods. *ACP*, Ap
- DENBY. Missions & commerce. *Ind*, 12 D
- DUBBINK. Aim of foreign missions. *PQ*, Ja
- ELLIOTT. The missionary & his topics. *CW*, O
- NATHUSIUS. Duty of church in relation to labor movement. *AT*, O
- PERRY. Motive & method of Christ. charity. *BS*, O
- THOBURN. Our missionary polity. *MR*(N), S
- WILSON. Script. theory of missions. *OW*, 23 Mr

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continuity of church. NY-400  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

Prices are expressed only by figures, it being understood that in the case of English books 6-6 stands for 6s. 6d.; in the case of German books 6.50 = M. 6.50; etc. n = net. Prices quoted are usually for volumes bound in cloth in case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others. bd = bound, pl = plates. Months: Ja, F, Mr, Ap, My, Je, Ji, Ag, S, O, N, D

## PLACE OF PUBLICATION

A = Amsterdam  
Au = Augsburg  
B = Berlin  
B-BBM = Buchh. der Berliner ev. Missionsgesellschaft  
B-C = B-Calvary  
B-H = B-Haack  
B-M&M = B-Mayer & Müller  
B-R = B-Reimer  
B-R&R = B-Reuther & Reichard  
B-Sch(w) = B-Schwetschke  
B-Wa = B-Warneck  
B-W&G = B-Weidmann  
B-W&G = B-Wiegandt & Grieben  
Ba = Basel  
Be = Bern  
Bi = Bielefeld  
Bi-V&K = Bi-Velhaven & Klasing  
Bn = Bonn  
Bn-G = Bn-Georgi  
Bn-M = Bn-Marcus  
Bn-W = Bn-Weber  
Bo = Boston  
Bo-H, M = Bo-Houghton, Mifflin & Co.  
Bo-PP = Bo-Pilgrim Press  
Br = Breslau  
C = Cahors  
C-C = Cahors-Coueslant  
Ca = Cambridge (Engl.)  
Ca-UP = Ca-University Press  
Chi = Chicago  
Chi-R = Chi-Revell  
Chi-UP = Chi-University Press  
Cin = Cincinnati  
Cin-J&P = Cin-Jennings & Pye  
Dr = Dresden  
Du = Dublin  
Ed = Edinburgh  
Ed-C = Ed-T & Clark  
Ed-O = Ed-Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier  
El = Elberfeld  
El-V&K = El-Velhaven & Klasing  
Erf = Erfurt  
Erl = Erlangen  
Erl-J = Erl-Junge  
F = Freiburg i. Br.  
F-H = F-Herder'sche Verlagsbuchh.  
F-W = F-Wagner  
F(Sch) = Freiburg in Switzerland  
Fr = Frankfurt a. M.  
Fr-K = Fr-Kaufmann  
G = Göttingen  
G-V&R = G-Vandenhoec & Ruprecht  
Gi = Giessen  
Gi-R = Gi-Ricker'sche Buchh.  
Go = Gotha  
Go-P = Go-Perthes  
Go-Sch = Go-Schloessmann  
Go-Th = Go-Thienemann  
Gü = Gütersloh  
Gü-B = Gü-Bertelsmann  
Hd = Heidelberg  
Hd-G = Hd-Groos  
Hd-W = Hd-Winter  
Hl = Halle  
Hl-M = Hl-Mühlmann  
Hl-N = Hl-Niemeyer  
Hl-W = Hl-Buchh. d. Waisenhauses  
Hm = Hamburg  
Hm-EB = Hm-Evang. Buchh. (Verl. & Sort.)  
Hm-O = Hm-Oncken Nachf.  
Hm-RH = Hm-Rauhes Haus  
Hn = Hannover  
K = Königsberg  
Kö = Köln a. Rh.  
Kö-B = Kö-Bachem  
L = Leipzig  
L-B = L-Braun  
L-BeB = L-Buchh. des evgl. Bundes  
L-Br = L-Brockhaus  
L-D = L-Deichert  
L-Dd = L-Diederichs  
L-Dt = L-Diederich  
L-D&F = L-Dürffling & Franke  
L-D&H = L-Dunker & Humblot  
L-H = L-Hinrichs  
L-T = L-Teubner  
Laus = Lausanne  
Le = Leiden  
Le-VB = Le-vormals Brill  
Lo = London  
Lo-BI = Lo-A. & C. Black  
Lo-B&O = Lo-Burns & Oates  
Lo-H&S = Lo-Hodder & Stoughton  
Lo-M = Lo-Methuen & Co.  
Lo-N = Lo-Nisbet  
Lo-P = Lo-Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.  
Lo-Sk = Lo-Skeffington & Son  
Lo-SPCK = Lo-Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge  
Lo-St = Lo-Elliott Stock  
Lo-W&N = Lo-Williams & Norgate  
M = München  
M-B = M-Beck  
Mb = Marburg  
Mb-E = Mb-Elwert  
Mh = Mannheim  
Mo = Montauban  
Mo-G = Montauban-Granié  
Mü = Münster  
Mü-A = Mü-Aschendorff  
Mü-Sch = Mü-Schöningh  
Mz = Mainz  
Mz-K = Mz-Kirchheim  
Nü = Nürnberg  
NY = New York  
NY-A = NY-Appleton  
NY-B = NY-Benziger  
NY-D = NY-Dodd, Mead & Co.  
NY-E&M = NY-Eaton & Mains  
NY-F&W = NY-Funck & Wagnalls  
NY-Fr = NY-Frowde  
NY-L = NY-Longmans, Green & Co.  
NY-M = NY-Macmillan  
NY-S = NY-Scribner  
NY-W = NY-Whittaker  
O = Oxford  
O-CP = Oxford-Clarendon Press  
O-UP = Oxford-Univ. Press  
P = Paris  
P-A = P-Alcan  
P-B&B = P-Bloud & Barral  
P-F = P-Fischerbacher  
P-FD = P-Firmin-Didot  
P-H = P-Hachette  
P-L = P-Lecoffre  
P-Lr = P-Leroux  
P-P = P-Poussielgue  
P-Pi = P-Picard  
P-R = P-Retaux  
Pa = Paderborn  
Pa-B = Pa-Bonifacius-Druckerei  
Pa-Sch = Pa-Schöningh  
Ph = Philadelphia  
Ph-ABP = Ph-Am. Bapt. Public. So.  
Ph-WP = Ph-Westminster Press



Reg = Regensburg  
 Reg-P = Reg-Pustet  
 Ro = Roma  
 St = Stuttgart  
 St-BeG = St-Buchh. der evgl. Gesellschaft  
 St-C = St-Cotta  
 St-Fr = St-Frommann  
 St-L = St-Louis  
 St-L-H = St-L-B. Herder  
 Str = Strassburg  
 Str-R = Str-Le Roux  
 Str-T = Str-Trübner, K. J.

T = Tübingen  
 T-M = T-Mohr  
 Tr = Trier  
 Tr-P = Tr-Paulinus-Druckerei  
 W = Wien  
 W-G = W-Gerold's Sohn  
 We = Weimar  
 Wi = Wiesbaden  
 Wü = Würzburg  
 Wü-G = Wü-Göbel  
 Z = Zürich

## PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

- A** = Arena  
**AA** = American Antiquarian  
**AB** = Analecta Bollandiana  
**AC** = L'Association catholique  
**ACO** = Am. Catholic Quarterly Review  
**AE** = Archiv für Ethnographie  
**AE-LKZ** = Allgem. Ev.-Luther. Kirchenzeitg.  
**AER** = American Ecclesiastical Review  
**AGPA** = Archiv f. d. Gesch. d. Philosophie  
**AIBL** = Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Comptes rendus)  
**AJA** = American Journal of Archaeology  
**AJS** = American Journal of Sociology  
**AJSL** = Am. Jour. of Semitic Lang. and Lit.  
**AJTK** = American Journal of Theology  
**AKKR** = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht  
**ALKGMA** = Archiv für Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters  
**al-M** = al-Mashriq  
**AMZ** = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift  
**AO** = Der alte Orient  
**APF** = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung  
**APhChr** = Annales de Philosophie chrétienne  
**ARW** = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft  
**ASP** = Archiv f. systematische Philosophie  
**A&R** = Aten e Roma  
**B** = Biblia  
**BA** = Beiträge zur Assyriologie  
**BAG** = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte  
**BAZ** = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung; München  
**BBK** = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.  
**Bess** = Bessarione  
**BFChrTh** = Beiträge z. Fördg. christl. Theologie  
**BG** = Beweis des Glaubens  
**BHL** = Bulletin hist. et lit. de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français  
**BOR** = Babylonian and Oriental Record  
**BiSt** = Biblische Studien  
**BS** = Bibliotheca Sacra  
**BSt** = Bible Student  
**BStPh&G** = Berner Studien zur Philosophie u. ihrer Geschichte  
**BU** = Bibliothèque universelle  
**BW** = Biblical World  
**BZ** = Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
**ChOR** = Charity Organization Review  
**ChQR** = Church Quarterly Review  
**ChR** = Charities Review  
**ChrK** = Christliches Kunstblatt  
**ChrL** = Christian Literature  
**ChrQ** = Christian Quarterly  
**ChrW** = Christliche Welt  
**CR** = Contemporary Review  
**CW** = Catholic World  
**D-AZThK** = Deutsch-amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche  
**DEBl** = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter  
**DPBl** = Deutsches Protestantenblatt  
**DR** = Deutsche Revue  
**DRu** = Deutsche Rundschau (beg. in O)  
**DuR** = Dublin Review  
**DZKR** = Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Kirchenrecht  
**EdR** = Edinburgh Review  
**EHK** = English Historical Review  
**EKZ** = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung  
**EM** = Evangelische Missionen  
**EMM** = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin  
**Et** = Etudes  
**ET** = Expository Times  
**Exp** = Expositor  
**F** = Forum  
**FChrL&D** = Forschungen z. christl. Literatur u. Dogmengeschichte  
**FEB** = Flugschriften des evang. Bundes  
**FR** = Fortnightly Review  
**F&KPh** = Frankfurter Zeitgemässe Broschüren  
**F&ZB** = Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten  
**GGN** = Geschichtsblätter des deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins (Magdeburg-Heinrichshafen)  
**GHV** = Gymnasialprogramm  
**GPr** = Geest en Leven  
**G&L** = Geolof en Vrijheid  
**G&V** = Helte z. Alten Glauben  
**HAG** = Helte zur Christlichen Welt  
**HChrW** = Helte der freien kirchl.-soz. Konf.  
**H/KSK** = Helte was du hast (begins in O)  
**Hk** = ZpTh  
**HJb** = Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft  
**HkAT** = Handkommentar z. Alt. Test.  
**HN** = L'Humanité nouvelle  
**H-PBikD** = Histor.-pol. Blätter f. d. katholische Deutschland  
**HR** = Homiletic Review  
**HSR** = Hartford Seminary Record  
**HVS** = Historische Vierteljahrsschrift  
**HZ** = Historische Zeitschrift  
**IA** = Indian Antiquary  
**IAQR** = Indian Asiatic Quarterly Review  
**ID** = Inaugural-Dissertation  
**IER** = Indian Evangelical Review  
**IJE** = International Journal of Ethics  
**IM** = International Monthly  
**Ind** = Independent  
**IThR** = International Theological Review  
**JA** = Journal asiatique  
**JAOS** = Journal of the Am. Oriental Society  
**JBL** = Journal of Biblical Literature  
**JbPh&S** = Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie  
**JGGPr-O** = Jahrb. d. Gesellschaft f. d. Gesch. des Protestantismus in Oesterreich und Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums  
**JM** = Jewish Quarterly Review  
**JQR** = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
**JRAS** = Journal des Savants  
**JS** = Journal of Theological Studies  
**JTKS(I)** = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute  
**JTVI** = Katholik  
**Kath** = Kirchliches Familienblatt  
**KF** = Kath. Flugschriften z. Wehr u. Lehr  
**KFIW&L** = Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. Alten Testament  
**KH-CAT** = Kirchliche Monatsschrift  
**KM** = Kyrklig Tidsskrift  
**KT** = Kirchl. Wochenchrift  
**KW** = Katechetische Zeitschrift  
**KZ** = Liberté chrétienne  
**LChr** = Lutheran Church Review  
**LChrR** = Lecture chrétienne (Petersbourg)  
**Le chr** = Lutheran Quarterly  
**LO** = London Quarterly Review  
**LOR** = Muséon  
**M** = Marx  
**Ma** = Mitth. oder Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften; s. F.  
**MA** = Berlin, München  
**MCG** = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft

Tubingen  
M = T-Mohr  
Trier  
P = Tr-Paulinus-Druckerei  
Wien  
G = W-Gerold's Sohn  
Weimar  
Wiesbaden  
Würzburg  
G = Wü-Göbel  
ürich

## SERIALS

[illegible]

<b>MGE</b>	= Mancherlei Gaben und Ein Geist (O-S)
<b>MG&amp;K</b>	= Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst
<b>MG&amp;AVE</b>	= Mith. des Geschichts- und alterthumsforschenden Vereins zu Eisenberg (Im Herzogt. Sachsen-Altenburg)
<b>Mi</b>	= Mind
<b>MIM</b>	= Monatsschrift für innere Mission
<b>MIOG</b>	= Mittheilungen des Instituts f. öster-reichische Geschichtsforschung
<b>MiR</b>	= Missionary Review
<b>M&amp;Pr</b>	= Monatschrift f. d. kirchliche Praxis (continuing <i>ZprTh</i> )
<b>Mo</b>	= Monist
<b>MR(N)</b>	= Methodist Review (North)
<b>MRS(S)</b>	= Methodist Review (South)
<b>MS&amp;L</b>	= Monatsschrift für Stadt und Land
<b>MVGDB</b>	= Mith. des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen
<b>M&amp;ND</b>	{ Mittheilungen und Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<b>P-V</b>	
<b>EKR</b>	
<b>NA</b>	= Neue evangelische Kirche Russlands
<b>NADG</b>	= Nuova Antologia
	= Neues Arch. d. Gesellsch. f. ältere deu. Gesch.
<b>NAKG</b>	= Nederl. Archief voor Kerkgesch.
<b>Nath</b>	= Nathanael
<b>NABCr</b>	= Nuovo Bulletino di archeologia cristiana
<b>NC</b>	= Nineteenth Century
<b>NCR</b>	= New Century Review
<b>NHJB</b>	= Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher
<b>NJB&amp;IAG</b>	= Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Alterthum.
<b>&amp;dL, &amp;P</b>	= Neue kirchliche u. deu. Literatur, u. für Pedagog.
<b>NAZ</b>	= Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
<b>NT&amp;T</b>	= Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift
<b>OC</b>	= Open Court
<b>Ochr</b>	= Oriens Christianus
<b>OLZ</b>	= Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung
<b>OT</b>	= Ons Tijdschrift
<b>Ph</b>	= Outlook
<b>PHKS</b>	= Pastoralblätter für Homiletik, Katechetik und Seelsorge (O-S)
<b>PEFQS</b>	= Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement
<b>PAJb</b>	= Philosophisches Jahrbuch
<b>P&amp;M</b>	= Philosophische Monatshefte
<b>PAR</b>	= Philosophical Review
<b>P</b>	= Presbyterian Quarterly
<b>PrJb</b>	= Protestant
<b>PrR</b>	= Preussische Jahrbücher
<b>P&amp;M</b>	= Prestantische Monatshefte
<b>PSBA</b>	= Presbyterian and Reformed Review
	= Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
<b>P&amp;St</b>	= Psychologische Studien
<b>QO</b>	= Queen's Quarterly
<b>QR</b>	= Quarterly Review
<b>RA</b>	= Revue archéologique
<b>RAAO</b>	= Rev. d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale
<b>RACr</b>	= Revue de l'Art chrétien
<b>R&amp;L</b>	= Rendiconti del R. Acad. dei Lincei
<b>R&amp;Bd</b>	= Revue biblique
<b>RCr</b>	= Revue bénédictine
<b>RCr</b>	= Revue chrétienne
<b>RCr&amp;S</b>	= Reformed Church Review
<b>R&amp;M</b>	= Revue de Christianisme sociale
<b>REI</b>	= Revue des deux Mondes
<b>H</b>	= Revue des Etudes juives
<b>HE</b>	= Revue historique
<b>HLR</b>	= Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique
	= Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses
<b>HR</b>	= Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
<b>ICr</b>	= Rivista Cristiana
<b>IF</b>	= Rivista di filosofia
<b>MM</b>	= Revue de Metaphysique et Morale
<b>N-S</b>	= Revue néo-scholastique

<i>ROchr</i>	=	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
<i>ROL</i>	=	Revue de l'Orient Latin
<i>RPh</i>	=	Revue philosophique
<i>RQ</i>	=	Römische Quartalschrift
<i>RQH</i>	=	Revue des Questions historiques
<i>RS</i>	=	Revue sémitique
<i>RSce</i>	=	Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques
<i>RThPh</i>	=	Revue de Théol. et de Philos.
<i>RThQH</i>	=	Revue de Théologie et Quest. historique
<i>RThQR</i>	=	Revue de Théol. et des Quest. relig.
<i>RTor</i>	=	Recueil de Travaux (ed. by Masson)
<i>SA</i>	=	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wiss. i. g. Berlin, München, etc.
<i>ScC</i>	=	Science catholique
<i>SGVS</i>	=	Sammlung gemeinver. Vorträge u. Schriften aus d. Gebiet der Theologie u. Religionsgeschichte
<i>ThRG</i>	=	Sammlung gemeinverständl. wissenschaftl. Vorträge, Neue Folge = Siedens z. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Kirche
<i>SGWTh</i>	=	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
<i>StKTh</i>	=	Stemmen uit de Lutherische Kerk in Nederland
<i>StLK</i>	=	Stimmen aus Maria-Laach
<i>StML</i>	=	Seelsorge in Theorie und Praxis
<i>STP</i>	=	Studi Religiosi
<i>SIR</i>	=	Strassburger Theologische Studien
<i>StrThSt</i>	=	Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede
<i>SWPh</i>	=	Siedens u. Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- u. dem Cistercienser-Orden
<i>StMB &amp; Co</i>	=	Tijdschrift v. geref. Theologie
<i>TGTh</i>	=	Theologische Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. wiss. Prediger-Verein
<i>ThArh</i>	=	Theologisches Literaturblatt
<i>ThLb</i>	=	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>ThLs</i>	=	Theologische Rundschau
<i>TQ</i>	=	Theologische und Semit. Literature
<i>TAR</i>	=	Theologische Studien
<i>ThL</i>	=	Theologisch Tijdschrift
<i>ThSt</i>	=	Theologisch Tijdschrift
<i>TT</i>	=	Teologisk Tidsskrift
<i>Ts &amp; U</i>	=	Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Litteratur, Neue Folge
<i>Tr &amp; Z</i>	=	Troffen en Zwaard
<i>UC</i>	=	L'Université catholique
<i>Ufr</i>	=	Universitätsprogramm
<i>WPh</i>	=	Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie
<i>WEB</i>	=	Wartburghefte, f. d. Evangel. Bund (Leipzig-Braun)
<i>TWR</i>	=	Weimster Review
<i>WZKM</i>	=	Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
<i>ZA</i>	=	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>ZAg</i>	=	Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Altertumskunde
<i>ZATW</i>	=	Z. für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>ZCG</i>	=	Z. für Culturgeschichte
<i>ZChrK</i>	=	Z. für christliche Kunst (Ap-Mr)
<i>ZDMG</i>	=	Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
<i>ZDPV</i>	=	Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<i>ZeRu</i>	=	Z. f. d. evang. Religions-Unterricht (begins in O)
<i>ZChrVL</i>	=	Zeitrfragen christl. Volksleben
<i>ZG</i>	=	Z. für Gesch. des Oberheins
<i>ZGK</i>	=	Z. für Kirchengeschichte
<i>ZKTh</i>	=	Z. für katholische Theologie
<i>ZMR</i>	=	Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
<i>ZNTW</i>	=	Z. für neutestamentl. Wissenschaft
<i>ZPhTh</i>	=	Z. für Pastoral-Theologie
<i>ZPhK</i>	=	Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik
<i>ZPhP</i>	=	Z. für Philosophie und Pädagogik
<i>ZPhTh</i>	=	Z. für praktische Theologie
<i>ZSchw</i>	=	Z. für Theologie aus der Schweiz
<i>ZThK</i>	=	Z. für Theologie
<i>ZThRG</i>	=	Z. d. Vereins f. Thüringische Gesch.
<i>VVh</i>	=	Z. des Vereins f. Volkskunde
<i>WTh</i>	=	Z. für wissenschaftliche Theologie

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## THE ORIGIN OF HIGH-CHURCH EPISCOPACY.\*

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It is the purpose of this article to trace and explain the origin of the theory known as high-church episcopacy—the theory which maintains that episcopacy is of divine appointment and is essential to the very being of the Christian church; that only he is a true bishop who stands in the direct line of apostolic succession, and is consequently in possession of grace handed down from the apostles in unbroken sequence; that episcopal ordination is not simply expedient, but necessary to the constitution of the clergy; and that the sacraments through which alone the grace of Christ ordinarily operates can be validly performed only by one episcopally ordained. In a well-known work on apostolic succession we find the essential features of the system concisely summarized as follows: "It means, in few words, without bishops no presbyters; without bishops and presbyters no legitimate certainty of sacraments; without sacraments no certain union with the mystical body of Christ, namely with his church; without this no certain union with Christ, and without that union no salvation."<sup>1</sup>

\*The present article contains the substance of a lecture on the validity of non-episcopal ordination, which was given at Harvard University on the *Dudleian* foundation in 1901.

<sup>1</sup>HADDAN, *Apostolic Succession*, p. 14.

The question before us is: When and under what circumstances did this theory arise? It is to be observed that the question concerns the origin, not of episcopacy, but of this particular theory of episcopacy—not of a specific form of church government, but of a specific theory of the church and the ministry.

The first person, so far as we know, to frame a theory of the church was the apostle Paul. This is only what we might expect. So long as Christianity remained within the confines of Judaism, the idea of a Christian church could hardly arise. The Jews, God's elect and covenant people, constituted the true church of God, and the early Jewish disciples seem never to have thought of separating from it in order to form a new church of their own. They were still Jews, distinguished from their neighbors by their belief in Jesus as the Messiah and by their expectation of enjoying the blessings of his kingdom so soon to be established; but they were still a part of the Jewish church—the chosen people of God.<sup>2</sup> But when Christianity leaped the boundaries of the Jewish race and made a home for itself on gentile soil, and when new Christian communities grew up divorced entirely from Judaism, the original conception was inadequate, and Christians began to recognize themselves as constituting, not a mere segment of the old Jewish ecclesia, but a new church, a new covenant people, the true Israel of God, taking the place of the old and inheriting all the privileges which the Jews had forfeited by their rejection of the Messiah. We find this idea already in the epistles of Paul, and in the church after his time it was very common.<sup>3</sup>

But in addition to this genuinely Jewish idea of the relation of Christians to God we find in Paul another and totally new conception: the church as the body of Christ. It appears already in his epistles to the Corinthians and Romans, but is

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts 1:6; 3:1, 21, 23; 10:14 ff.; 15:5; 21:21 f.; and see MCGIFFERT, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 40 f., 63 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Rom. 9:6 f.; 2 Cor. 6:16; Gal. 3:15 f.; Eph. 1:10; 2:19; 1 Clement, 29, 64; 2 Clement, 2, 14; HERMAS, *Vis.*, 1:3; ii:4; Barnabas, 5, 13, 14; JUSTIN, *Dial.*, 11, 24, 26, 110, 116, 118 f., 130, 140; IRENÆUS, IV, 8; 9, 3; 25, 1; 34, 2; V, 32, 2.

taught most clearly and explicitly in his epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians.<sup>4</sup> The basis for this new and striking conception, which was taken up by some of the early Fathers and soon became a part of the common thought of the church,<sup>5</sup> is to be found in Paul's mystical conception of the Christian life as the life of Christ within the believer. Into the genesis and growth of that mystical view of the Christian life I cannot enter here.<sup>6</sup> I may simply say that it was rooted in Paul's own experience before and after his conversion, and can easily be accounted for; but his conception of the church as the body of Christ is quite inexplicable except as the outgrowth of his doctrine of the individual Christian life. Because Christ dwells in the Christian he dwells in the church which is composed of Christians. It is not simply that Christ dwells in the universal church, the body of Christians the world over viewed as one whole, but Christ dwells in every part of the church, because he dwells in every Christian who goes to make up the church. And so he dwells in the community of Christians in Rome, in Ephesus, in Colossæ; in the many communities in Galatia; in the little circles that gathered in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, or Philemon. Every community and every circle of Christians, large or small, could be called an *ecclesia*—a church of God or of Christ—as properly as the whole body of Christians the world over; for wherever there were Christians there was Christ, and wherever Christ was present there was his body the church. As Ignatius says, following closely the thought of Paul, "Wherever Jesus Christ is there is the universal church" (*ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, ad Smyr., 8*).

The fact that is of especial importance for us to notice in this connection is that Paul did not think of the church as an institution separate from and independent of its members, possessing something which they had not, and which they could gain only by becoming members of it. There is no hint in

<sup>4</sup> Rom. 12 : 4 f.; 1 Cor. 12 : 12 f.; Col. 1 : 18, 24; 2 : 19; Eph. 1 : 23; 4 : 1 f.; 5 : 23 f.

<sup>5</sup> See 1 Clement, 46; 2 Clement, 14; IGNATIUS, *Trallians*, 11; *Smyrneans*, 1; IRENEUS, III, 24, 1; IV, 33, 8; V, 14, 4.

<sup>6</sup> See MCGIFFERT, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128 f.

Paul's epistles that Christ is in the individual only because he is in the community; that his presence with the believer is mediated in any way by the church. Nor is there any hint that he dwells in the church any more fully or any more intimately than he dwells in the Christian. In fact, it is abundantly clear that in the thought of Paul "church" was simply a collective term for Christians. Christians are the body of Christ, the church is the body of Christ; Christ is the head of the Christian, Christ is the head of the church; the Holy Spirit dwells in the Christian, the Holy Spirit dwells in the church. It is evidently immaterial whether Paul salutes the church in a particular place or the saints in a particular place; and he can say, in writing to the Corinthians: "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth: unto *them* that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints" (1 Cor. 1:1).<sup>7</sup> We have no warrant in any of our sources for the assumption that the church, in the thought of any of the apostles, existed before its members or independently of them; that it was an institution in and of itself and separate from them; that it had grace which it could bestow upon them by virtue of its special relation to Christ. The church was nothing apart from its members. This did not mean that the church was invisible, inchoate, unformed, simply the sum of scattered and unrelated Christian believers. The church was the body of Christ, and the body is an organism composed of many members; and so the church, as Paul pictured it, was an organism composed of many members. It had nothing independently of its members, for Christ dwelt in the members and not merely in the organized body; but they constituted one body and were members of each other as well as of Christ, and so separation and isolation were inconceivable. There were not many spirits, but one Spirit; and, though many members, they were all members of the one body.<sup>8</sup> The conception of Paul, while providing for the freest individualism, yet prevented individualism from expressing itself in isolation and disunion. If the body had nothing apart from its members, the members had nothing apart

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also 1 Clement, 1; and IGNATIUS, *Trallians*, *præf.*

<sup>8</sup> 1 Cor. 12:4 f.; Eph. 4:4.

from the body. Thus, though the term "church" was simply a collective term for Christians, it was not a collective term for a multitude of segregated units, but for the one body of believers—the body "fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth according to the working in due measure of each several part."<sup>9</sup>

The only head of this one body—the church—was Christ,<sup>10</sup> and he was the possession, not of the church as a whole merely, but of each individual Christian. At the same time it was believed that he imparted different spiritual gifts to different believers. The body had many members, each with its own individual character and place. And each gift was supposed to fit its recipient for the performance of some service in the church; for the gift was imparted primarily, not for the good of the individual alone, but for the good of his brethren—to promote the edification and well-being of the whole body.<sup>11</sup> The possession of such a gift, therefore, was regarded as a divine call to some specific kind of labor. But the result of the possession by believers of spiritual gifts of various kinds was a difference of rank within the church. All Christians were children of God and in possession of the spirit of Christ, but some were called to more onerous and responsible service, others to service of a less important kind. Some possessed the Spirit in larger measure than others; some in this way and for this purpose, others in another way and for another purpose. The result was that not all Christians were on the same plane. There were some, as Paul says, called to be apostles, others prophets and teachers, workers of miracles, healers of the sick, interpreters of tongues, helpers, counselors, and shepherds.<sup>12</sup> But whatever authority and leadership any believer might possess in virtue of his spiritual gift was a purely spiritual authority and leadership. He was gifted by the Spirit in a certain way, others were gifted in other ways, and as so gifted they received from all true believers loving recognition and obedience; that is, the Spirit of Christ, who spoke through them, was obeyed and followed. It

<sup>9</sup> Eph. 4:16.

<sup>11</sup> See 1 Cor., chap. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Eph. 4:15; Col. 1:18.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11.



was always understood that it was the Spirit of God or of Christ, not the person of the man, that received recognition, and that every believer had the right to reject any authority which did not vindicate itself as Christ's authority.<sup>13</sup>

The chief of the gifts which the Spirit was supposed to bestow upon believers was the gift of teaching in the broadest sense—the gift, that is, of understanding, and of declaring and interpreting to others, the will and truth of God or of Christ. But the teaching gift involved also, in a certain sense, the right to bear rule in the church. It was, in fact, the only gift which involved that right; for it carried with it the ability to declare Christ's will touching the duties of believers, the government of the church, or the management of its affairs.<sup>14</sup> Such instruction, if recognized as the utterance of the Spirit, would of course receive loving submission from all those in whom the Spirit dwelt, and to that extent and in that way those endowed with the gift of teaching might be said to rule in the church. The rule was spiritual only, and was not the rule of the individual as such, but of Christ, whose will he declared.

Those who were recognized as endowed more largely than their fellows with the gift of declaring the will and truth of God were commonly known in the primitive church as apostles, prophets, and teachers.<sup>15</sup> And first let us look at the apostles.

Apostles were traveling missionaries or evangelists who went about from place to place proclaiming the gospel and spreading the kingdom of Christ. There were many of them in the early church, and only gradually did the name take on the exclusive meaning which it now has—only gradually was it confined to the Twelve and Paul as distinguished from other missionaries and messengers of Christ.<sup>16</sup> There is no sign that the apostles,

<sup>13</sup> See 1 Cor. 7:25, 40; 12:10; 14:37; 1 Tim. 4:1; 1 John 4:1; *Didaché*, chaps. 11 f.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 7:10, 25, 40; 11:23 f.; 12:8; 14:37; Eph. 5:17 f.; Col. 1:28 f.; 3:16; 1 Thess. 2:13; 4:2 f.; 1 Clement, 59; 2 Clement, 17; *Didaché*, chap. 11; IGNATIUS, *Phil.*, 7; and the *Mandates of Hermas*.

<sup>15</sup> Acts 13:1; 1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; *Didaché*, chap. 11; cf. also Rom. 12:6 f.; 1 Cor. 12:8 f.; 14:6, 26.

<sup>16</sup> MCGIFFERT, *loc. cit.*, pp. 646 f.

whether the Twelve or others, held any official position in the church; that they had an ecclesiastical office which gave them an inherent right to rule over their brethren. When Christ chose the Twelve he sent them out to be missionaries and preachers of the kingdom of God (Matt. 10:5 f.), and the same is true of the Seventy (Luke 10:1 f.), who were apostles as really as the Twelve. Nothing was said about holding office, about ruling or governing the church, or about exercising any kind of authority over those to whom they were sent.<sup>17</sup> It is easy, of course, to assume that after his departure Christ made the Twelve something more and other than they had been in the beginning; that they ceased to be merely missionaries and heralds of the kingdom and became official rulers and governors of the church. It is easy to assume either that they ruled the whole church in their joint capacity as an apostolic college, or that they divided the world among them and took episcopal charge each of his own district or diocese, as is commonly claimed by advocates of the high-church theory. But there is no hint in our sources of anything of the kind. When Matthias, for instance, was chosen to the place made vacant by the apostasy and death of Judas, he was appointed, not to rule the church, but only to be a witness of the resurrection, or, in other words, to be a herald as the Twelve had been before him (Acts 1:22). And when Christ was about to leave his disciples for the last time, he commanded them to tarry in Jerusalem until they should be endowed with power from on high, and then go forth to be, not rulers of the church, but witnesses "in all Judea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts 1:8). That the apostles, not only the Twelve and Paul, but others as well, had a large measure of authority as messengers of Christ, of course goes without saying; but their authority was a spiritual authority purely and depended always upon the recognition by their brethren of their possession of the divine gift of apostleship. If at any time their possession of such a gift was doubted, their authority was gone. And the right of churches and individuals to test the claims of those that came to them as apostles,

<sup>17</sup> Compare the directions given to the Twelve and the Seventy with those given for the apostles in the *Didaché*, chap. 11.

and to refuse to listen to them if they did not vindicate their divine call, was everywhere recognized. Witness, for instance, Paul's reference to false apostles in 2 Cor. 2:13; his efforts to establish his own apostolic character to the satisfaction of his readers in the Corinthian and Galatian epistles; witness the reference in Rev. 2:2 to the fact that the church of Ephesus had tried certain men that claimed to be apostles and had found them false; and also the directions in the *Didaché* (chap. 11) for testing the character of those that traveled about as apostles. The passage in the *Didaché* is especially significant in this connection: "Concerning the apostles and prophets so do ye according to the ordinance of the gospel. Let every apostle when he cometh to you be received as the Lord; but he shall not abide more than a single day, or if there be need a second likewise; but if he abide three days he is a false prophet. And when the apostle departeth let him receive nothing save bread, until he findeth shelter; but if he asketh money he is a false prophet." It is clear that a man who is to be treated in this way by the congregation, who must be tested by his brethren, and whom they must not allow to remain more than a couple of days in any one place, cannot be an official ruler over them such as the episcopal theory assumes that the apostles were. Such treatment is just what we should expect if the apostles were traveling evangelists or missionaries, going from place to place to preach the gospel of Christ; but it is incredible if they were the official rulers of the churches to which they came. Think of a bishop upon making a visitation of his diocese being tried and tested by the various parishes in the way indicated! And think of his being obliged, as Paul was, to prove himself their bishop by an appeal to his character, his self-denying labors, his spiritual gifts! Evidently, whether in the case of Paul or of apostles in general, such authority as they exercised was purely spiritual and depended altogether upon the recognition by their brethren of their spiritual call and endowment. There is nothing in the epistles of Paul, or of any of the apostles, to indicate any other kind of a relationship between them and their converts, or between them and their churches. They issue commands, they speak with authority of

course; so did the prophets of Israel, so does any man conscious of uttering the word of God given him to speak. But they do not speak with authority because of any official relationship between themselves and those whom they address. Witness, for instance, the care with which Paul distinguishes the words of the Lord from his own opinions in 1 Cor., chap. 7, and notice what he says in vs. 25: "Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; but I give my judgment (*γνώμην*) as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful." It would be absurd, of course, to deny that Paul had and exercised a large measure of control over the churches which he founded; that he was in a very real sense their ruler as he was their father and founder; but such control every missionary may exercise over his churches and every evangelist over his converts. To those who are his spiritual children every missionary, evangelist, preacher, and teacher stands in the position of a father, and his will and his counsel carry a large measure of authority. And especially would this be the case if he were believed to be, as a true apostle was believed to be, divinely inspired to know and speak the will and truth of God.

But if the apostles held no official position within the early church, were they, as claimed by high-church men, themselves the church? Or were they the foundation of the church in such a sense that the church derives its powers from them and exists only because of its permanent connection with them? The only passage in primitive Christian literature which contains a hint of any such relationship between the church and the apostles is Eph. 2:19 f.: "So then ye are no more strangers and sojourners, but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone." It is to be noticed in connection with this passage that prophets—that is, Christian prophets, as appears from the order both here and in 3:5—are mentioned as well as apostles, so that we have no right to read into the term "apostle," as here used, any official character which we are not prepared to ascribe to the prophet; and it is to be noticed also that it is not said that the church,

but the Christians themselves who are addressed in the passage, are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Evidently Paul is thinking, as in the next chapter where he speaks of the mystery which has been revealed to the apostles and prophets in the Spirit, of the gospel preached to his readers by the apostles and prophets, upon which their Christian faith and life were built. There is no hint here, or anywhere else in the earliest literature, of any such relation to the church as made the apostles, all or any of them, essential to its existence, or essential to the salvation of its members, except in so far as they were agents in revealing God's will and truth to them; and that they were, not by virtue of their apostolic office, but by virtue of their divine gift.

I have spoken at considerable length of the apostles. Of the prophets and teachers, who are frequently associated with them in our early literature, only a word need be said. Like the apostles they were regarded as men especially inspired to declare the will and truth of God. No hard and fast lines can be drawn between the three classes. All were teachers in the broad sense. But apostles and prophets were apparently distinguished, as a rule, by the fact that they received immediate revelations from God, often in the ecstatic state, and so were more directly and exclusively mouthpieces of the Spirit than those teachers who gained their knowledge of divine truth chiefly through thought and study.<sup>18</sup> So far as the relation between apostles and prophets is concerned, the apostles were commonly prophets called to the special work of evangelization.<sup>19</sup> The call might be permanent, or it might be temporary and occasional. The indefiniteness of the boundaries between the three classes and the free interchange of names show how far they were from being specific offices or orders within the church. Apostleship, prophecy, teaching—they were only functions, whose frequent or regular exercise by one or another individual under the inspiration of the Spirit commonly led his brethren to call him an apostle or prophet or teacher. Of definite order or office there is no sign.

<sup>18</sup> See the passages referred to in footnote 15.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Acts 13:1 f.; 14:4, 14; *Didaché*, chap. 11.

Honor and spiritual authority among their brethren they all had, not by virtue of their official relation to the church or of their appointment by the church or over the church, but solely by virtue of their relation to Christ—of their possession of special spiritual gifts which made them in a peculiar sense his messengers and mouthpieces.<sup>20</sup>

We have seen that these apostles, prophets, and teachers had no official position within the church and that they had no official authority over it. But at an early day we find regular officers of one kind or another in this and that local church. Thus we hear already in the apostolic age of ἐπίσκοποι,<sup>21</sup> δίδασκοι,<sup>22</sup> ἡγούμενοι,<sup>23</sup> προηγούμενοι,<sup>24</sup> and so on; and early in the second century the three distinct offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon are testified to, at least in Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup> How and under what influences did such offices come into existence? The question is a large one, and can receive only the briefest and most summary answer here. It is quite enough for our purpose to explain the growth of organization in general, without attempting to trace the growth of the separate offices. It is not one or another particular form of government that we are interested to account for here, but only organization, officialism, institutionalism as such.

Three general influences promoted the rise of regular church officers:

First, the necessity of administering properly the charities of the church, which constituted a very important part of the life

<sup>20</sup> The prophets also, as well as the apostles, were to be tested that it might be known whether they were truly inspired; see 1 Cor. 12:3, 10; 14:29; 1 Thess. 5:21; 1 John 4:2, *Didaché*, chap. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Acts 20:28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:2; Titus 1:7; 1 Clement, 42, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8, 12; 1 Clement, 42.

<sup>23</sup> Heb. 13:7, 17, 24; 1 Clement, 1.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Clement, 21. The word *πρεσβύτερος* also occurs very frequently in the literature of the first century, but usually and probably always in an unofficial sense, with the meaning simply of an older Christian or one of the "elder brethren." The only passages where there is any reason to suppose that the term has an official significance are Acts 14:23; Titus 1:5; 2 John 1; 3 John 1; 1 Clement 44, 47, 54; and even in these passages, if 2 and 3 John be excepted, the word is probably to be taken in an unofficial sense (see McGIFFERT, *loc. cit.*, pp. 663 f.).

<sup>25</sup> See the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch.

of the primitive Christian communities—a necessity which led, for instance, to the appointment of the Seven in Jerusalem.

Secondly, the disorder and confusion in the religious services, which arose as a result of the principle that everyone not only may but should take part whenever prompted thereto by the Spirit. To what the principle led in Corinth we can see from a perusal of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. Such a disorderly state of affairs, of course, could not continue without ultimately wrecking the church. In dealing with the difficulties, Paul laid down two principles which were thenceforward to govern the conduct of the religious services: (1) that everything is to be done for the edification of those present;<sup>26</sup> and (2) that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;"<sup>27</sup> that it is the Christian's duty to refrain from taking part in the services, even though prompted thereto by the Spirit, unless he can contribute to the edification of his brethren.<sup>28</sup> The effect of these principles must be to limit the existing freedom and to open the way, not merely for the formation of regular orders of worship, but also for the appointment of regular officials, charged with the oversight and conduct of the services, that those who did not use discretion in the exercise of their spiritual gifts might be brought under control and all confusion and disorder prevented. The epistle of Clement of Rome, written a generation later to the same church of Corinth, shows how far the stereotyping process had gone in his day. Thus he says in chap. 40:

Forasmuch, then, as these things are manifest beforehand . . . we ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master has commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now, the offerings and ministrations he commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom he would have them performed he himself fixed by his supreme will; that all things being done with piety according to his good pleasure might be acceptable to his will. They, therefore, that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed; for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound

<sup>26</sup> 1 Cor. 14 : 26.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, vs. 32.

<sup>28</sup> See MCGIFFERT, *loc. cit.*, p. 523.

by the layman's ordinances. Let each of you, brethren, in his own order, give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience, and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in every place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the free-will offerings, or the sin offerings, and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the sanctuary in the court of the altar; and this, too, through the high-priest and the aforesaid ministers, after the victim has been inspected for blemishes. They, therefore, who do anything contrary to the seemly ordinance of his will receive death as the penalty.

What a tremendous contrast with the free spirit of primitive Christianity! And yet this passage was written by one of the leading figures of the church within a generation after Paul's death. It is interesting to notice how the author appeals to the Old Testament régime in support of his position; the old law being brought back to fetter the new, free gospel of Christ! It is worth noticing, too, that this epistle was addressed to the same church to which Paul wrote upon the same general subject, and that it was called forth apparently by disorders and dissensions similar to those with which Paul had to deal. In both cases abuses led to the limitation of the original spiritual freedom; but in the one case the controlling influence was found, at least indirectly, in the inspiring Spirit himself; in the other case, in a traditional and external system which had no possible relation to that Spirit in his present, living, moving power. The difference is characteristic of the different ages represented by Paul and by Clement. When Paul wrote, the original spiritual conception was too real, and his own and his brethren's personal consciousness of the possession of the Spirit was too vivid, to make possible a subjection of the Spirit to the control of uninspired men. But when Clement wrote, the original enthusiasm had begun to wane, while the abuses had gone on multiplying; and so the only effective remedy seemed to be the laying down of invariable laws which were never to be transgressed, and the appointment of regular officers who were to be implicitly obeyed.

A third influence leading to the organization of the individual church was the necessity for the exercise of ecclesiastical dis-



cipline. Already at an early day, as appears, for instance, in connection with the case of Ananias and Sapphira in Jerusalem, and of the unnamed offender at Corinth to whom Paul refers in 1 Cor. 5:2, serious offenses were committed within the Christian circle. Whatever may have been true in Jerusalem in connection with the former case, it is clear from the latter that there was no special tribunal or board of officers in Corinth charged with the duty of administering discipline. It is the church as a whole which Paul exhorts to deal with the offender, and no reference is made to church officers of any kind. But such occurrences ultimately made it seem necessary for a church to have some of its members charged with the duty of administering discipline, and this, with the other considerations mentioned, tended to promote the rise of regular ecclesiastical officers.

But it is to be noticed that all the functions referred to were regarded in the primitive church as truly spiritual, not merely secular functions.<sup>29</sup> Even the giving of alms for the relief of the brethren was a holy and sacred act. The alms were not merely human, but divine gifts, prompted by the Spirit and given for the Spirit's use. And the same was true, of course, of the conduct of the services, in which the religious life of the church voiced itself pre-eminently; and also of ecclesiastical discipline, which was exercised for the protection of the church, the body of Christ, that it might not be defiled by the presence of unworthy members and the Spirit be driven away from it. All these functions must be exercised under the control of the Spirit and in accordance with the will of Christ, the only Head of the church.

It was therefore to the apostles, prophets, and teachers—the spiritual men *par excellence*—that the church naturally looked first for the performance of these various functions, when the need of them began to make itself felt. But apostles, prophets, and teachers were not always present; or sometimes, as in Jerusalem, they were too much absorbed in other duties to permit them to give adequate attention to the functions referred to. Hence the need of substitutes began to be felt here and there,

<sup>29</sup> See SOHM, *Kirchenrecht*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f., 69 f.

and thus gradually regular officers, belonging to the local church and intrusted with special duties within it, made their appearance; sometimes simply recognized as charged with responsibilities which they had already voluntarily assumed;<sup>30</sup> sometimes appointed by an apostle or prophet or other especially inspired man;<sup>31</sup> sometimes formally chosen by the congregation itself.<sup>32</sup> But, however they were appointed, they were not regarded in the beginning as officers possessed of a legal right to rule over the church and to insist upon the obedience and submission of their brethren. The ability to discharge the functions referred to was a divine gift as truly as the ability to perform any other kind of Christian service; and, if anyone was appointed to official position, it was because it was believed that he possessed the requisite charisma.<sup>33</sup> If at any time his brethren doubted his possession of it, or if they recognized others as possessing it in larger measure, his right to perform his official functions might be gone. And the presence at any time of a genuine apostle, prophet, or teacher might make him altogether unnecessary.<sup>34</sup>

But, as time passed and the original dependence upon the Spirit grew less marked, and the need of external guarantees of law and order was more and more recognized, the conviction grew upon the church that an end must be put to the shifting leadership just described; and the regularly appointed officers of the church must retain permanent and absolute control of its activities. This principle was first voiced, so far as we know, by Clement of Rome in his epistle to the Corinthians, which was quoted from just above. The epistle was called forth by the existence of serious trouble in the Corinthian church, the cause of which we do not certainly know, but which may well have been due to a conflict between those who held that, when men possessed of special inspiration were present—men recognized as Christian prophets—they should take precedence even of the regular officers of the church, and should be given

<sup>30</sup> 1 Cor. 16:15.

<sup>31</sup> Acts 14:23; Titus 1:5; 1 Clement, 42, 44.

<sup>32</sup> Acts 6:5; *Didaché*, chap. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Acts 6:3; 20:28; 1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11; 1 Clement, 42.

<sup>34</sup> See *Didaché*, chaps. 9 and 15; 1 Clement, 44; HERMAS, *Vis.*, iii:1.

charge of the services and of the various religious activities connected therewith; and those, on the other hand, who maintained that the duly appointed officers should continue always in full control.<sup>35</sup> The former position was in accord with the primitive principle and practice, and seems to have been shared by the majority of the Corinthian church. The result, at any rate, was that some of the officers—perhaps those who stood for their own official rights over against the rights of prophets and other inspired men—were deposed from office.<sup>36</sup> It was apparently under these circumstances that Clement's epistle was written in the name of the church of Rome. After arguing the matter at some length, the author says:

Those, therefore, who were appointed by them [*i. e.*, by the apostles], or afterward by other men of repute, with the consent of the whole church, and have ministered unblamably to the flock of Christ, in lowliness of mind, peaceably, and with all modesty, and for a long time have borne a good report with all, these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin to us if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily.<sup>36</sup>

It is significant that in asserting the authority of the duly appointed officers of the Corinthian church Clement says nothing of the endowment or character of the prophets and teachers who had apparently displaced them. For aught that appears to the contrary, they were true prophets, and their teaching was beyond reproach. But Clement insists nevertheless that the authority of the regular officers of the church is supreme. They alone have control of the religious activities of the church, and no one else has any right to take part in those activities, except by their consent. It is still more significant that, in defending the rights of the officers of the church, Clement says nothing about their possession of the Spirit. The point which he makes

<sup>35</sup> See especially chaps. 14, 21, 38-48; and notice the references to spiritual gifts in chaps. 38 and 48, and the implication in chap. 54 that those who occasioned the sedition were spiritually minded and would find a welcome wherever they might go. For a discussion of the purpose of the epistle and the circumstances that called it forth see especially WREDE, *Untersuchungen zum ersten Klemensbrief*. Knopf's exceptions to the conclusions of Wrede (in VON GEBHARDT and HARNACK's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. XX, Heft 1) are in the main not well taken.

<sup>36</sup> Chap. 44.

is not that the authority of men especially endowed by the Spirit must be recognized by the church, but that the church must recognize and submit without question to the authority of its regularly appointed officers, so long as they have done their duty faithfully and honestly. Thus, according to Clement, an officer as such has an absolute right to rule in the church—the right to insist that his brethren shall obey and follow him. It is no longer a question as to his possession of a divine gift, and as to their recognition of it; but, quite independently of such a gift, if he is a regularly appointed officer of the church, his authority must be recognized.

This is the genuine official principle, and it was not long in gaining recognition everywhere, in part under the stress of difficulties similar to those which made their appearance in Corinth, in part under the influence of mere example.

But this is only one element in the system whose rise I am trying to sketch in brief and summary fashion. Let us examine the growth of the other essential features of the system. The various functions that have been mentioned as leading to the rise of officers within the church were all more or less closely connected with the conduct of the Lord's Supper.<sup>37</sup> From an early day the Lord's Supper constituted the most important part of the religious services of the Christians, and it was for its proper conduct as well as for that of other parts of the service that the need of a leader was early felt. Moreover, the alms of the disciples—the proper distribution of which early made the appointment of special officers or committees<sup>38</sup> advisable—were commonly offered at the eucharistic service, and so came into the hands of the leader of that service.<sup>39</sup> And, finally, it was in connection with the eucharist that discipline was chiefly administered. Offenders were excluded first of all from participation in the sacred feast. To it could be admitted only the pure and holy.<sup>40</sup> And so the exercise of disciplinary functions naturally fell to the one or more who were in control of the Lord's

<sup>37</sup> See SOHM, *Kirchenrecht*, Vol. I, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Acts, chap. 6.

<sup>39</sup> JUSTIN, *Apolog.*, I, 67.

<sup>40</sup> See 1 Cor. 11 : 27 ; *Didacht*, chap. 9 ; JUSTIN, *Apol.*, I, 67.

Supper. Thus it was that the duties of the early officers centered in the eucharist, and its administration was regarded as their chief concern, and their right to perform it their greatest privilege.<sup>41</sup> Clement's assertion, therefore, of the sole right of the regularly appointed officers to take charge of the religious services of the church involved their exclusive right to conduct the eucharistic service, and he undoubtedly had this in mind when he referred to their offering the gifts of the bishop's office.<sup>42</sup>

The limitation of the right and privilege of administering the eucharist to the regularly appointed officers of the church did not necessarily mean that a valid eucharist—a true Lord's Supper—could not take place independently of such officers; that it had a character, when administered by them, which did not attach to it under other circumstances, and which alone made it a real eucharist or Lord's Supper. But Ignatius of Antioch, early in the second century, goes so far as to assert this principle distinctly. According to him, the eucharist is a valid eucharist only when administered by the bishop or his representative.<sup>43</sup> That Ignatius testifies to the existence of monarchical episcopacy in Asia Minor, whereas Clement knows only a plurality of officers in charge of an individual church, is a matter of minor concern to us. But it is a fact of very great importance that he explicitly denies the validity of a eucharist administered independently of the bishop, for in the principle thus expressed lies the root of clerical sacerdotalism, which is an essential part of the system we are here particularly concerned with.

During the second century the eucharist became the great sacrifice of the church, and its chief sacrament or means of grace. Into the influences under which this took place, and into the influences which led to the development of sacrificialism and sacramentarianism in general, I cannot enter here. But I wish to call attention to the fact that the principle that the eucharist is not a valid eucharist unless administered by the bishop or his deputy—that is, unless administered by a clergyman—involves the further principle, when the eucharist has become a true sacri-

<sup>41</sup> Notice the use of the particle *οὐν* at the beginning of chap. 15 of the *Didaché*.

<sup>42</sup> Chap. 44. <sup>43</sup> *Smyrnaeans*, 8; *Ephesians*, 5; cf. SOHM, *loc. cit.*, pp. 193 f.

fice and sacrament, that the clergyman possesses sacerdotal powers which the layman does not share; that, as distinguished from the layman, he is a true priest.

By the middle of the third century the sacrificial and sacramentarian principles were so fully developed that the church had ceased to be thought of as a community or body of men in whom Christ dwells, and had become a means—the only means—of salvation, because in it alone can sacrifices well pleasing to God be offered, and in it alone can the sacraments be administered, through which saving grace is mediated to sinful men. And so it was no longer Christian believers that made up the Christian church, but the duly appointed clergy—those empowered to offer the sacrifices and administer the sacraments; and the lay Christian became dependent upon them, not for instruction and assistance and leadership alone, but for his very salvation.

The contrast between all this and primitive Christian conceptions is very striking. There is absolutely no hint in our sources that in the apostolic age any particular class of Christians possessed sacerdotal powers not shared by believers in general. The Apocalypse of John calls all Christians priests,<sup>44</sup> and certainly where Paul's idea of the individual Christian as the temple of the Holy Spirit prevailed no sacerdotal distinctions could exist. Moreover, there is no sign that in the apostolic age a special minister was necessary in order to the valid administration of the eucharist. Evidently no such minister was in charge of the service in Corinth when Paul wrote his first epistle to the Corinthians. It is true that disorders such as occurred there led ultimately to the appointment of officers to take charge of the services of the church, including the eucharist. But that was simply for the sake of order and decency. Clearly there was nothing in the service, as Paul understood it, that made its validity depend upon its administration by a particular man or class of men. And it did not first become a true eucharist or Lord's Supper when it was put into the charge of regular officers.

The whole sacramental and sacerdotal theory of the Catholic

<sup>44</sup> Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6; cf. 1 Peter 2:5, 9.

church—Anglican as well as Roman—is a post-apostolic growth. But it was fully developed by the middle of the third century, when it found clear and complete expression in the writings of the great bishop Cyprian of Carthage,<sup>45</sup> and soon thereafter it had become the common possession of the church at large.

Meanwhile another essential factor in the system which we are considering was growing up, the theory, namely, of apostolic succession. Clement of Rome first claims apostolic succession for ecclesiastical officers. According to him the officers of the church of Corinth—whom he calls by several names: rulers, bishops, appointed presbyters—received their office either immediately or mediately from the hands of apostles.<sup>46</sup> Clement says nothing of apostolic grace, or of priestly powers conferred upon the officers by the apostles. He calls attention to their apostolic succession only to show that they have a good title to their office, and ought not to be removed therefrom without due cause. But the reference is significant nevertheless. Ignatius makes no use of the idea. He says nothing about the apostolic appointment of church officers, nor does he represent the bishops as successors of the apostles. But the direct connection between the apostles and the officers of the church, or the bishops, who had become supreme by the middle of the second century, was made much of before the end of that century by the opponents of the Gnostics. The latter claimed apostolic authority for their teachings. In order to show the falsity of their claim, Irenæus and other old Catholic Fathers appealed to the truth handed down by the apostles in apostolic Scripture canon and apostolic rule of faith. But neither standard proved adequate to the situation, and recourse was then had to the bishops. Having come long before into general control of the eucharist and the other religious services of the church, they had already succeeded very largely to the teaching functions of the early apostles, prophets, and teachers.<sup>47</sup> It was claimed now, under the stress of dire need, that, having received their office in direct succession from

<sup>45</sup> *E. g.*, *Epp.* 63, 2 f., 9, 14, 17; 48, 4; 59, 5; 66, 1 (HARTL's edition).

<sup>46</sup> Chaps. 42, 44.

<sup>47</sup> See *Didaché*, chap. 15.

the apostles, as Clement had claimed for the officers in general, they had received with it apostolic grace which guaranteed the correctness of their transmission and interpretation of apostolic truth.<sup>48</sup> And so there was claimed for them the possession of special apostolic grace which the rest of the church did not share—grace which could be handed down to after ages only in regular succession from bishop to bishop. The combination of this idea with the idea of clerical sacerdotalism already described was effected by Cyprian in the middle of the third century.<sup>49</sup> And with the combination the high-church Episcopal theory of the church and the ministry was complete in all its essential features: *jure divino* episcopacy; the bishop necessary to the very being of the church, and outside of the church no salvation; apostolic succession; clerical orders dependent upon the bishop; clerical sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism. It is this theory which has been handed down through the centuries as the Catholic theory of the church and the ministry. Rejected by the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, including the leaders of the ecclesiastical revolution in England, it was maintained by the Roman Catholics and given clear statement at the council of Trent;<sup>50</sup> and it found its way into the Church of England toward the end of the sixteenth century,<sup>51</sup> became widespread there in the seventeenth, and has ever since been upheld by a large party within that communion; but it has never found a place in the official standards of the church and has never secured universal acceptance. A man may be in good standing in the Episcopal church, either in this country or England, whether he accepts or rejects it. As between the view of broad-church Episcopalians and the view of non-episcopal communions, there is no vital difference. Both stand on the platform of primitive Christianity in refusing to claim exclusive divine right

<sup>48</sup> See IRENÆUS, iii, 2, 2; 3, 4; iv, 26, 2; 33, 8.

<sup>49</sup> See, e. g., *Epp.* 3, 3; 33, 1; 55, 24; 59, 5; 66, 4; 69, 3; 73, 7, 21; 74, 7; 75, 16; *De Unit. Eccl.*, 6.

<sup>50</sup> Session xxiii.

<sup>51</sup> See FISHER'S article in the *New Englander*, 1874, pp. 121-72, and VEDDER in the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 1893, pp. 171 ff.



for the form of government to which they are attached, and exclusive validity for their own church and ministry. But high-churchism departs entirely from the primitive position. For in the primitive period, as has been seen, the church of Christ was not regarded as an institution possessed of divine grace independently of its members, and so conferring upon them something which they could not gain directly from the Spirit; no special priest class existed endowed with sacerdotal powers not shared by Christians in general; and ordination, so far as it was employed at all, imparted no special grace, and was not in the least requisite to the valid administration of the rites later known as sacraments.

## RELIGION AND THE TIME-PROCESS.

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THROUGHOUT the long series of changes of fashion in categories, which it is the business of the historian of philosophic and theological opinion to record, it is significant that the category which gives its very form and constitution to all human consciousness, as we know it here, is perhaps the one which has been most universally and consistently out of vogue, in the religious formulation of the meaning of life, of the nature of the good, and of the attributes of the supreme reality.

The concept of time, of becoming, of process as such, is one with which all reflective religious thought, no less than merely speculative metaphysics, has had the greatest difficulty in dealing. It has seemed impossible to assign any worth or any really rational meaning to the fact that this world exists under the form of time ; that it is a scene where

"Man is hurled

From change to change unceasingly ;"

that the human will is ever compelled to reach out after a future good not yet realized, and the human intelligence to apprehend truth through a successive and discursive process, beyond the utmost achievements of which lies ever the unapprehended truth of the future. And most of the subtler theologies, both oriental and occidental, agreeing in few things, have agreed in declaring that in so far as this world is temporal and changeful it is no fit object for the enlightened will to fix itself upon, and that process, becoming, outreach toward the unrealized, can be no factor in the mode of existence enjoyed by the most perfect and real Being, nor in that contemplation of, or participation in, the divine perfection, which religion sets before men as the supreme good and true end of desire. The historical vicissitudes of the relation between religious thought and the time-notion this article proposes to set forth, with some of the psychological reasons for

those vicissitudes; and it will urge in the outcome that the religious reflection of the future will be obliged to assign, in its theology and in its theory of worth, a place and value to the idea of becoming which will be very different from that assigned to it by almost all the religious reflection of the past.

## I.

The reasons why religion has so generally taken such an antipathetic attitude toward the conception of temporal change are not hard to see. The great interest of religion is, first, to define the *summum bonum*, to hold out to men the vision of such a truly final and adequate and self-justifying end to aspire to as shall be lastingly capable of controlling the will by dominating the moral imagination; and its second—and essentially secondary—interest is to define the *ens realissimum* in such a way that it shall appear either as a perfect type or expression of the particular sort of good which the particular religion sets before its followers, or as a means and assistance toward the attainment of that good, or as both. In their views, both about this end and about this reality, almost all the great historic world-religions have been more or less completely and consistently “otherworldly.” By the true otherworldliness I mean, not a preoccupation about a future life which may or may not be different in kind from the present life, but a disposition to define both ultimate Being and genuine Worth in terms of their “otherness” to the characteristics of the common experience of the life in time and place. The logical procedure by which religious thought has most commonly reached its conception of the good has consisted in analyzing the aspects of experience which seem to be inherently implicated in its irrationality and evil, and then in making the good lie in the negation of those aspects, while at the same time giving a very positive value to that negation. And, in proportion to the depth of the moral experience and the profundity of the reflective insight of the religious thinker, this *contemptus mundi* has, in the history of religion, more and more attached itself—not, as for the unreflective and naïve religious consciousness, to the mere accidents and superficial details of

the terrestrial life—but to the very logical conditions and constitutive framework of that life. And no aspect of experience has so generally seemed to require to be negated in the definition, either of the one true good or the one true entity, as has temporality and change. Why such a view was not only a natural but an inevitable stage in religious thought may most clearly be seen by analyzing the motives which determine the character of the great religious philosophies of India—specifically of the Vedanta and of Buddhism. Two considerations led these schools to their condemnation of the time-process. The first is the outcome of a peculiar cosmological preconception of Hindu thought, as a result of which the world-process as a whole appears inherently to lack any rational significance, any genuine finality. This preconception is, of course, the belief in world-cycles; but the root of the belief in world-cycles is the assumption of the literal infinity of the series of temporal changes, in both directions. Any end which is to appeal to the will must be capable of seeming interesting; but the idea of the infinity of the world *a parte ante* as well as *a parte post* means the death of interest and the destruction of significance in any series of changes. For, so contemplated, the world-process not only can have no literal end, but it cannot even be conceived to have any movement or direction toward an end. Having begun nowhere, it leads nowhither; and the mind, if it is to give to this unachieving sequence any rational order and form at all, can do so only by imagining it as a circular process, ever returning upon itself to repeat the selfsame round throughout the endlessness of time. To the Hindu, therefore, existence appears, not as a stream moving by a definite course through a various landscape, but as a boundless ocean of little waves that rise and fall and rise again in a senseless and barren iteration. One age differs neither for better nor worse by reason of the ages that went before it. In the Buddhist cosmical myth even the religion of Gotama accomplishes no continuous and progressive salvation of the world, but only a periodically repeated salvation of a few out of the world; and what is certain is that even the Wheel of the Law itself will eventually cease to turn, and will require the

intervention of new Buddhas—new, but in attributes and doctrine ever the same—to start it again, and yet again, upon its identical course. The will, under such a preconception of the futility and wearying repetitiousness of the world-process, finds itself in the presence only of a vague and troubled immensity, in which there is no significant end, no cumulative movement, to which it can attach itself. The only good, then, seems to consist in turning away from the world of time, and, by rigorously stripping the mind of all its natural attachments to temporal things, to bring it into participation in the unbroken unity of the universal Atman or the timeless peace of Nirvāna.

The second motive for the elimination of the time-notion from the conception of religious good gets its clearest and most forcible expression in the psychological doctrine of Buddhism; and this motive depends upon no external cosmological presupposition, but upon the observation of the intrinsic nature of the relation between time and human volition. The fundamental principle of the whole religious teaching of the Pāli *Piṭakas* is that time is the root of all evil. In the formula of the "Three Characteristics," which sums up the grounds for Buddhism's pessimistic attitude toward the life of natural experience, the first characteristic is *aniccam*, "change" or "impermanence;" and the other two, as plenty of passages in the *Piṭakas* make clear, are only deductions from the first. The "misery" of the world, and its "lack of substantive reality," are necessary consequences of the fact that it is, in its inmost nature, nothing but a process of endless becoming (*bhava*). The reasons why change involves misery are what the Buddhistic psychological analyses, as contained especially in the "Formula of Dependent Origination," are designed to make clear.<sup>1</sup> The will—if I may briefly summarize in modern terms what I think is unmistakably the determining insight of Buddhism—is simply a tendency to reach out after satisfaction; and the attainment of satisfaction would mean the cessation of outreach, since the one conception

<sup>1</sup> For an attempt to elucidate in detail this analysis, see the writer's paper, "On the Buddhistic Technical Terms *upādāna* and *upādāsesa*," in *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII.

implies the negation of the other. But so long as the will fixes itself upon any objects that can arise or alter or perish in time, so long it is sure to find only an endlessly renewed dissatisfaction. For, under the law of constant change, the object, once possessed, will not remain the same. And, on the other hand, the will, too, cannot remain the same; as the tide of desire ever shifts and fluctuates, the object once yearned after, when attained, soon becomes a source of *ennui*. The will in time is constitutionally incapable of doing aught but grasp after the unpossessed, after the supposed good which lies just beyond; in the temporal life "man never is, but always to be, blessed." In short, then, existence under the form of time, and the attainment of the good, constitute two mutually contradictory ideas. Salvation, therefore, can, in the nature of the case, be gained by no other process than by suppressing all volitional forthreach, by abstracting the will from the temporal order. The Buddhist ethics sets forth the methods of spiritual discipline through the persistent exercise of which this supreme good may gradually be reached.

It is, however, more pertinent to the purposes of this paper to recall the forms which the religious and metaphysical negation of the time-process has taken in the thought of the Occident. To a degree hardly yet adequately recognized, the sources, not only of the formulated theology of the ancient and mediæval and much of the modern world, but also of the form and logical outlines of the average and untechnical religious thought, are to be found contained whole and entire in Platonism. It was Platonism that first laid down the principle, which was to become the universal assumption of the theology of the Christian church, that the absolutely real Being is identical with the supreme perfection, the *ens* with the *bonum*; it was Platonism also which first clearly conceived the religious life in the way that it was thereafter to be conceived by all the more reflective piety of Christianity, as consisting essentially in the *ὁμολογία τῷ θεῷ*, in the *imitatio dei*. And, what is most important of all, it was in Platonism that those formal preconceptions which were to determine for many centuries all the more philosophical views

about the divine nature and the nature of the good, got their earliest and most influential manifestation. The Platonic view of the world, if one leave out of account the secondary and inconsistent features of it expressed in the myths, was the strictly logical issue of a consenting twofold dialectic, of which the one side turned upon ontological categories, the other upon the categories of worth; both led to the inevitable conclusion that both the good and the real, which are one and the same in God, are essentially free from all change and movement and activity, are completely alien to all temporal becoming. The ontological side of this reasoning was, of course, simply a repetition of the old dialectical principle of the Eleatics, that, since only being is, "becoming" cannot, in a rational sense, be esteemed real; the other side of the argument — the side of which the precise character and importance is less commonly recognized — was rather Socratic in its origin, a development from the teaching and example of that singular genius from whom all the most distinctive currents of ancient thought descend. At bottom, the logical essence of the conception here is closely related to the thought which we have seen to be fundamental in Buddhistic pessimism; but the form of it is, of course, very different. God is to be defined by Plato as "the Good;" but what is the significance, the distinctive generic mark, of the concept "good"? The answer to this question was the one feature common to all the Socratic schools. The good, it appeared, must be defined by its relation to the will, and must be the opposite of that state of the will to which a desired end is absent. In a word, the good seemed to mean self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*); as Plato says in the *Philebus*: "The good differs from all other things that are in that the being who possesses it has the most perfect sufficiency and is never in need of anything else." The concept was thus defined by most of the disciples of Socrates, not in terms of any specified concrete content, but in its purely formal essence, and chiefly as the negation of that one, empirically well-known, generic characteristic of the not-good — namely, insufficiency or dissatisfaction. So understood, the idea of perfection, when carried up into the

absolute, proved to have the same metaphysical implications as the Eleatic idea of being; the perfect must be one, simple, ontologically independent of external relations to other entities, and, above all, free from all mutability, from all activity or outreaching of volition. If God was the perfect good, then he must be a perfected and static good, free from all participation with, or entanglement in, this moving, striving world of particular and imperfect beings. Such was the "perfectionist theory of worth," as I may call it, which in various modifications was to control the metaphysics, the theology, and the ethics of many succeeding centuries, pagan and Christian. With Plato himself, the logic of this formal perfectionism is dominant, not only on the religious side of his thought, but equally in his politics and in his theory of education. The one criterion of value which he applies alike to the character of an individual and to the constitution of a state is that of formal unity, simplicity, and changelessness, always at the expense of diversity of content and progressive movement. The good man is the man of a single, self-contained, unaltering temper of mind, who never for a moment, even in jest or for dramatic or poetical purposes, allows himself to depart from that stern uniformity of mood; and to such a pitch will he carry his self-sufficiency that he will make no great lament over the death of his friends, "since such a man contains within himself in the highest degree whatever is necessary for a happy life, and is distinguished from the rest of the world by his peculiar independence of anything other than himself." So, too, the state must not be allowed to grow beyond the point which is consistent with internal unity; and its constitution, once fixed upon a philosophical basis, must never be changed or amended.

In all the post-Socratic schools of thought—even in those whose metaphysics and cosmology are most remote from Plato's—it is possible to trace the working of this dialectic of the concept of abstract perfection. It is to be seen in Aristippus's idea of a *μονόχρονος ἡδονή*—of a succession of moments each in itself perfect and free from outreach toward the future, although unfortunately destined to pass away in the future and be superseded



by other moments. It is to be seen, obviously enough, in the Epicurean ideal of ataraxy. The generalization is demonstrably accurate that the ethical attitude, the practical theory of value of all the profounder thinkers of ancient philosophy, was ruled by a more or less constant conviction that mere diversity, richness of content as such, especially in the form of change and temporal process, absolutely is not, to the wise man, valuable or interesting in itself, but only as rationalized into a formal unity and immutability; and such rationalization in each case—though in each case differently—implied some sort of simplification, abstraction from the actual or potential richness of experience, arrest of the discursive movement of the understanding and of the will. In the intellectual life this meant a lack of interest in the mere inductive accumulation of details *qua* details; in the moral life it meant a withdrawal from the external, a circumscribing of emotion and sympathy and activity within the limits in which it was possible to maintain the self-sufficiency and unchanging oneness of the inner life. Not even in those instances where the motives tending to counteract this are strongest—in Aristotle, for example, and in Stoicism, with its nominal apotheosis of the principle of motion, and its conception of virtue as a sort of tension—can a penetrating criticism fail to find that this "perfectionist" presupposition is the most persistently influential motive. Aristotle's theology, indeed, gives the clearest expression that is to be found in the classical period of Greek thought of what the presupposition in question leads to. The Aristotelian deity, pure form without determinate content, desiring nothing, doing nothing, eternally engaged in contemplating the emptiness of his own simplicity, maintaining his perfection only through his transcendent ignorance of, and indifference to, the struggling world of imperfect entelechies—such a conception is the adequate and consistent product of the underlying logic of the classical theory of worth. The affinity of this conception with such an oriental one as that of the Vedanta is obvious, and some recent critics have consequently been led to hold that Aristotle, as a result of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander, had come under the influence of eastern speculation. But such a

theory is entirely gratuitous, and can arise only from a failure to see how the Platonic dialectic, turning upon the concept of abstract self-sufficiency, had such a theology as Aristotle's for its necessary outcome. Even to account for the degree of mysticism and otherworldliness reached much later in Neoplatonism, it is not necessary to invoke oriental influences. It has become the fashion very greatly to overstate the remoteness of the Platonism of Plotinus from the Platonism of Plato. In truth, the logical methods and the determinative presuppositions which produced the former were derived wholly from the latter. The Neoplatonic absolute is really a no more mystical, "otherworldly," and "superessential" entity than is the Idea of Perfection of Plato or the God of Aristotle. There was very certainly a deeper mysticism in the actual tone of the religious feeling of the Neoplatonists, and this led them to dilate with greater rhetorical exuberance upon the mystical and paradoxical aspects of their conception of deity; but if we consider, not the temperaments of the philosophers, but the logical import of their ideas, we shall see in the systems of Plotinus and Proclus (except for their emanationism) the legitimate issue of the most characteristic preconceptions of Greek thought.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to attempt to analyze the implications of the primitive teachings of Christianity concerning the meaning and worth of the time-process, and the general question of otherworldliness. That is a large and rather difficult problem that would require separate treatment. But if we turn to the developed forms of historic Christianity, after it had left its original Semitic environment and had adjusted itself to the religious and philosophical traditions of European thought, we find dominant the same theory of the good, with its negation of the temporal. There were certainly some things in that part of its doctrine which the church owed to its Jewish origin that worked against this tendency. We have seen that there were two reflective grounds for the denial of the worth and reality of process in time; one was the belief that the external cosmical process as a whole could have no significant purpose or finality; the other was the belief that the attainment of the good

meant the termination of volitional movement. The former of these beliefs, latent in most Greek thought as well as explicit in oriental, could hardly be admitted by the Christian theologian. Christianity has always, no doubt, been nearest to its true and original type when it has been most faithful to the spirit of Jewish prophetism, to that essentially Hebrew habit of mind which consists in looking upon the history of the world as a continuous and significant drama, having a beginning, a middle, and an end, and an increasing purpose running through the whole. And a characteristic phenomenon which marks the early phases of the conjunction of Judeo-Christian and Hellenic ideas is the first appearance of the philosophy of history. In the theology of Origen this wholly novel sort of intellectual interest manifests itself in a striking way. The notion of the possibility of such a thing as a comprehensive philosophy of history must be considered to be a peculiarly Christian contribution to the Occident's stock of general ideas. Such an idea, once introduced, necessarily made historic changes, the temporal sequence of events, the temporal activities of men, appear meaningful, and therefore interesting, as they had never appeared before. And Christian theology has never been able wholly to rid itself of this view of the world-process. But it has usually made the view of little practical effect or religious value, by conceiving of the goal toward which the world-process was supposed to move, as the consequence of a cataclysm produced chiefly by powers from without, not as the gradual and consecutive outcome of the time that now is, and of the continuous efforts of human wills therein. In Catholicism and Protestantism alike, religious philosophy of history has tended to degenerate into chiliasm; and chiliasm has always meant, not a lessening, but an intensification of practical otherworldliness.

In any case, the second and more profound of the motives which had elsewhere led to the exclusion of "becoming," and therefore of volition, from the idea of God and of the good, was fully present in the theology of the church; the Neoplatonic and the Aristotelian influences which between them gave shape to mediæval thought necessarily insured this. The same argu-

ments whereby the perfection of the deity was shown to involve his simplicity and immutability were repeated again and again by heterodox mystic and orthodox schoolman; the same ideal of human blessedness as consisting in detachment from the temporal and the diverse, and the fixation of the mind upon the changeless, the indivisible, and the eternal, was put in practice anew, with all the help and convenience in doing so which came from elaborate organization. The church, to be sure, was fertile in compromises and concessions on these matters. On the theoretical side, she was confronted by the difficulty, which had already confronted Plotinus, of making it intelligible how a non-temporal God could be conceived to create and rule a temporal world, and how the simplicity and perfection of God were consistent with the existence of a divided and imperfect world. Her whole ontology, therefore, was a compromise between the Jewish conception of God as Creator of a real universe which is the field wherein take place the moral struggles of independent agents, and the conception of the thoroughgoing mystic who declares that only the One and Eternal is, and that the temporal world is sheer nonentity and illusion. On the practical side was the analogous difficulty of reconciling the moral teaching which made man's greatest virtue to require celibacy, withdrawal from the world, abstention from terrestrial ambitions, with the purposes of a church which felt itself called upon to dominate the world and ever enlarge its own borders. Here, too, therefore, were compromises, adjusted with supreme skill; the church had its well-defined system of "natural virtues," its scheme of terrestrial values, with which the greater part of mankind was expected to content itself. An ethical inconsistency still more significant found a place, the inevitable inconsistency which is to be found in the actual practice of every mystic or moralist whose theory of worth is an abstract ideal of individual perfection. The holder of such a doctrine is always obliged to retreat from his professed faith that formal perfection and quietude of will are the sufficient good, by practically admitting that still better than the actual enjoyment of such a good is the activity of preaching it. It was this happy incon-

sistency which made the released cave-dweller, in Plato's myth, turn away from beholding the sun and the fair landscape of the Ideas, and go back into the gloom of the cavern to tell his former fellow-prisoners of his vision. It was the same inconsistency which allowed Gotama under the Bo-tree, when Nirvāna—that is, according to his own doctrine, the only and the sufficient good—was within his reach, to turn away from it, and devote himself for fifty years to the very earthly and temporal business of preaching the new way of salvation, and of founding and organizing an order. The mediæval church similarly was obliged, not only to permit, but to encourage this inconsistency. As Thomas Aquinas taught:

Of its kind the contemplative life is of greater merit than the active. But it may happen that one individual merits more through the works of the active life than another through the works of the contemplative, if, with an abounding love for God, to the end that God's will may be fulfilled and for his glory, one endures to be separated from the sweetness of divine contemplation for a season.\*

The result of this concession was one of the interesting historical paradoxes of the Middle Ages—the number of great mystics who, called by the church or the state from their cloisters, proved themselves supremely capable men of affairs; using the self-discipline which had been the peculiar gain of their otherworldliness as an instrument in the furtherance of this world's work. But, in spite of all these compromises, there could be no doubt that *Weltflucht* and the attainment of a changeless quietude of will were the moral ideals which the church held out to those who would really follow its counsels of perfection; and there could be no doubt that the logically more fundamental element in the church's idea of the divine nature was to be found, not in the "positive," but in the "negative theology;" not in the conception of God as moving and achieving ends in time, but in the conception of the *Deus omnino immutabilis*.

The Protestantism of the past has seldom had such a definite philosophy as this behind its theology and its conception of the Supreme Good. Philosophic profundity and dialectical thoroughness have never been the characteristic virtues of Protestant

\* *Summa*, II, 2, q. 182, art. 2.

thought; and, under the circumstances, could not have been. Even more conspicuously than Catholic dogma, the traditional body of Protestant conceptions has been a compromise, a transitional *Vermittelungstheologie*, historically justifiable as a means of passing gradually and normally from the mediæval to the modern *Weltanschauung*. Just as the historic Protestant theory of the sources of religious knowledge has been an unstable compromise between rationalism and authoritarianism, so likewise have Protestantism's theory of worth and its general view of the meaning of temporal process been equivocal and shifting. Yet here, too, the dominant (though the steadily weakening) tendency has been toward the otherworldly mode of conceiving these matters. As regards the method of religious knowledge, Protestantism has gone beyond the mediæval church, in holding that the flow of time and the movement of history are wholly meaningless and irrelevant; up to the first Christian century, religious truth was accumulated progressively, but since that time it has become a stationary "deposit," to be continually reappropriated by succeeding generations, but in no wise to be enlarged or corrected by man's expanding knowledge and increasing experience. In this respect, then, the fact that the human race lives under the form of temporal progression has been a fact of no religious import. As regards the conception of God, popular Protestant belief has happily and unreflectively thought of the divine nature in temporal and anthropomorphic terms, although a vein of mysticism has now and again made its appearance. Of the two Protestant theologians who have been men of philosophic genius, Calvin seems to have preferred to think of the deity chiefly as creator and ruler of the universe in time, and intimates that to pass beyond this in thought is to exceed the legitimate limits of human inquiry.<sup>3</sup> But the greatest philosopher among Protestant religious teachers, Jonathan Edwards, gives us something very much like a Christian Neoplatonism in his doctrine of God and his doctrine of the good, and shows himself to be wholly dominated by perfectionist pre-suppositions. In his treatise *On the End in Creation* the old

<sup>3</sup> *Institutes*, Book I, 14.

Platonic argument from God's self-sufficiency to his "otherness" and immutability reappears :

No notion of God's last end in creation is agreeable to reason which would truly imply or infer any indigence, insufficiency, and mutability in God; or any dependence of the Creator on the creature, for any part of his perfection or happiness. Because it is evident, by both Scripture and reason, that God is infinitely, eternally, unchangeably, and independently glorious and happy; that he stands in no need of, cannot be profited by, or receive anything from, the creature; or be truly hurt, or be the subject of any sufferings or impair of his glory and felicity, from any other being.

Finally, as regards the nature of blessedness, historic Protestantism has seldom attained to the subtlety of conceiving of this as literally transtemporal; but it has tended toward such a conception as its limit. The older evangelical thought found its object of religious aspiration, very certainly, in another world; and the difference between the two worlds consisted in the fact that existence here is essentially changeful, imperfect, striving, transitory, while existence there is an endless perfection and unaltering satisfaction, an eternal rest, free from passion, from hope, and from achievement, where the saints, becoming like God, are similarly, in their degree, superior to all real "indigence, insufficiency, and mutability." Even the less reflective forms of Protestant thought in the past would seemingly have answered in the affirmative Browning's question :

Is it true we are now and shall be hereafter,  
But what and where depend on life's minute ?  
Hails heavenly cheer or infernal laughter  
Man's first step out of the gulf or in it ?  
Shall man, such step within his endeavor,  
Man's face, find no more play or action  
But joy, that is crystallized forever,  
Or grief, an eternal petrification ?

And even the extreme logic of perfectionism, and the idea of a supra-temporal good, remain still in evidence in comparatively popular theological writings. Thus Mr. Inge concludes his recent book on *Christian Mysticism* with such philosophical reflections as these :

The human spirit beats against the bars of space and time themselves and could never be satisfied with any earthly utopia. Our true home must

be in some higher sphere of existence, above the contradictions which make it impossible for us to believe that time and space are ultimate realities, and out of reach of the inevitable catastrophe which the next glacial age must bring upon the human race.

And a writer belonging to another and very modern school of religious thought repeats still more clearly the old and essentially Platonic argument that man's consciousness of imperfection logically implies the reality and the attainability of a completed perfection—of which the perfectness can be defined only as the negation of the characters of common experience, so that it is "non-" or "supra-" everything—supraspatial, supratemporal, suprapersonal.

We could have no sense of imperfection, or feeling of the brief and transitory character of visible things, if we had not in us a standard of perfection, if we did not share in an eternal life—an existence in which is no variability nor shadow that is cast by turning. That we are thus conscious of the imperfection of our own lives implies not merely that our lives should be rooted in a perfect life, but that we should be personally conscious of this superpersonal perfection. . . . The facts of consciousness are not adequately expressed unless we say that we have experience of a real superpersonal perfection, whose appeal to us is . . . the motive and source of the effort to remove our personal imperfection.<sup>4</sup>

But if this be the "root of religion," our best historic teachers in religion are, not even the pseudo-Dionysius or Plotinus or Plato, but rather Shankara or Gotama Buddha.

## II.

Meantime—the observation is a fairly familiar one—the main current of distinctively modern reflection ever since the Renaissance has been characterized by an increasing rejection of otherworldliness, and of the implicit theory of worth, the ideal of abstract and formal perfection, or self-sufficiency, which had hitherto made otherworldliness of some sort or other inevitable. If the tendency of ancient thought, and of mediæval thought in so far as it was under Greek influences, was to conceive of good and reality in terms of pure form without content, the tendency of modern thought has been more and more to exalt richness of content at the expense of form. The worth of fulness and diversity

<sup>4</sup> REV. S. H. MELLONE, in the *New World*, September, 1896, pp. 522, 523.



of spiritual experience for its own sake has received ever clearer recognition in the prevailing system of values. To the oriental thinker, and to some of the ancients, the more particulars and details there were in the universe, the less interesting did the universe appear; the modern thinker looks upon each new detail as adding to the interest of the whole, and has learned to reverence even the unrationalized and uncoordinated fact. Not the general and the abstract, but the concrete and particularized, constitutes the essence of those ideas of worth and of being that are becoming dominant. And this new appraisal of experience, this valuation of life for life's sake, necessarily means that the good lies, not in perfection, but in process; not in absoluteness, but in wealth of forthreaching relations; not in self-sufficiency, but in the play of the soul's life that can come only through the give-and-take of social fellowship and struggle and passion; not, finally, in changelessness, but in activity, the strenuous vigor of the will as it presses forward into the future. This change in the presuppositions which govern men's estimate of things is now very widely apparent. One of the symptoms of it is the species of sanctity which has come to attach to the word "human." Our literary moralists most in vogue write, not now upon "the vanity of human wishes," but upon the beauty and excellence of simply "being human." The supreme desirableness of man's situation in this world is felt to be that it is essentially a struggling imperfection, that it knows the "glory of the imperfect," as Professor Palmer's familiar phrase runs. The human, indeed, one may almost say, has become the ultimate category of worth; the divine, in the older theological sense of the term, as a self-contained and motionless perfection, is looked upon as something very like an inferior mode of being. Or rather, the idea of the divine is in course of being transformed. In this case, as normally in religious history, the conception of deity follows the lead of the conception of the ultimate good for man. Having learned—almost too thoroughly—to define the good in terms of activity and to define human personality in terms of its social relations, the religious spirit of our generation summons the personality to set its affections upon social and objective ends

realizable under the conditions of time and space. The spiritual life is conceived to be something more than a closed circuit; the inner condition of the soul itself is recognized to be sane and excellent only when it consists in a resolute direction of the will toward the achievement, in an external and refractory world, of some good which has a social and collective significance—which possesses value for other and independent wills as well as for the agent's own. The real *religio*, the true piety of our time, is a piety toward the actual concrete relationships amid which a man finds himself. And as a generation's piety is, so will its God be also—though the relation has usually been read the other way about. A witty Calvinist, observing the signs of the times, has proposed a new version of the Shorter Catechism, in accordance with contemporary notions: "The chief end of God is to glorify man and enjoy him forever." The intended irony comes very near the truth; for the modern religious consciousness is tending toward the conviction that the "chief end of God" cannot, at all events, be an emptier or cheaper thing than the chief end of man; and that therefore God is to be thought of, not as an immutable and self-centered Unity over against the world, in whose beatific vision of his own perfections man may aspire to share, but rather as a supreme and archetypal Good Will, into the abounding fulness of whose forthgoing life man may enter simply by living whole-heartedly and generously and joyously in the world which he now and here knows.

All this change, however, did not come about at a stroke—if it can be said to have come about fully even yet. Three consecutive stages seem to be distinguishable through which the modern religious spirit, with its interest in the world of time, has been developed. The first of these stages is the deistic movement of the eighteenth century. That the characteristic tendencies of that century involved a perfectly self-conscious reaction against otherworldliness and mediæval and semi-mediæval ideals generally is sufficiently obvious. In its hostility to all mysticism and asceticism, in its optimistic desire to prove that this world is the abode of genuine worth, in its truly religious ardor for the reforming of society and the perfecting of

the species—in all this the Enlightenment presents the spectacle of an earnest endeavor to establish a “religion of this world.” But, in the form which it took, the endeavor was foredoomed to failure, for the reason simply that its theory of worth was in essence identical with that underlying the tendencies which it essayed to withstand. The philosophy of the Enlightenment did not, of course, follow out the idea of formal perfection to its profounder metaphysical and religious consequences; if it had, it would have completed the circle and fallen back into mysticism. But it proceeded throughout upon the assumption that, at least for society, the good means a condition of perfected and stationary equilibrium; it attempted to solve the problems of the universe by the methods of simplification and abstraction; and, above all, it knew of no conception whereby it could assign any rational meaning or ultimate value to the time-process. This is illustrated most clearly, of course, in the long controversy between the partisans of natural and of revealed religion. The position of the deists in that controversy rested upon the presupposition that any religious truth which is essential and necessary for salvation cannot be subject to development, cannot be historically mediated, but must be an unchanging possession of the human race at all times; and if unchanging, then, necessarily, very simple. The deist merely applied more rigorously the church’s criterion, the *quod semper et ab omnibus*; if changelessness and universality be the tests of truth in religion, then no revelation which came into the world at a particular moment of time and under particular historical conditions can be recognized as religiously fundamental. Christianity, so far as it is true, must be shown to be “as old as the creation;” that is to say, to contain no doctrine not within the reach of the common-sense of the most primitive and least sophisticated man. The same disregard of the conception of temporal development is to be seen again in the small place which that conception has in the arguments whereby the Enlightenment sought to justify its optimism. The theodicy of Leibniz, and still more that of Shaftesbury, was conceived wholly in terms of static perfection; it attempted to show that the universe as it stands

is an exquisitely ordered and harmonious unity, upon which the mind of the truly enlightened person will dwell in a frame of calm and disinterested æsthetic satisfaction. It was easy, however, for a Voltaire and a Hume later in the century to point out that, if such be the meaning of perfection, then "this place of wrath and tears" must be esteemed very far from perfect. And even the aspirations of the typical men of the century for social amelioration were marked—though in this case not without important exceptions—by the same lack of historical feeling, the same deficiency of any sense of the meaning of development or of the place which becoming has in the nature of things. Rousseau's preaching of the return to the state of nature is the classic example of this; such an ideal takes it for granted that in the historic process as such there is no worth at all. And even apart from Rousseau's influence, the political philosophy which produced the French Revolution was for the most part dominated by the supposition that, after a few relatively simple modifications of the social order, a really perfect and stable and lastingly satisfactory state of society could be reached, where each individual should live in simple contentment, enjoying the equipment of "rights" proper to every unit representing the abstract entity "man." The theory of worth which all these characteristic doctrines of the century exemplify was inherently incapable of affording a permanent basis for an optimistic "religion of this world." And, in point of fact, the Enlightenment type of thought eventually showed a tendency to break down into the sort of *Weltanschauung* to which it had at first appeared most opposed. It is a just remark of Dr. Lehmann's, in his excellent study of Schopenhauer, that, on the strictly logical side of his pessimism and mysticism, Schopenhauer's philosophy is to be regarded as one of the later products of the Enlightenment.

The second step in the progress of the new evaluation of this world of time was taken when European thought, by discovering the idea of a law of continuous and intelligible development inherent in nature and history, gained a canon whereby it could assign rationality and spiritual significance to the tem-

poral order of phenomena. In other words, this second step consisted in the removal of the first of those two preconceptions which we have seen to be the natural sources of otherworldliness—namely, the belief that the external, cosmical process contains no meaning and finality. The new *aperçu* received its first forcible expression in connection with the eighteenth century's special problem of the sources of religious knowledge. By his little manifesto, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, Lessing, as is well known, rendered whole libraries of eighteenth-century theological controversy forever obsolete, by denying the tacit assumption in which both deist and churchman had agreed—the assumption that religious truth is a fixed mass of propositions, not originally gained, and not now to be enlarged, by man's progress in knowledge and moral experience. Such a denial took the wind out of the sails of the deist's neat and simple rationalism; but it did the same for the revelationist's arguments concerning the need for an unchanging religious authority. And ever since, in the degree that Lessing's conception of a progressive revelation through experience and history has penetrated the general consciousness, the whole aspect of religious discussion has been transformed. This, however, was a very partial application of the idea of development. The new insight was soon extended, as everyone now knows, by the influence of the philosophies of history, Hegelian and other, of which there was such an outpouring in the earlier Romantic period; and it eventually became the master-idea of the middle of the century, through the establishment of the biological doctrine of evolution. Meanwhile, man's control over natural forces through applied science had increased marvelously; and as the result of all this the entire face of the universe appeared metamorphosed before men's eyes. Man seemed to have learned to put his hand upon the inner mechanism of nature to direct it to his own rational ends; and he seemed to have found in nature itself a law of advancement from lower to higher. Consequently the world that moves in time took upon itself, to men's vision, a glowing coloring of hope and purposiveness, such as it had never worn before. And religion, the really

characteristic religion of the period, ceased to find the object of its aspiration and the stimulus of its zeal in a world beyond this; it believed in, but it was not chiefly interested in, that other world. The social aims, the hopes of a collective terrestrial good, the vision of "the coming people," proved, and are proving, supremely absorbing to the moral imagination. A religion primarily "of this world" seemed, in the doctrine of development, to have at last found its justification. Such a religion, so justified, is at the present hour the burden of the gospel preached from scores of pulpits in the more liberal churches; it is the main inspiration of much of the earnest and truly religious devotion to the service of society which exists both in and out of the churches.

And yet, if this religion of evolution is based upon an interest, not in the process itself, but in the goal toward which the process is tending—if it derives its force from its visions of a perfection in the future—then we shall have to say that it too rests upon shifting and unstable grounds; that it cannot permanently justify itself before the religious consciousness. The end which it sets before the will is not such an end as can appear adequate and ultimately significant. There are three reasons for this. The first is the obvious fact that the doctrine of development does not, after all, remove that mysticism-breeding presupposition of the irrationality and purposelessness of the temporal process. The philosophy based upon the evolutionary principles of biology seems, in the last analysis, to lean to the side of the Oriental, and to give us something very like a doctrine of world-cycles. All our hot endeavors appear to avail nothing in the long run; to the scientific imagination they are only moments in a vast eternal turmoil of alternate growth and decay. Science does not, it turns out, give us teleology as her last word; it would appear that the secret of happiness in evolutionism lies in taking short views. And though, so long as things wag on comfortably, men may profess to be content with short views, it is not likely that they will forever be able to shut their eyes to the specter of that meaningless infinity of time; and the whole history of religion shows that the appearance of

this specter is usually followed by a recurrence of otherworldliness and mysticism. It is very true that we need not take the man of science too seriously when he is found among the prophets, predicting the future of the earth and man; but if we may refuse to be too greatly terrified by his vaticinations, we, at all events, cannot base any very definite optimism upon them. And, for the second point, if the worth of the evolutionary process be wholly derivative from the worth of its goal, that goal, if supposed attainable, must needs be an end capable of lastingly seeming interesting to the religious consciousness. But there are those among us who find no very great inspiration in the prospect of that remote terrestrial millennium which has Mr. Spencer for its prophet. Professor William James has had the sympathy of many readers when he has pointed out how inadequately that "tea-table Elysium" meets either the moral or religious needs of man. The ardent laborer in the service of society is likely to ask, sooner or later: "Does this self-complacent and commonplace, and withal transitory, contentment to be enjoyed by remote posterity, express the whole meaning and worth of my costly sacrifice and of my hard-bought virtue?" To the young enthusiast will come the chilling question which came to the young Stuart Mill: "Conceive this end of my endeavor finally attained, does it, after all, so greatly stir me or appeal to me?" And when this question comes, the enthusiast can escape pessimism only by doing as Mill did: by turning the eyes away from the distant goal and fixing them upon the simpler aims near at hand, upon the joys of the combat itself and the sense of human fellowship it brings. And, in the third place, such a goal, even if attainable, and if worth while, could not justify the slow temporal course whereby it was attained; and it could, therefore, afford no basis for a theodicy. Present and past reality remain none the less alien and hostile to perfection because future reality is to become perfected. Unless, falling back upon the *ignava ratio*, we are to call it all an unintelligible mystery, some logical or moral necessity must be shown why the good could be reached only after so sad and wearisome a prelude. For this reason, again, the doctrine of

evolution could yield no grounds for an optimistic view of this world. There have appeared of late more than one ingenious and well-meaning theodicy based upon evolutionary principles; but none of them seems to do more than illustrate afresh the difficulties inherent in the attempt to assign worth to individual and racial evolution solely by reason of the worth of its *terminus ad quem*.

But meanwhile, throughout the latter half of the present century, there has been increasingly coming to light, chiefly in poetry and untechnical reflective literature, what can only be called, in somewhat technical language, a new theory of worth; and the essence of it, as we have already seen, is the belief that the good lies, not in perfection, not in the arrest of forthreaching process, but has its very essence in movement and process itself. And this means the denial, at last, of that second and deeper and so plausible presupposition which always, in so far as its influence has been felt, has led thoughtful men to turn from this their world in time to some more or less thoroughgoing ideal of quietude and immutability. When the older literary inspirations—the classicism, the immature romanticism, the amiable evolutionary humanitarianism—that stirred the earlier decades of the century were dying out in moral impotency, this new insight has bred a new literary movement, that neo-romanticism which is so conspicuous and so significant a development in our recent literature. And this insight represents the final and extreme point of modern divergence from both the classical and the mediæval fashions of evaluating life. An inherent paradox has at length been discovered to lurk in the conception of good; it turns out that the good, which appears by its nature to be the end of the process of volition, is rather, in a deeper sense, a means to the reality and significance of the process whereby it is to be attained. The great and stirring game of existence must have its goals to aim at, and these goals must be invested with some seemingly independent value; but the reason for being, the justifying worth of the whole, is, not that the goal should *have been* reached, but that the game, with all the activity of will and thought and feeling which it calls for, should be played.



And the worth of every such fixed goal, therefore, can only be derivative, secondary, and transitory. With this radical transformation of the conception of value, the entire Platonic and Aristotelian scheme of the universe—which, as we have seen, has in its broad outlines formed the logical framework of European moral and religious thought, even where men have been least aware of it—gets now completely inverted. The human life in time—involving as it does real imperfection and insufficiency and aspiration—is explicitly declared to be the essential type of the good; and therewith the fundamental grounds of otherworldliness are denied—not because of any necessary disbelief in immortality, but because it is seen that any life worth living, now or hereafter, cannot be truly “*other*” than this life, if otherness means timelessness or any perfection garnered once for all. In justifying the temporal world, the type of reflection of which I speak does not, like the eighteenth-century optimism, declare the world to be supremely beautiful and harmonious and satisfactory for the world is verily of no such sort. Nor does this new “*religion of this world*” gain its inspiration, like the evolutionary meliorism, from the anticipation of some final earthly millennium when all conscious life shall have become placidly adjusted to its environment; for upon no such anticipation, both poor and uncertain, can the soul of man be sufficiently fed. Life is conceived to find its justification only in the living; not because it is harmonious and beautiful, for it is that only imperfectly; not because it yields happiness and contentment, for it does that only in brief moments; but because it gives to free spirits the one chance worth having here or elsewhere, the chance for conscious and growing knowledge and activity and love, the chance to enter heartily into the day’s work and know the joy of the working.

It is hardly necessary to point out in what writers of the century this conception of the nature of worth gets its literary manifestation. Carlyle—with his “*gospel of work*,” his glorification of the will, his interest in history as the record of the acts of personalities, his passion for the significant infinitesimal, for the small concrete things of history that carry with them some

poignant suggestion of the human spirit in action—may be looked upon as one of the early fathers of the new doctrine. Browning is, of course, the greatest and the most uncompromising and self-conscious of the preachers of it. "Perfection" is, it is hardly too much to say, the word which for him sums up all reproach; for perfection is the contradictory of what Browning, in his own peculiar sense, means by "love." Again and again, in differing aspects, he reiterates the one teaching which he seems, through all his dramatic forms of utterance, to be chiefly desirous of impressing. So, for example, in a familiar passage of "Old Pictures in Florence" he contrasts the classical with what he takes to be the Renaissance ideals in art:

They are perfect—how else? they shall never change:  
 We are faulty—why not? we have time in store.  
 The Artificer's hand is not arrested  
 With us; we are rough-hewn, nowise polished:  
 They stand for our copy, and, once invested,  
 With all they can teach, we shall see them abolished.  
 'Tis a life-long toil till our lump be leaven—  
 The better! What's come to perfection perishes.

In the poem called "Rephan" he tells the story of a soul native to a species of immutable and eternally perfect other-world, where are

No springs,  
 No winters throughout its space. Time brings  
 No hope, no fear: as today, shall be  
 Tomorrow: advance or retreat need we  
 At our stand-still through eternity?  
 All happy: needs must we so have been,  
 Since who could be otherwise? All serene:  
 What dark was to banish, what light to screen?

Of such a mode of being where all things are "merged alike in a neutral Best" this soul wearies:

I yearned for no sameness but difference  
 In thing and thing, that should shock my sense  
 With a want of worth in them all, and thence  
 Startle me up by an Infinite  
 Discovered above and below me—height  
 And depth alike to attract my flight,  
 Repel my descent; *by hate taught love.*

And so at length the awakened spirit is ready to be translated to a better sphere, that of imperfection; he hears the sentence of his release: "Thou art past, Rephan, thy place be Earth." Most strikingly of all does the same thought reappear in Browning's utterances concerning immortality. It is just because cumulative experience rather than perfection is the good, and because experience must necessarily be individual, that Browning's faith in the continuance of individual existence is so intense. But, as he insists in many often-quoted passages, the future life must be a *continuance* of that one endless process of expanding aspiration and love, not a transformation in kind, nor a cessation of all process.

"Strive and thrive!" cry "Speed," fight on, fare ever  
There as here!

And the same insight determines the character of Browning's conception of God. He has traveled very far from that thought of God which dominates the great poem that so wonderfully expresses the mediæval view of the world; to this interpreter of the modern spirit God is not the movelessness at the core of things, not the Peace "which quiets the center" of heaven (*Paradiso*, XXVII, 106-7, I, 121-2) in Dante's vision of the universe, but rather such a being as the dying Paracelsus learns at last to know:

I knew, I felt, what God is, what we are,  
What life is—how God tastes an infinite joy  
In infinite ways—one everlasting bliss,  
From whom all being emanates, all power  
Proceeds: in whom is life forevermore,  
Yet whom existence in its lowest form  
Includes; where dwells enjoyment, there is he;  
With still a flying point of bliss remote.

And, to leave Browning, a younger generation of writers has taken up the same note; all that is most vital and most characteristic in the more serious contemporary poetry is marked by this new faith in the supreme worth of aspiring imperfection, the great excellency of the life that strives in time, and by the utter rejection of the ideal of formal self-sufficiency, in man or God. Such men as J. A. Symonds and W. H. Henley and Kipling and Stevenson, whatever may be their several merits or deficiencies

as writers, have done much to save this generation from the pessimism, the spirit of decadence, and the dilettantism which a quarter of a century ago seemed so ominously threatening; and they have been able to do so only because they have learned more or less adequately a new doctrine of worth which was the true and illuminating outcome of the experience and reflection of the modern world. Stevenson, in particular, has been a very clear-speaking and persuasive popularizer of that doctrine. This literary artist, solicitous about unconsidered trifles of diction and phrase, was at heart a moralist—ethics, as he confessed, was his “veiled mistress;” and the main burden of his preaching was not easy to mistake. Not even Browning has set forth with fuller consciousness of its meaning the contrast between mediæval perfectionism and the modern spirit, than has Stevenson in the poem “Our Lady of the Snows,” addressed to the monks of the Chartreuse:

And you, my brothers, what if God  
When from heaven's top he spies abroad  
And sees on this tormented stage  
The noble war of mankind rage,—  
What if his vivifying eye,  
O monks, should pass your corner by?  
For still the Lord is Lord of might,  
In deeds, in deeds, he takes delight. . . .  
Those he approves that ply the trade,  
That rock the child, that wed the maid;  
That with weak virtues, weaker hands,  
Sow gladness on the peopled lands,  
And still with laughter, song and shout,  
Spin the great wheel of earth about.  
But ye!—O ye who linger still  
Here in your fortress on the hill, . . .  
Our cheerful General on high  
With careless look may pass you by.

Of the conception of worth which we have thus seen (perhaps too abundantly) illustrated it is easy to misinterpret the meaning in such a way as to seem to justify a new species of ethical and religious and æsthetic antinomianism, an essentially immoral view of things; and this danger, which does not wholly

fail to show itself in certain aspects of Stevenson and Kipling and Browning, appears at its maximum in another poet who has done much to teach the same general view of life to this generation—Whitman. Since not form, but richness of content; not perfection, but width and depth of experience, defines the good, Whitman delights in a thoroughgoing formlessness in morals and in art. And, since his religion has so fully fixed itself upon this temporal world and found in the excellence of the world the ground of its piety, he feels himself prevented from passing moral or æsthetic condemnation upon anything. One thing is as good as another, and a bit better; there is no lawlessness of crime, no vileness of lubricity, no cheapness of vulgarity, which does not add to Whitman's almost mystical rapture at the spectacle of the world's seething movement and endless variety:

I am not the poet of goodness only; I do not disdain to be the poet of wickedness also.

Consequently all moral distinctions are as alien to the nature of the God of Whitman's worship as they are, for the opposite reason, to the God of certain forms of oriental mysticism; whether you say that the world of temporal movement is wholly good, with Whitman, or wholly bad, with the Oriental, in either case you can no longer admit any differences of worth among the parts of it.

Silent and amazed even when a little child,

I remember hearing the preacher put God into his statements

As contending against some being or influence!

But it ought to be obvious that this moral, or immoral, position of Whitman's is, in reality, inconsistent with itself and with the conception of worth which he means to set forth. The inconsistency lies in the fact that he attempts to justify temporal process in terms of sensation and feeling, of bare intensity of emotion regardless of the content or significance of the experiences which arouse that emotion. But for feeling merely, the good cannot be anything but contentment, quietude, and satisfaction; and from such a standpoint real process and struggle cannot be justified. This is most clearly evident from Whitman's

own attitude toward life. He is interested in the struggles, the restless effort and activity and conflict, of other people; but for himself he prefers not to enter into the struggle, but to accept it as food for placid and benevolent emotion; he prefers not to be active in the world's strenuous conflicts, but to look on and approve of both sides. In his own fashion he is as truly a contemplative as Thomas à Kempis, although the object which he contemplates is not the divine perfection, but the human turmoil; and the self-contradictory nature of Whitman's thought is evident in the fact that, if all men were to adopt his distinctionless, all-approving, contemplative optimism, then the very conflict and aspiration which he wishes to contemplate would cease, the richness and variety of things would disappear with the disappearance of the distinctions between them. And a still deeper contradiction is apparent in the character of this optimism itself. What Whitman desired was to sympathize equally and impartially with all manifestations of human life, with the saint and the sinner, with the red slayer and the slain. But these men hate and oppose one another; and one who professes to love both alike can really sympathize with neither. Since antipathies and dissatisfactions are essential elements in the temporal striving of the will, he who would sympathize ubiquitously and find satisfaction universally knows nothing of the true nature of that striving, is ignorant of the inner meaning of life. It is a consequence of this that to some readers of Whitman, at least, the pictures of innumerable disconnected scraps of sensation in beast and man which he jumbles together and calls poetry, seem to illustrate, not the wealth and fulness, but the emptiness of life. For, though the different aspects of experience which he presents bear differing names, they amount always to one and the same thing, so far as the attitude of the poet toward them is concerned; each arouses the same vague, unvarying, and wholly superficial rapture, until the reader finds in Whitman's very different world the fault that made insipid the perfection of Browning's star Rephan, and

Yeans for not sameness but difference  
In thing and thing.

It is evident, then, that the temporal world can be called good only if worth be defined in terms, not of emotion, but of will; only if the joy which justifies life be the joy of purposeful action, the satisfaction which the self-conscious reason knows in its own dissatisfaction. The ideal toward which the modern theory of worth really tends, then, is not a wallowing in unorganized emotions, but the strenuous tension of the will, with the enjoyment of the very particular sort of vital feelings that go with such a tension. And in order to make these latter feelings possible at all, the *objective* ends of action must be looked upon as fixed and serious and significant—they cannot be a thing to play fast and loose with. The will must have its partial perfections to look forward to, its relative imperfections to hate, its provisional forms to shape its experience by; else the activity itself would cease to be real activity. And for any individual, the ends he is to seek, the rules of the game he is to play, are not altogether of his own choosing; they are settled for him by the circumstances in which his existence is cast, and especially by the social relations that define his place in the human world. But in all this there is nothing which compels us to admit that the game exists merely for the sake of the rules, or the activity merely for the worth of the ends which it accomplishes. By defining the process as the good we can see why fixed ends are necessary, and at the same time why they are not after all ends-in-themselves.

The consenting witnesses to this view which I have adduced have been chiefly poets and unphilosophical moralists; but it is a thing by no means rare in history for the philosophic interpretation and coherent formulation of a new insight to be the last instead of the first stage in its development. We are not, however, left to poetical feeling nor to our individual diversities of ethical taste, in deciding whether or not we should give to the time-process a central place both in our theory of worth and our theory of reality. There are two very good doctrinal reasons, the one of a religious, the other of a metaphysical character, which are as conclusive of the matter as they are simple; and these ought now to be briefly indicated. In the first place, as

has already been suggested, unless we recognize process rather than perfection to be the good, the problem of evil remains for ever incapable of any religiously satisfactory solution. For if, to use the old-fashioned phrase of Edwards, the "end in creation" be the attainment of any sort of stationary perfection, no philosophical necessity can be shown why the creation should first have been dragged through so long and tortuous a path of sin and misery and imperfection. The *de facto* existence of evil can be explained only by some sort of dualism, as Mill long ago pointed out—unless we are prepared to revise our conception of worth. The futility of many of the older palliative "solutions" of the problem has been sufficiently pointed out not long since by Professor Royce, in the article on "The Problem of Job" in his *Studies of Good and Evil*; and Professor Royce's own fashion of dealing with the ancient problem, though not at all palliative, is certainly no more satisfactory. His new *consolatio philosophiae* would discover in the doctrines of idealistic monism a higher synthesis where evil turns out to be good after all. Human life, no doubt, *is* miserable and sinful; and there is no reason to suppose it will ever grow less so. But all this mass of finite experience forms an integral part of the experience of the Absolute; and the absolute experience is wholly perfect and satisfied and triumphant, wholly what the Absolute Will eternally would have it to be. This, however, signifies in plain language that human imperfection is willed by God, not because struggling imperfection is for the finite creature itself a nobler condition, but because the divine perfection is the more enhanced thereby; it signifies that finite wretchedness and evil are served up as ingredients in the titillating zest of the divine enjoyment. Surely in so triumphant a synthesis the conventional distinction between the deity and the devil seems also to have disappeared. Philosophically inevitable such a conception might be; but it is hardly likely to be religiously consoling to anyone who understands it. Professor Royce's article is none the less a profound and significant contribution to the subject; and the singularity of its outcome is due to the author's attempt to do justice to two incompatible logical motives, that concern both



the theory of worth and metaphysics. The main problem of all the post-Hegelian idealism of which Professor Royce's system is the most subtly reasoned and highly elaborated example, has been to reconcile these two motives. On the one hand, the idealist must be loyal to the fundamental Hegelian notion of the "concrete" universal; some sort of genuine reality and worth must be assigned to the concrete world of related and imperfect experiences. But, on the other hand, the Absolute must be truly absolute and perfect, a timeless and self-sufficient *totum simul* of experience. The former element in the doctrine shows where it has learned from the course of modern reflection; the latter shows the continued survival of the "perfectionist" presuppositions of ancient metaphysics. But either element is bound to be fatal to the other; the absoluteness of the Absolute cannot consist with its concreteness. The religious insufficiency of this combination of warring categories has just been briefly pointed out; it remains to try to indicate no less briefly the main reason for holding it to be metaphysically impossible.

Such a doctrine as that of Professor Royce is the latest, as it is one of the most vigorous and ingenious, in a long series of attempts to make the coexistence of a temporal world and a supratemporal ultimate reality conceivable. We have seen how unsuccessful in this attempt were Platonism and the essentially Platonic theology of the mediæval church. If the most modern and most promising endeavor of the same sort fails, it is a fair presumption that the philosophy of religion is embarked on a hopeless enterprise when it essays to get rid of the notion of temporal process, even in its conception of the being of God. Now, the absolute idealist recognizes that the world of experience in time is no illusion, nor, in the equivocating language of the Neoplatonist and the schoolmen, explicable as mere negation or privation of the divine perfection. The only way, then, in which its reality can be reconciled with the achieved and motionless perfection of God is by conceiving it as embraced within the Absolute Experience. No jot or tittle of it must be uncontained within that universal whole; else the Absolute were no Absolute. We are called upon, then, to conceive of all the content of a

temporal world as possessed in an experience which is not temporal, but an all-beholding eternally changeless moment, wherein the future is no less present than the past. To such a metaphysics one can answer only, but sufficiently, by saying that it can be true only if a contradiction in terms can be true. For the temporality of time can never be contained in the non-temporal. It is perfectly conceivable that all of the temporal relations of things should be translated into some form of coexistence, into some spatial or purely logical analogue. But the translation would never be the same as the original; and the original would always remain an outlying, unincluded aspect of reality, not to be disposed of, unless by a reversion to the discarded oriental device of crying out "illusion" before the concrete realities of the actual world. To put the matter less abstractly, those experiences, feelings, attitudes of will, which are dependent upon the temporal conditions of human life for their distinctive character—the experiences of anticipation, of uncertainty, of hesitant hope, and of disappointment—could never be shared, without a transformation of their original emotional values, by an Absolute Being who at the same time saw beyond the uncertainty and knew the disappointment as eternally predestinated by the nature of things. No dialectical subtlety can ever finally put out of sight the fundamental dilemma; either the reality of the non-temporal and perfect must be sacrificed, in our conception of God and of his world, in favor of the reality of the temporal and not-perfected, or else the reality of the not-perfected and temporal must be sacrificed to the other. Between the oriental doctrine, which rejects wholly this world, declaring it completely evil in point of worth, and completely illusory in point of reality, and the newer doctrine, which declares that a world of diversity and of becoming is the only conceivable type of reality or of worth—between these two we shall eventually be compelled to choose. Ancient occidental thought, accepting the presuppositions underlying the former doctrine, could only evade some of its consequences by inconsistency; our modern thought has tended more and more to bring into question those presuppositions themselves. If the philosophical theology of the future is

to be of any profit, it must take this sharply defined dilemma for its very starting-point. If it does so, it will be forced to deal honestly and soberly with the time-notion; and when this is done, we may have good hope of reaching a religious view of the world which shall at last give us a full and consistent and coherent interpretation of what the modern spirit has been slowly learning about the nature of the real and of the good.

## THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

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### I. THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THIS essay aims to trace the history and use of the story of the virgin birth of Jesus in the ante-Nicene Christian literature. In doing this, special attention is paid to the patristic field, which has not hitherto been thoroughly investigated with such a purpose in view. What is here offered on the New Testament material is introductory to the main body of the essay, and, as a prerequisite to tracing the use and effects of the New Testament stories in the subsequent Christian literature, aims to determine whether these narratives in reality represent a double or only a single attestation of the virgin birth, and also to ascertain what is their exact meaning.<sup>1</sup>

The question whether the account of the virgin birth has in the New Testament a single or a double attestation is, broadly speaking, the question of the common origin or independence of the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke. Resch<sup>2</sup> holds that Matthew and Luke used a pre-canonical child history, which had been translated from Hebrew into Greek, and that, if we had that history, it would be a harmony of the infancy stories of the first and third gospels. Conrady<sup>3</sup> thinks that the protevangelium of James is that pre-canonical source which both Matthew and Luke used, and that, moreover, Luke had access to Matthew's account. Whether the infancy stories are more independent than these theories would imply can be ascertained only by a comparative examination of the material.

The genealogies, Matt. 1:1-17 and Luke 3:23-38, may be first considered in such a comparison. The generations prior to Abraham are peculiar to Luke, and, while favoring the independence of the two tables, are probably more significant as indicating Luke's understanding

<sup>1</sup> The pseudonymous and fictitious material which falls within the ante-Nicene period and is usually included under the title of the New Testament apocrypha will be briefly treated in an appendix, for the purpose of supplementing the study of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

<sup>2</sup> *Kindheitsevangelium nach Lucas und Matthaeus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu.*

of the virgin birth, as will be pointed out later. Between Abraham and David the two tables, having access to the Old Testament material, are in harmony, but between David and Joseph, where one would expect them to be precise in proving the Davidic descent of Jesus, they are, with the possible exception of two names,<sup>4</sup> wholly at variance. Thus the genealogical tables as a whole make against the theory of a common source.<sup>5</sup> The explanation that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary is not substantiated or adequate.

Continuing this comparison, the question of the common dependence or the interdependence of the infancy sections can be better appreciated, perhaps, by a tabulation showing the material in either account.

MATTHEW.		LUKE.	
		Birth of John the Baptist	
		promised,	1:5-25
		Annunciation to Mary,	1:20-38
Annunciation to Joseph,	1:18-25	Mary's visit to Elizabeth,	1:39-56
		Birth of John the Baptist,	1:57-80
		Birth of Jesus,	2:1-7
		The angels and the shepherds,	2:8-20
		The circumcision,	2:21
		Presentation in the temple,	2:22-39
The magi,	2:1-12		
Flight into Egypt and return			
to Nazareth,	2:13-23		
Childhood at Nazareth,	2:23	Childhood at Nazareth,	2:39, 40
		Incident in the temple,	2:41-50
		Eighteen years at Nazareth,	2:51, 52

It will be seen from the foregoing that Matthew and Luke are in agreement as to the birth-place, the parents' names, a residence in Nazareth after the birth, the Davidic descent, and the virgin birth. But all of these facts, except the last, are derivable from the gospels

<sup>4</sup> Shealtiel and Jerubbabel, Matt. 1:12; Luke 3:27.

<sup>5</sup> In connection with Matt. 1:16 it should be brought to notice that, although all the Greek uncials and nearly all the minuscules have "Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ," the Curetonian Syriac, the Armenian, two Greek minuscules (346 and 556), and most of the old Latin versions have, "Joseph to whom the virgin Mary was betrothed begat Jesus who is called Christ," while the Sinaitic Syriac has, "And Joseph to whom the virgin Mary was betrothed begat Jesus Christ." The reading of the MS. recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus agrees with the Greek uncials.

proper, or, as in the case of the Bethlehem birth, from such information as may easily be supposed to have been common Christian tradition (John 7:42).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Matthew represents Bethlehem as the home of Joseph and Mary prior to their flight into Egypt, while Luke knows of no home for the sacred family except that of Nazareth, and is silent concerning the annunciation to Joseph, the star, the magi, the slaughter of the innocents, and the flight into Egypt. Matthew omits completely the story of John the Baptist, thus causing his gospel proper to begin with needless abruptness, were he in possession of the source used by Luke. Moreover, Matthew says nothing of the annunciation to Mary, or of Mary's visit to Elizabeth; nothing of the angels and the shepherds, the circumcision, the presentation in the temple, the incident in the temple at the age of twelve, and the youth spent in Nazareth.

Now, if we take a section from the gospel where Matthew and Luke are evidently dependent upon their common source, Mark, we can the better determine whether a similar dependence exists here. Taking the record of the second northern journey for retirement, beginning with Matt. 16:13 and Luke 9:18, the order of events is as follows:

	MATTHEW.	LUKE.
1. Peter's confession - - - -	16:13-20	9:18-21
2. Death and resurrection foretold - -	21-28	22-27
3. Transfiguration - - - -	17:1-13	28-36
4. The demoniac boy - - - -	14-20 <sup>7</sup>	37-43 <sup>a</sup>
5. Death and resurrection again foretold -	22, 23	43 <sup>b</sup> -45
6. The shekel in the fish's mouth - -	24-27 (Matthæan addition to common source)	
7. Discourse on humility and forgiveness - chap. 18		46-50

Comparing the substantial nature of this harmony of events with the comparative relation of events in the infancy sections, the evidence is against a common source in the latter case.

Having made this survey, it may be well to take up the two accounts of the virgin birth in order to ascertain whether there is evidence of a common source in this particular part of the infancy sections. This involves a comparison of Matt. 1:18-25 with Luke 1:26-38 and 2:6, 7; and, at the same time, of both with the parallel material of the gospel

<sup>6</sup> This passage also indicates that the Bethlehem birth was not known in the lifetime of Jesus, but that it was a commonly accepted fact in the apostolic age. On the other hand, one must admit the possibility that the information presented in John 7:42 may be derived from the infancy story itself.

<sup>7</sup> Vs. 21 expunged as an interpolation.

of James, in order to ascertain the value of the theory which makes it the common source of the canonical stories.

Matthew and Luke are in harmony in their statement of the chief fact, that Mary was Joseph's betrothed, and prior to any sexual intercourse on their part conceived a son by the Spirit of God, and that such a conception was predictive of the child's future greatness. But in Luke the angel who announces this wonderful fact and names the unborn child is sent to Mary in Nazareth, while in Matthew the angel comes in a dream to Joseph, presumably in Bethlehem. The particular task of the one to be born is represented in Luke as ruling on the throne of David forever, and in Matthew as saving his people from their sins. In Luke his manner of birth warrants the epithet "God's Son," and in Matthew, "Immanuel."

The limits of the present article do not permit the insertion of the Greek text of these three accounts in such a way as to make clear all corresponding material, but from such an examination we are convinced that Conrady's thesis is untenable. The following extract from the gospel of James may be compared with the Lucan and Matthæan accounts, the verbal correspondence to Luke being roughly designated by italics, that to Matthew by capitals, and that to both by spaced type :

11. And she took the pitcher and went out to fill it with water. And behold a voice saying : *Hail, thou who hast received grace ; the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women* (Luke 1 : 42). And she looked around on the right hand and on the left to see whence this voice came. And she went away trembling to her house, and put down the pitcher ; and taking the purple she sat down on her seat and drew it out. *And behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying : Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive according to his word. And she hearing reasoned with herself, saying : Shall I conceive by the Lord, the living God ? and shall I bring forth as every woman brings forth ?* (Luke 1 : 34). *And the angel of the Lord said : Not so Mary : for the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee : wherefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the son of the Most High. And thou shalt call his name Jesus, FOR HE SHALL SAVE HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR SINS. And Mary said : Behold the servant of the Lord before his face ; let it be unto me according to thy word.*

13. And she was in her sixth month ; and behold, JOSEPH came back from his building, and entering into his house he DISCOVERED that she was big WITH CHILD. And he smote his face and threw himself upon the ground upon the sackcloth, and wept bitterly, saying : With what face shall I look upon the Lord my God, and what prayer shall I make about this maiden ? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and

I have not watched over her. Who is it that has hunted me (her) down? Who has done this evil thing in my house and has defiled the virgin? Has not the history of Adam been repeated in me? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise, and the serpent came and found Eve alone and completely deceived her, so it has happened to me also. And Joseph stood up from the sackcloth and called Mary and said unto her: Oh, thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this and forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou who wast brought up in the holy of holies and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying: I am innocent, and have known no man. And Joseph said to her: Whence then is that which is in thy womb? And she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I do not know whence it is to me.

14. And Joseph was greatly afraid, and retired from her, and considered what he should do in regard to her. And Joseph said: If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the sons of Israel, I am afraid lest that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death. What then shall I do with her? I will put her away from me secretly. (Matt. 1:19.) And night came upon him; and BEHOLD, AN ANGEL OF THE LORD APPEARS TO HIM IN A DREAM, SAYING: BE NOT AFRAID for this maiden, FOR THAT WHICH IS IN HER IS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND SHE SHALL BRING FORTH A SON, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, FOR HE SHALL SAVE HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR SINS. AND JOSEPH AROSE FROM SLEEP and glorified the God of Israel who had given him this grace; and he kept her. . . .

19. And I said: I am seeking a Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel? And I said unto her: Yes. And she said: And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave?<sup>8</sup> And I said: A woman betrothed to me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary who was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has conceived OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. (Matt. 1:18, 25.) And the midwife said to him: Is this true? And Joseph said to her: Come and see. And the midwife went away with him. And they stood in the place of the cave, and behold, a luminous cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said: My soul has been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things—because salvation has been brought forth to Israel. (Luke 1:46, 68 ff.) And immediately the cloud disappeared out of the cave and a great light shone in the cave so that the eyes could not bear it. And in a little that light gradually decreased until the infant appeared and went and took the breast from his mother Mary.<sup>9</sup> And the midwife cried out and said:

<sup>8</sup>The gospel of James represents this cave as being within three miles of Bethlehem.

<sup>9</sup>Contrast Luke 2:6, 7.



This is a great day to me because I have seen this strange sight. And the midwife went forth out of the cave and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, I have a strange sight to relate to thee: A virgin has brought forth—a thing which her nature admits not of. Then said Salome: As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger and search the parts, I will not believe that a virgin has brought forth.

20. And the midwife went in and said to Mary: Show thyself, for no small controversy has arisen about thee. And Salome put in her finger and cried out and said: Woe is me for mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God; and behold my hand is dropping off as if burned by fire.

Anyone who is acquainted with the story-making habit, the extravagant characteristics of the apocryphal literature as a whole, or even with the tendency in New Testament interpolation, cannot hold Matthew and Luke to be deductions from this gospel of James. The gospel of James seems rather to be the fanciful working out of the canonical stories; and, while it is difficult to account for the placing of the birth in a cave near Bethlehem, this may be a creation of fancy, the better to set off the miraculous illumination at the time of birth; or the invention may have been favored by the Septuagint translation of Isa. 33: 16.<sup>10</sup>

Contrast with the above extract such samples of verbal dependence<sup>11</sup> as Matt. 3: 7-10 and Luke 3: 7-9, or Matt. 12: 43-45 and Luke 11: 24-26; or take the threefold account of Jesus' encounter with the Pharisees,<sup>12</sup> Matt. 21: 23-27, Luke 20: 1-8, derived from Mark 11: 27-33, and judge whether there is sufficient ground in the canonical stories of the virgin birth for supposing them to be dependent upon each other or upon the prolix vulgarity of the gospel of James. Indeed, the instances cited, together with such passages as Mark 12: 13-27, 13: 5-9, and parallels, serve to indicate the true nature of verbal dependence, and, taken with the comparison of the narratives as a whole, to warrant the conclusion that where the virgin-birth story first appears it is attested by two witnesses which betray no certain sign of dependence of one upon the other or of both upon a common source.

<sup>10</sup> See WESTCOTT, *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 102, note 7.

<sup>11</sup> See HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 17, where out of the 147 words composing the two accounts 130 are identical and arranged in the same order. For the second example see HUCK, p. 54, where out of the 126 words of the two accounts 104 are identical and in the same order. Also RUSHBROOK, *Synopticon*, pp. 136, 159.

<sup>12</sup> See HUCK, pp. 118 ff., where of some 356 words composing the three accounts about 200 are identical and in the same order. See also RUSHBROOK, *Synopticon*, p. 81.

It is now necessary, before proceeding to trace the influence of the narratives of the virgin birth on the subsequent Christian literature, to get as clear an idea as possible of the meaning of the story in the earliest forms preserved to us. Matthew's thought seems to be that the wonder-working Spirit of God, exclusive of human agency, caused Mary to conceive; that, by reason of this fact, she was innocent of any wrong such as that the suspicion of which had troubled Joseph; and that at the same time such a birth, being in accord with the Immanuel prophecy, marked the child to be born as the Messiah, the Savior of his people, as the one spoken of in Isa., chaps. 7 and 8, to be the deliverer of his nation in the impending war. Thus the application of the prophetic and symbolic expression "Immanuel" was not for the purpose of designating the nature of the child, but rather his work, which was to be national and messianic. The result of the nation's sins was always the withdrawal of God; but the Messiah would lead them in righteousness and save them from that abandoning by God which was at the same time the result of their sins and the cause of their impotence and subjection. The term "Immanuel," then, is the prophetic and symbolic designation for Savior; but that it soon came to be used as designating the divine nature of Christ will appear from the study of the patristic literature.

The meaning of Luke's account of the virgin birth is not so clear, perhaps, but, like Matthew's, is destitute of any attempt to explain the divine nature of Jesus upon the basis that God, and not a human father, was his begetter. In reply to Mary's question (1:34), the angel says: "Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and power of Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also the begotten thing shall be called holy, Son of God." In other words, the pure Spirit of God will cause Mary to conceive *miraculously*, and thus, in contrast to the *polluted offspring* of any human begetter, who would be a sinful descendant of Adam, the child shall be *pure* as the begetting Spirit is pure. This is one element in the angel's annunciation — the purity of the child through the action of the Holy Spirit and the breaking of the line of sinful Adam's descent. The other is that the creative power of God is to act directly in this creation, as it did in that of Adam, the first man, who because of his direct creation by God is called God's son (*cf.* 3:38, "the son of Adam, the son of God"). In like manner shall this one, whose holiness is secured by the breaking of the sinful Adamic descent, be termed Son of God because directly created by divine power.

This is undoubtedly the *basis* for the use of the term "Son of God"

in this passage; but has the term no larger content than that which applies equally to Adam? There are two other possibilities: first, that it is equivalent to "Messiah;" and, second, that it designates moral likeness to God. In support of the former contention it can be pointed out that this passage in Luke is clearly messianic, as is seen in vss. 32 and 33, and also in the psalms interspersed throughout the narrative. Moreover, the probable use of the term "Son of God" as a messianic title can be appealed to in Matt. 16:16 (but not in Mark 3:11; 5:7; 15:39; nor in Luke 3:22; 4:3, 9; 9:35). For the view that it designates moral likeness to God it can be shown that the thought is thus made parallel to the preceding thought of purity and is brought into harmony with the Jewish conception of the original purity of Adam, avoiding at the same time a use of the term "Son of God" which cannot with certainty be attributed to any part of the New Testament except its latest elements.

Adopting any one of these three possible interpretations, however, there is in the passage no explanation of the divine nature of Jesus on the basis of divine parentage, but at most only a statement and partial explanation of his purity (in Matthew more specifically an exoneration of the purity of Mary's conception, and in Luke of the purity of Jesus from the hereditary Adamic sin), and a prophecy of his greatness as the theocratic representative. Both accounts have the national messianic coloring, but in neither of them is there represented an incarnation of a pre-existent being, such as is set forth in the prologue to John's gospel. The natural deductions made from the terms "Immanuel" and "Son of God" by the subsequent Christian literature, and the embarrassing attempts to harmonize the synoptists with the prologue of the fourth gospel, will be pointed out in the next section.

Passing from the infancy sections, we find no use of them (unless possibly John 7:42) or of the virgin birth prior to Ignatius, in the second decade of the second century. The narrative of the virgin birth, if in existence, made no impression upon the exponents of Christianity prior to the formation and crystallization of the preaching gospel, or, indeed, within the period in which the New Testament books—most of them, at least—arose. There is no trace of it in Peter's Preaching, as preserved to us; and Paul, though it would seem that he could have made occasional good use of the teaching,<sup>13</sup> preserves a significant silence; Matthew's gospel, from 3:1 on, depending

<sup>13</sup> *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 15:45 ff.; 2 Cor. 5:21; Rom. 5:12 ff.; 8:3; Phil. 2:6 ff.; *et al.*

upon Mark, is also silent; and that portion of the gospel of Luke which, as we judge from 1:2 and Acts 1:21, 22, constituted for him the gospel proper, viz., that which began, like Mark, with the public ministry of Jesus as inaugurated by John the Baptist, is likewise destitute of any trace of the virgin-birth story. The gospel of John is also silent.<sup>4</sup> What these facts signify as to the source of the story and the time of its rise is not the task of this essay, which passes to consider the history of the thought as traceable in the patristic literature.

## II. THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.

In entering upon a study of the ante-Nicene Fathers in their treatment of the virgin birth, we are interested to know what sources they used, what was the influence of extra-canonical sources upon their views, and the time when this influence becomes discoverable. It is also desirable to ascertain what sources the so-called heretical teachers and writers used, and what various theories of the virgin birth were advanced by them; and also to determine what the Fathers understood the virgin birth to mean, and what theological purpose they made it serve. With a view to answering these questions, and conscious of the fact that in the absence of any New Testament interpretation, save the meager hints of the infancy sections themselves, the interpretation of the Fathers became and remained the interpretation of the church at large, the study of this vast and not always interesting field is undertaken.

I. IGNATIUS, second bishop of Antioch,<sup>5</sup> martyred between 107 and 117 A.D., is the first and sole apostolic Father to leave us any material on the miraculous generation of Jesus. Not only so, but all the apostolic Fathers, save Ignatius and Aristides, in the Syriac version of his *Apology*, maintain a uniform and notable silence concerning the story of the birth and infancy of Jesus. In Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Barnabas, the *Didaché*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas* we look in vain for any reference either to the miraculous conception itself or to the infancy story of which the miraculous conception was the most striking feature.

It is true that in Clement, *Epistles*, 1:32, there is an obscure reference to the descent of Jesus Christ from Jacob (?) according to the

<sup>4</sup>That the *gospel* narratives are quite oblivious to the fact of the virgin birth is most obvious in such passages as Matt. 13:54-58=Mark 6:1-6; Luke 4:22; John 1:45; 6:42; 7:5, 27; while at the same time the infancy section itself does not present an apparently uniform statement, Luke 2:33, 35, 41, 48.

<sup>5</sup>EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books III, XXII, and XXXVI.

flesh, but the obscurity of the passage and its probable derivation from Rom. 9 : 5 leave the writings of Clement destitute of any reference to the infancy sections. Moreover, it is not as if the apostolic Fathers had no occasion to use the story of the virgin birth of Jesus ; for Polycarp in his *Epistle*, chap. 7, quotes 1 John 4 : 3, "Whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is Anti-Christ," and in chap. 12 he maintains that Jesus is the Son of God ; yet in both these places, where it would be natural and in keeping with the custom of so many of the ante-Nicene writers to refer to the infancy story, he is silent.

Likewise in Barnabas, chap. 6, while there is a reference to the fact and purpose of the incarnation, a similar silence is maintained. "The Son of God therefore came in the flesh with this view, that he might bring to a head the sum of their sins who had persecuted his (their) prophets to the death." The same is true of Diognetus, chap. 7, where there is a statement of how and for what purpose God sent his Son, and in chaps. 10 and 11, where John's doctrine of the Word and mention of the only-begotten Son appear, but without reference to the infancy story. The Shepherd has no reference to Matthew's gospel prior to the Sermon on the Mount, and none to Luke's prior to the eleventh chapter. Neither has the Didaché any reference to Matthew prior to chap. 5, or to Luke prior to chap. 6. Ignatius has nothing to say about gospels, but mentions only the gospel which is an account of Jesus Christ, whom he accepts in place of all that is ancient and authoritative (*Philad.*, chap. 8), and which, with one exception (Rom., chap. 7, referring to John 6 : 51), seems to coincide with the gospel as we have it in Matthew.

The Ignatian controversy,<sup>16</sup> extending from 1495 to the present time, has succeeded in thoroughly discrediting the longer Greek recension with the eight additional epistles, including the three in Latin. It has also pointed toward the conclusion that the Syriac version of the epistles to Polycarp, Ephesians, and Romans is but an imperfect series of extracts from the shorter Greek form of the seven usually accepted epistles ; and that the genuineness of this shorter Greek form itself is not in every respect beyond question. The free tampering with the text which makes against the high valuation of the later Fathers as textual evidence, necessarily discounts to some degree the patristic

<sup>16</sup> LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers, S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp*, Vol. I, pp. 315-414 ; THEODOSIUS ZAHN, *Ignatius von Antiochien*. For bibliography see SCHAFF, *History of Christian Church*, Vol. II, pp. 652, 653.

writings which deal with the supernatural birth. But to just what degree is difficult to ascertain. In the shorter Greek version, however, Ignatius awakens little or no suspicion of reflecting the thought of a later time; he rather exhibits the pre-theological naïveté natural to his time and his teaching, if he were a disciple of Paul or Peter or John. His reference to the supernatural birth of Christ is that of unquestioning and unphilosophic statement. In *Eph.*, chap. 7 (I, 52),<sup>17</sup> he says that Jesus Christ is "of flesh and of spirit, generate and ingenerate—(son) both of Mary and of God."<sup>18</sup> In chap. 18 (I, 57) he says: "For our God,"<sup>19</sup> Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary, according to a dispensation of God, of the seed of David, but also of the Holy Spirit;"<sup>20</sup> and in chap. 19 (I, 57): "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing."<sup>21</sup> In the same chapter the incarnation is regarded as "God himself being manifested in human form for the renewal of eternal life,"<sup>22</sup> and in chap. 20 the manner of Christ's generation is taken to explain his being Son of man and Son of God.<sup>23</sup> In *Smyrn.*, chap. 1 (I, 86), there is perhaps as full a statement as any: "He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God according to the will and power of God. He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him."<sup>24</sup>

From *Magnesians*, chap. 11, we learn that the birth, passion, and res-

<sup>17</sup> The citations in parentheses refer to the American reprint of the Edinburgh edition of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, revised by A. C. COXE, D.D. New York: Scribner, 1899.

<sup>18</sup> IGNATIUS, *Ephesians*, VII, 2: *Εἰς λατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ.* The longer version amplifies this, quoting, "For the Word was made flesh."

<sup>19</sup> See also *ibid.*, 20, and *Trall.*, 9. The longer version amplifies this, quoting part of the Immanuel prophecy of Isa. 7:14.

<sup>20</sup> IGNATIUS, *Ephesians*, XVIII, 2: *Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 1: *Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθένα Μάρια καὶ δ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς κ. τ. λ.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 3: *Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου εἰς καιρότητα διδίου ζωῆς.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 2: *ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.*

<sup>24</sup> IGNATIUS, *Smyrn.*, I: *ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἰνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.*

urrection constitute a trio of vital items in the Christian faith; and an odd passage in *Trall.*, chap. 9, speaks of "Jesus Christ who was from the race of David, who was the son of Mary."<sup>25</sup>

From the spurious material one may learn something of the trend and extent which the more inventive Christian literature soon assumed in order to combat Doceticism, Patripassianism, and various forms of the Gnostic heresy. From the material cited and quoted above at least the outstanding features of Ignatius's belief touching the virgin birth may be ascertained. He believed (1) that Christ was conceived in the womb of Mary; (2) that part of him was composed of flesh and part of spirit; (3) the former generate, the latter ingenerate; (4) the former derived of Mary, the latter of God; (5) that he was of Davidic descent; (6) that his mother was a virgin; and (7) that the fact of her as a virgin bearing a child was, with some other essential Christian truths, hidden from the prince of this world.

It will be seen that, while this statement of the matter is unphilosophical, it is nevertheless not so simple as that contained in Matt. 1: 18-25 and Luke 1: 26-38. There the thought is that the Spirit or Power of God coming upon Mary causes her to conceive directly and apart from any agency; and, while it is true that Luke 1: 35 points out a consequent characteristic of the son to be born, it by no means goes so far as to affirm the dual nature of Christ upon the basis of the announced miraculous conception.

In concluding this study of Ignatius, it is important to point out (1) what are his sources, (2) what was his understanding of them, and (3) what increment he makes to the study; and this order of summary will be adhered to in the case of each writer with whom we have to deal.

1. In so far as Ignatius reproduces or uses the story of the virgin birth or of the infancy, he shows no knowledge of any events or facts beyond those contained in the canonical gospels. Here, as uniformly in his writings, the facts are accounted for by his use of a gospel corresponding to our Matthew, unless he also reflects, as shall be pointed out, something of the influence of the Johannine prologue. His emphasis upon the star in *Eph.*, chap. 19, is only a rhetorical adornment of what is in the Matthæan source.

2. It is very clear that Ignatius makes the dual parentage the basis of the dual nature of Jesus; and it is almost as clear that he predicates pre-existence for the divine element in the nature of Jesus. His

<sup>25</sup> IGNATIUS, *Trall.*, IX: τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας.

representation of the matter is not thoroughly uniform, however, for in *Eph.*, chap. 18 (I, 57), he seems to represent the creation of a new being, as do Matthew and Luke, while over against this must be placed the thought of *Eph.*, chap. 7 (I, 52) and chap. 19 (I, 57), where the idea of the divine and increate one being manifested in human form argues some sort of a pre-existence doctrine, based possibly upon the teaching of the fourth gospel.

3. This very hint of the presence and influence of teaching similar to that of John's prologue, and Ignatius's rather artless and unstudied statement of it in a way which modifies the synoptic accounts of the virgin birth, constitute a new element in the study, and one which is no less important than his advance upon the infancy sections themselves, when he makes the dual nature of Jesus dependent upon his dual parentage. Ignatius also gives evidence of an incipient apologetic or polemic cast in such a passage as *Smyrn.*, chap. 4, where he cuts the ground from under those who would say aught against the peculiar manner of Jesus' birth and similarly vital doctrines of Christianity, by saying virtually that these matters have been hidden from Satan, and consequently from them, his followers. Also in *Trall.*, chap. 9, his emphasis upon the fact<sup>26</sup> that Jesus Christ "was *truly* born and did eat and drink" indicates the unwelcomed existence of some form of Docetic doctrine.

II. ARISTIDES (*Apology* presented to Cæsar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, 138 A. D., or shortly thereafter). The statement in the previous section that, with the exception of Ignatius, the apostolic Fathers preserve a uniform silence regarding the virgin birth hardly needed the qualification there given. In the second chapter of the *Apology* (IX, 265) the Syriac, in defining the Christian theology or philosophy as distinct from that of the Barbarians (Egyptians), Greeks, and Jews, says: "And it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin assumed and clothed himself with flesh; and the Son of God lived in a daughter of man. This is taught in the gospel, as it is called, which a short time ago was preached among them."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>26</sup>\* Ὁς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ ἔπιεν.

[illegible]



The Syriac version gives evidence of being an early and expansive paraphrase of the genuine Greek text.<sup>28</sup> Although the passage here quoted has nothing corresponding to it in the Greek, it no doubt represents an early second-century and possibly Antiochian belief. In tracing the doctrine of the virgin birth, this Syriac document is to be admitted in evidence, but the interrogation point as to exact date must be retained. Now, this Syriac interpolation states three things: (1) that God came down from heaven and took his abode in a Hebrew virgin from whom he assumed flesh; (2) that in this state he is the Son of God; and (3) that this belief is a part of the gospel recently preached among the Christians.

1. It is clear that Aristides used John and Matthew or Luke.
2. He states the pre-existence as deity of him who was born of Mary, and who, being born of Mary, is also Son of God; but he nowhere indicates how he relates these two conceptions to each other. The virgin birth is distinctly an incarnation.
3. This is a decided divergence from the two synoptic accounts, and also an advance upon, and an alteration of, the teaching of John, which sets forth an incarnation of the Word. What was dimly present in Ignatius became clearly defined in Aristides, who attempted to fuse a misinterpretation of the philosophy of John's prologue with the story of the miraculous birth in the first and third gospels. Thus Aristides denaturalized the birth beyond what is taught in the gospels or in Ignatius.

III. JUSTIN MARTYR<sup>29</sup> (about 110-66 A. D.). The extant material of Justin bearing on the virgin birth is found, with one exception, in his first *Apology* and in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. The genuineness of these works is practically beyond doubt; and the fragment on the Resurrection, from which the only other reference is taken, cannot, I think, be proved spurious. It has seemed best to deal with this rather voluminous material under five heads: (1) we shall consider those passages which state the fact of the virgin birth, and inseparably connected with these we shall find certain phrases or clauses expressing the purpose of this kind of birth; (2) we shall notice the problems with which Trypho the Jew confronts such a theory; (3) the use of Greek theology or mythology; (4) Justin's appeal to and use of prophecy; (5) we shall note some concessions granted by this eminent champion of the Christian faith.

<sup>28</sup> See *Texts and Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1.

<sup>29</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books IV, VIII, XII, XVI-XVIII.

1. The passages which make the simple statement that he was born of a virgin by the power of God are: *Apology*, I, 32 (I, 174), 46 (I, 178); *Dialogue*, 23 (I, 206), 105 (I, 251), 113 (I, 255), and 127 (I, 263). Those which add some expression as to the purpose of the virgin birth are: *Apol.*, I, 63 (I, 184), "for the salvation of those who believe on him;" *Dial.*, 45 (I, 217), to destroy the "serpent" and his angels, to disdain death, and to finally do away with it; and *Dial.*, 100 (I, 249), containing an explanation of the term "Son of man," because of Jesus' birth by Mary or his descent from Adam through Mary; also a statement of the purpose as follows:

He became man by the Virgin in order that the disobedience which proceeded from the serpent might receive its destruction in the same manner in which it derived its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin, and undefiled, having conceived the word of the serpent, brought forth disobedience and death. But the virgin Mary received faith and joy when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her and the power of the Highest would overshadow her; wherefore the holy thing begotten of her is the Son of God; and she replied, Be it unto me according to thy word. And by her has he been born to whom we have proved so many scriptures refer, and by whom God destroys both the serpent and those angels and men who are like him; but works deliverance from death to those who repent of their wickedness and believe upon him.<sup>30</sup>

This antithesis of the work of Mary to that of Eve is met with here for the first time. It is a favorite theme with the Fathers, however, and will reappear frequently in more elaborate form.<sup>31</sup>

2. The problems raised by Trypho are twofold: (1) the distinctively Jewish difficulty of how there can be another god besides the maker of all things, chap. 50 (I, 220), and (2) the difficulty of showing that this

<sup>30</sup> JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, C: Καὶ διὰ τῆς Παρθένου ἀνθρώπος γεγενῆσθαι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῇς ὁδοῦ καὶ καταλύσιν λάβῃ. Παρθένος γὰρ οὕσα ἔθα καὶ ἀφθόρος, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε. Πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ Παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένη αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἁγίου ἐστίν ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίνατο. "Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου." Καὶ διὰ ταύτης γεγενῆσθαι οὗτος, περὶ οὗ τὰς τοσαύτας Γραφὰς ἀπεδείξαμεν εἰρησθαι, δι' οὗ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τε θῆριν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοιωθέντας ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καταλύει. Ἀπαλλαγὴν δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς μεταγινώσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων καὶ πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐργάζεται.

<sup>31</sup> There is a spurious passage, "Resurrection," 3 (I, 295), which states from the ascetic standpoint the purpose of Christ's peculiar birth: "And our Lord Jesus Christ was born of a virgin, for no other reason than that he might destroy the begetting by lawless desire, and might show to the rulers that the formation of man was possible to God without human intervention."

second pre-existent God submitted to be born of a virgin, chaps. 50, 63 (I, 228), and chap. 68 (I, 252). The Jews expected that when their Christ came he would be "man born of men." In answer to these two objections, Justin makes an appeal to the prophecy purporting to relate to John the Baptist and the two advents of Christ; and, to establish his pre-existence and divinity, makes use of the account of how God (who was not God the Father) appeared to Moses and other Hebrew patriarchs, and of how the plural of the deity is used in the account of creation. Trypho is, according to Justin's account, convinced on the first point more easily than a modern reader would be, but on the second he maintains his ground in spite of the apologist's use of Isa. 53:8; Ps. 110:3, 4; and the Immanuel passage, Isa. 7:10-17. He prefers to think with the Ebionites of a thoroughly human Jesus, who, if Christ at all, was made so by the descent of the Spirit of God upon him.

3. The passages which make use of the argument from Greek mythology fall into two classes: (1) those which favor the virgin birth on the basis of the Greek parallels; and (2) those which emphasize the distinction between the Christian story and those of the Greeks, showing to advantage the chaste and exalted nature of the former. Passages of the first sort are *Apol.*, I, 21 and 22 (I, 170):

And when we say that the Word who is the first-birth (first-born) of God was produced without sexual union . . . we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteemed sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribe to Jupiter.<sup>32</sup> And if we assert that the Word of God was born of God in a peculiar manner, different from ordinary generation, let this, as said above, be no extraordinary thing to you, who say that Mercury is the angelic word of God. . . . And if we affirm that he was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus.

But it should be noted that in chap. 67 Trypho maintains that Justin should be ashamed of propounding a story similar to that of the mythology regarding Perseus. So that the parallel to Greek mythology is in Trypho's estimation a further condemnation of the virgin-birth story. A little farther on, *Dial.*, chap. 70 (I, 234), Justin makes a very ingenious turn of the mythological argument, asserting that these Greek stories were concocted by Satan, the simulator, on the basis of the prophecies that foretold the virgin birth. *E. g.*: "And

<sup>32</sup> I, 21: Τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸν Λόγον, ὃ ἐστὶ πρῶτον γέννημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνευ ἐπιμιξίας φύσκειν ἡμῶς γεγενησθαι. . . . οὐ παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν λεγομένους υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ καὶνὸν τι φέρομεν. Πόσους γὰρ υἱοὺς φάσκουσιν τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμώμενοι συγγραθεῖς ἐκτίσασθε.

when I hear, Trypho, said I, that Perseus was begotten of a virgin, I understand that the deceiving serpent counterfeited also this."<sup>33</sup> The outstanding passage which differentiates the Christian from the heathen stories is *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174):

But lest some, not understanding the prophecy now cited, should charge us with the very things we have been laying to the charge of the poets, who say that Jupiter went in to women through lust, let us try to explain the words. This, then, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," signifies that a virgin should conceive without intercourse; for if she had had intercourse with any one whatever, she was no longer a virgin; but the Power of God having come upon the virgin, overshadowed her, and caused her while yet a virgin to conceive. And the angel of God who was sent to this same virgin at the same time brought her good news, saying, "Behold, etc. . . ." It is wrong, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the Power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as the aforesaid prophet Moses declared; and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive, not by intercourse, but by power.<sup>34</sup>

Certainly this passage makes for a high appreciation of Justin's insight and discretion. He draws from Luke and interprets him correctly, rigidly excluding any idea of intercourse. He repudiates Greek mythology as being in any way his own explanation of the virgin birth, although he has used it as an *argumentum ad hominem* to silence the inconsistent carplings of his gentile opponents. Moreover, the Spirit, the Power, the Word, and the Son of God are for him synonymous terms, and upon this basis he attempts an ingenious harmony of John and Luke. Justin's repudiation of the Greek mythological explanation is one of the most creditable elements in his apology touching the virgin birth. Whether the Christian conception be right or not, Justin has, in so far as he represents the early second-century thought, freed it from the grossness of similar heathen stories, and has

<sup>33</sup> *Dial.*: "Όταν δέ, ὦ Τρύφων, ἔφην, ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Περσεύς ἀκούσω, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ῥησασθαι τὸν πλάνον ὄφιν συνίημι.

<sup>34</sup> "Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τινες μὴ νοήσαντες τὴν δεδηλωμένην προφητείαν, ἐγκαλέσωσιν ἡμῖν ἀπερ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰποῦσιν ἀφροδισίων χάριν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναῖκας τὸν Δία, διασαφῆσαι τοὺς λόγους πειρασώμεθα. Τὸ οὖν, 'Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, σημαίνει οὐ συνουσιασθεῖσαν τὴν παρθένον συλλαβεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐσυνουσιάσθη ὑπὸ ὄνου, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν παρθένος. ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκέασεν αὐτὴν, καὶ κυφορήσας παρθένον ὄσας πεποίηκε. Καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος θεοῦ, εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτὴν εἰπὼν· 'Ἰδοὺ . . . Τὸ Πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμεις, ἢ τὸν Λόγον, ὃς καὶ πρωτότοκος τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ. ὥς Μωϋσῆς ὁ προδεδηλωμένος προφήτης ἐμήνυσε. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκέαςαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως ἐγκύμονα κατέστησε.

preserved in his own more explicit language much of the chaste quality of the gospel narratives themselves. No part of his apology is more sane than this, unless, indeed, it be the concessions which, for the practical purpose of winning Trypho and men of his kind, he is willing to make.

4. Justin makes a large and questionable use of prophecy. As would be expected, the chief appeal is to the Immanuel passage in Isa., chap. 7, but there is also a reference to "Who shall declare his generation" (Isa., chap. 53), and a peculiar use of Gen. 49:11: "He hath washed his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of grapes."

In *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174), Justin asserts that the prophecy (prediction) was made in order to strengthen the faith of those who should see its fulfilment, and insists that the term "virgin" (*παρθένος*) precludes the possibility of intercourse in the generation of the child referred to. In *Dial.*, chaps. 42 (I, 216), 66 (I, 231), 71 (I, 234), and 84 (I, 241), he recognizes and denies the Jewish contention that the prophecy refers to Hezekiah and that the term (LXX: ἡ παρθένος) used in the prophecy means simply a young woman. He takes up the more constructive part of his argument in chaps. 77 and 78 (I, 237, 238). By a somewhat minute and decidedly parabolic interpretation, he attempts to show that the prophecy refers to Christ rather than to Hezekiah. This predictive scripture called Herod king of Assyria because of his ungodly character. Christ, before he was old enough to call father or mother, received the power of Damascus through the magi who came with their gifts from Arabia; while Samaria represents the power of the demon, to whom prior to the birth of Christ the magi were in bondage. Thus in the birth of Christ alone the other specific predictions of the prophecy are notably fulfilled, and therefore strengthen the argument for the foretold virgin birth. It is pointed out, further, in *Dial.*, chap. 84 (I, 241), that it would have been no *sign* at all if the child referred to had been born by ordinary generation, and that the peculiar manner of birth is in keeping with the creative function of the Word of God, who made Eve from Adam's rib, and in the beginning created all living beings apart from parentage.

Leaving the Immanuel passage, we may get further light as to Justin's use of Scripture from the following quotations. *Dial.*, chap. 54 (I, 222):

That the Scripture mentions the blood of the grape (Gen. 49:11) has been evidently designed because Christ derives blood, not from the seed of

man, but from the power of God. For as God, and not man, has produced the blood of the vine, so also (the Scripture) has predicted that the blood of Christ would be, not of the seed of man, but of the power of God. But this prophecy, sirs, which I repeat, proves that Christ is not man of men, begotten in the ordinary course of humanity.<sup>35</sup>

The passage then which Isaiah records, "Who shall declare his generation? For his life is taken from the earth," does it not appear to you to refer to one who, not having descent from man, was said to be delivered over to death by God, for the transgressions of the people? Of whose blood, Moses, when speaking in parable, said that he would wash his garments in the blood of the grape; since his blood did not spring from the seed of man, but from the will of God. And then what is said by David (Ps. 110:3): In the splendors of thy holiness have I begotten thee from the womb, before the morning star. The Lord hath sworn and will not repent. Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek. Does this not declare to you that (he was) from of old, and that the God and Father of all things intended him to be begotten by a human womb?<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps no comment need be made upon Justin's use of Scripture. It is very evident that the New Testament narratives had not in his time obtained for themselves the standing of the Old Testament writings; therefore he felt the necessity of basing his *Apology* upon the ancient, authoritative, and "inspired" Scripture. The violence of his interpretation was not violence in those days, but rather ingenuity, ability, and "spiritual," rather than historical, insight. The final impression left upon the mind of the reader, however, is that of respect for the interpretative method of Trypho and the Jewish school, and of regret that the great Greek apologist for the Christian faith should be so far afield from a just and historical interpretation of the Old Testament.

<sup>35</sup> *Dial.*: Τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῆς σταφυλῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον, διὰ τῆς τέχνης δεδήλωκεν, ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχει ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. "Ὅν γὰρ τρόπον τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ θεός, οὕτως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἷμα οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἔσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, προεμήνυσεν. Ἡ δὲ προφητεία αὕτη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦν ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννηθεῖς.

<sup>36</sup> *Dialogue*, chap. 63 (I, 228, 229): "Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἱρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἢ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ," οὐ δοκεῖ σοι λελέχθαι ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντος τὸ γένος τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς θάνατον παραδεδοσθαι εἰρημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ; περὶ οὗ καὶ Μωσῆς τοῦ αἵματος, ὡς προέφην, αἵματι σταφυλῆς, ἐν παραβολῇ εἰπὼν, τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ πλύνειν ἔφη, ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγεννημένου, ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ. Καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβὶδ εἰρημένα. "Ἐν ταῖς λαμπροῦσι τῶν ἁγίων σου ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. Ὡμοσε Κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμελήθῃσεται. σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ," οὐ σημαίνει ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀνῶθεν, καὶ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀνθρωπείας ὁ θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων γεννᾷσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμελλε.

5. But it is not as if the scriptural argument were the whole of Justin's *Apology*, and represented the sum total of his thought regarding the virgin birth. As has been already indicated, he shows himself perhaps wiser in his concessions than in his assertions. It is true that these concessions are demanded by Trypho, chaps. 67 (I, 231) and 49 (I, 219), who tries to put Justin to shame for upholding a story similar to that of the birth of Perseus from Danae:

And you ought to feel ashamed when you make assertions similar to theirs, and rather should say that this Jesus was born man of men. And if you prove from the Scriptures that he is the Christ, and that on account of having led a life conformed to the law and perfect, he deserved the honor of being elected to be Christ, (it is well); but do not venture to tell monstrous phenomena, lest you be convicted of talking foolishly like the Greeks.<sup>37</sup>

It was probably in reply to such demands as this that Justin found it possible to separate the question of the divinity of Christ from that of the manner of his birth, and to fall back upon the character and ability of Jesus as a more tenable apologetic ground than that of his peculiar generation. *Apol.*, I, 22 (I, 170):

Moreover, the Son of God, called Jesus, even if only a man by ordinary [generation], yet on account of his wisdom is worthy to be called the Son of God; for all writers call God the Father of men and gods.<sup>38</sup>

In chap. 48 (I, 219) there is another very remarkable passage of concession, and one which indicates that in Justin's time there were Christians who, if his judgment was at all representative, were in good standing among their brethren, while denying the miraculous and asserting the full natural birth of Christ:

Now assuredly, Trypho, I continued, that this man is the Christ of God does not fail, though I be unable to prove that he existed formerly as Son of the Maker of all things, being God, and was born man by the virgin. But since I have certainly proved that this man is the Christ of God, whoever he be, even if I do not prove that he pre-existed, and submitted to be born a man of like passions with us, having a body according to the Father's will; in this last matter alone it is just to say that I have erred, and not to deny that he is the Christ, though it should appear that he was born man of man,

<sup>37</sup> 67: Καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείois λέγοντες, αἰθεῖσθαι ὀφείλετε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον λέγειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον. καὶ ἐάν ἀποδείκνυτε ἀπὸ τῶν Γραφῶν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, διὰ τὸ ἐννόμως καὶ τελῶς πολιτεῦσθαι αὐτὸν, κατηξιώσθαι τοῦ ἐκλεγῆναι εἰς Χριστόν. ἀλλὰ μὴ τερατολογεῖν τολμᾶτε, ὅπως μήτε ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἕλλησι μωραίνειν ἐλέγχησθε.

<sup>38</sup> 22: Τίς δὲ θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἄνθρωπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἄξιος υἱὸς θεοῦ λέγεσθαι. πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες συγγραφεῖς τὸν θεὸν καλοῦσιν.

and it is proved that he became Christ by election. For there are some, my friends, I said, of our race, who admit that he is Christ, while holding him to be man of men ; with whom I do not agree, nor would I, even though most of those who have the same opinions as myself should say so ; since we were enjoined by Christ himself to put no faith in human doctrines, but those proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by himself.<sup>39</sup>

To summarize the teaching of Justin Martyr very briefly, we would say that he looked upon the virgin birth of the pre-existent Word as an important factor in securing the salvation of believers and the destruction of Satan, disobedience, and death. Justin was acquainted with the Logos doctrine of the fourth gospel, but was confused in his thought concerning the Spirit, the Power, and the Word, all of which were to him terms for the first-born of God, *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174) ; his idea is distinctly that of an incarnation. He regarded Mary's function for the race as in some sense the antithesis of that of the disobedient Eve. The Old Testament narrative proved the pre-existence of Christ, the Word, and clearly predicted his peculiar birth. Those who accepted Greek mythology had no right to hesitate at the Christian story of the virgin birth, since Satan foresaw this story in prophecy and counterfeited it in the Greek mythology, and since the Christian story is free from all the grossness of the Greek myths. But, after all, the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, may be established by appeal to his ability, character, and his consequent election by God, as some Christians maintain, rather than upon his miraculous birth ; although Justin is by no means willing to accept this opinion for himself.

1. Justin (*Dial.*, chap. 78) is the first to give evidence of the presence and use of an extra-canonical source. The mention of the birth of Jesus in a *cave* near Bethlehem indicates Justin's knowledge of some such material as is contained in the protevangelium of

ἡ Ὁδὴ μέντοι, ᾧ Τρύφων, εἶπον, οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἴαν ἀποδείξαι μὴ δύναμαι ὅτι καὶ προὔπηρχεν ὁ τοῦ Ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς Παρθένου. Ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς ἀποδεικνυμένον, ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅστις οὗτος ἐσται, εἴαν δὲ μὴ ἀποδεικνύω ὅτι προὔπηρχε, καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν, σάρκα ἔχων, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλὴν ὑπέμεινε, ἐν τούτῳ πεπλανησθῆναι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, εἴαν φαίνηται ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθείς, καὶ ἐκλογὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀποδεικνύηται. Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ᾧ φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι. οἷς οὐ συντίθεται, οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἴποιεν. ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπείως διδάγμασι κεκελεσμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδασχθεῖσι.



James.<sup>40</sup> But the remarkable fact is that, if such a gospel were in existence and known to Justin, it should have failed to influence his view of the virgin birth and should have supplanted or colored in so small a degree his reflection of the canonical infancy stories. His use of the canonical stories is clearly evidenced in such passages as *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174); *Dial.*, chaps. 78 (I, 237, 238) and 100 (I, 249);<sup>41</sup> while *Apol.*, I, 30, indicates that he had a knowledge of both Matthew and Luke. That he was acquainted with some extra-canonical source is to be granted, but, at the same time, the absence of any real or significant influence of such a source is of considerable importance.

2. Justin's idea of the virgin birth is that of the incarnation (by such a process as is described in Luke) of the Son of God, who was indeed God and who with the Father constituted a sort of diethism<sup>42</sup> in the heavenly world prior to incarnation.

3. From the foregoing it will be seen that Justin's contribution is in the direction of a schematic understanding of the virgin birth, and that his attempt is harmonistic, not only in the matter of combining, as far as possible, the Johannine and the Lucan representations, as a whole, but in identifying the "Spirit" and "Power" in Luke with the "Word" in John, and all of these with the "Son of God," whom he considers to be none other than God. His view is decidedly that of an incarnation; and in this he agrees with Aristides, but goes beyond him in the attempt to harmonize the facts with this view.

IV. TATIAN (about 110-72 A. D.). Tatian's writings have very largely perished, possibly because of the church's disapproval of his teaching. In his address to the Greeks, chap. 21 (II, 74), we have the nearest approach to a theory of the virgin birth:

We do not act as fools, O Greeks, nor utter idle tales, when we announce

<sup>40</sup> The statement in the same passage that the magi came from *Arabia* seems to embody a tradition more specific than the story of Matthew, or it may be Justin's interpretation of "from the East." The extant apocryphal gospels make no mention of such a fact.

<sup>41</sup> CONRADY, *Quelle der Kindheitsgesch. Jesu*, pp. 126 ff., endeavors to magnify Justin's use of extra-canonical sources, especially his use of the gospel of James, and upon the basis of *Apol.*, I, 33, *ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν*, concludes that, according to his own words, Justin used more than one gospel of the childhood.

<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, Justin's unequivocal statement of Jewish monotheism is seen in *Dial.*, chaps. 11, 114, 127; also in *Apol.*, I, 12, 61, and *Apol.*, II, 6.

that God was born in the form of a man. I call on you who reproach us to compare your mythical accounts with our narration.<sup>43</sup>

Although this is not exactly to the point, it seems to be an echo of the familiar argument of his teacher Justin. The genealogical tables are omitted<sup>44</sup> from his *Diatessaron* (IX, 44, 45), but the account of the virgin birth is faithfully reproduced from Matthew and Luke.

Thus, while the evidence from Tatian is very meager, it is perhaps sufficient to warrant the conclusion that, at the time of his writing the address to the Greeks, and also at the time of the compilation of his harmony, he was in accord with the narratives in the infancy sections of the gospels, and probably shared largely in the apologetic position of Justin Martyr.

V. MELITO (bishop of Sardis, 160-77 A. D.) has four brief references to the virgin birth that are preserved to us. These assert the pre-existence of Jesus without bodily form, and that, though he was "arrayed in the nature of his Father," he was carried in the womb of the virgin and assumed a bodily form from her. *Discourse on the Cross*, chap. 3 (VIII, 756), *on Faith*, chaps. 4 and 5 (VIII, 757). The reference in the *Discourse on Faith*, chap. 4, is a striking example of the attempted harmony of the Johannine prologue with a combination of the infancy stories of Matthew and Luke. No extra-canonical influence is discernible, and the contribution of Melito is without particular significance.

VI. IRENÆUS (about 120-202 A. D.). With Irenæus we pass from the field of apologetics to that of polemics. Justin Martyr was able to get along on friendly terms with his fellow-Christians who believed in the natural generation of Jesus. This may have been due to the tolerant spirit of Justin, or to one or both of two other facts, viz., the comparative unimportance of the doctrine of the virgin birth in the church at large, and, what is quite probable, the comparative moderation of those who took occasion to deviate in some respect from the established belief. But in the time of Irenæus the doctrine had become so rigid and was thought to be freighted with so weighty theological consequences, and, moreover, its various classes of opponents had become so strong and so odious to the orthodox majority, that the

<sup>43</sup> TATIAN, *Oratio adv. Graecos*, 21: Οὐ γὰρ μωραίνομεν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐ δὲ ληροῦς ἀπαγγέλομεν, Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλοντες. Οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἡμᾶς συγκρίνατε τοὺς μύθους ὑμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις διηγήμασι.

<sup>44</sup> This to disprove the descent of Jesus from David. See THEODORET, *Haeret. Fab.*, I, 20.

defender of Christianity was forced to direct his energies against them rather than against the outside world.<sup>45</sup>

This Irenæus did with no sparing hand, and so diligent was he in meeting the Gnostics at every turn in their mystic and extravagant vagaries, so persistent in his appeal to the law, the prophets, and the New Testament writings, and so conscientious in emphasizing the vital deductions which he thought to rest upon the doctrine of the virgin birth, that we are indebted to him for both a large amount of material on the question and almost proportionate light.

From an inductive study this material finally falls into a threefold division, which, with the ordinary exceptions due to such a method, will best serve to present the status of the doctrine in the time of Irenæus. We shall endeavor to give, first, a statement of the various views held, including, as far as we are able to interpret it, that of the Gnostics. In the second division Irenæus's appeal to Scripture will be presented; and in the third, the more distinctively theological argument and deductions.

1. The doctrine is stated or denied in a great variety of forms, the most difficult being that of the Gnostics produced in their attempt to keep Christ utterly free from the pollution of inherently evil flesh, and also to keep God the Father from dealing directly with that which was human and therefore sinful. In *Against Heresies*, I, 7, § 2 (I, 325)<sup>46</sup> it is stated that the Christ was produced by the Demiurge from a psychic (*ψυχικόν*) nature, and that this Christ passed through Mary as water through a tube. Thus he was made in heaven of wholly supra-earthly substance, and suffered no pollution or alteration in his earthly advent. The continual aim of the Gnostics is thoroughly to denaturalize the conception, birth, and appearance of Jesus, in order to preserve the divinely created Christ from material contamination. In *Against Heresies*, III, 22, 2 (I, 454), Irenæus meets this theory in the following words:

Superfluous, too, in that case, is his descent into Mary; for why did he come down into her if he were to take nothing of her? Still further, if he had taken nothing of Mary, he would never have availed himself of those kinds of food which are derived from the earth by which that body which has been taken from the earth is nourished.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books V, XX, XXVI.

<sup>46</sup> The citations in this section, unless otherwise designated, are from this work.

<sup>47</sup> Ἐπεὶ περισσὴ καὶ ἡ εἰς τὴν Μαρίαν αὐτοῦ κάθοδος. τί γὰρ καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν κατῆε, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔμελλε λήψασθαι παρ' αὐτῆς; Ἐτι τε εἰ μὴδὲν εἰλήφει παρὰ τῆς Μαρίας, οὐκ αὐτὰς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐλημμένους προσίετο τροφάς, δι' ὧν τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς λεηφθὲν τρέφεται σῶμα.

A rather elaborate statement of the mediaries used by God in the formation and earthly birth of Christ is given in I, 15, 3 (I, 339):

The angel Gabriel took the place of Logos, the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, the Power of the Highest that of Anthropos, while the Virgin pointed out the place of Ecclesia. And thus by a dispensation there was generated by Him through Mary that man whom, as he passed through the womb, the Father of all chose to obtain the knowledge of Himself by means of the Word.<sup>48</sup>

Here, as in many of the Gnostic utterances, it is difficult to discover any clear and consistent conception running through the passage. This is due to the studied coining of terms and juggling with the same for the purpose of making the Christian system more of an awe-inspiring mystery, known only to the initiated. From the context, however, it seems that these æons of the tetrad, viz., *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἐκκλησία*, *λόγος*, and *ζωή*, produced the pre-existent Christ; and in order to have an exact parallel in God's generation of Jesus through Mary, these agencies have fitting substitutes which carry out the divine will, viz., Gabriel for *λόγος*, the Holy Spirit for *ζωή*, the Power of the Highest for *ἄνθρωπος*, and the virgin Mary for *ἐκκλησία*. There is in this scheme of substitution some show of reason. Gabriel does with some fitness fill the place of the Word or messenger of God; the Holy Spirit, the place of the imparted divine life; the Power of the Highest, the place of the natural generating agency, man; and Mary, the place of the medium, the church, through which God comes among men. The scheme is inconsistent where it introduces the Word as imparting to Jesus in his passage through the womb the knowledge of the Father.

In I, 25, 1, Carpocrates<sup>49</sup> and his followers "hold that Jesus was the son of Joseph and was just like other men, with the exception that he differed from them in this respect, that, inasmuch as his soul was steadfast and pure, he perfectly remembered those things which he had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God."<sup>50</sup> Here one

<sup>48</sup> Καὶ τοῦ μὲν λόγου ἀναπεκληρωκέναι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἀγγελὸν Γαβριὴλ, τῆς δὲ Ζωῆς τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὑψίστου, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τόπον ἢ παρθένος. οὕτως τε ὁ κατ' οἰκονομίαν διὰ τῆς Μαρίας γενεσιουργεῖται παρ' αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων διελθόντα διὰ μήτρας ἐξελέξατο διὰ λόγου εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>49</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books IV, VII.

<sup>50</sup> See John 17:3. IRENÆUS, *Contra Hæreses*, I, 25, 1: "(Dicunt) Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et cum similibus reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima eius firma et munda cum esset. Commemorata fuerit quae visa essent sibi in ea circumlatione quae fuisset ingenito Deo."

cannot escape the inference that Carpocrates and his followers believed in the pre-existence of the souls of all men.

Further statements are found in four or five other passages which it is necessary to incorporate in this section :

I, 26, 1 (I, 352): "He [Cerinthus<sup>51</sup>] represented Jesus as having not been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation, while he nevertheless was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men."<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: "Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates."<sup>53</sup> I, 27, 1 (I, 352): "Cerdo . . . taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolent."<sup>54</sup> IV, 16, 1 (I, 440): "The Valentinians<sup>55</sup> again maintain that the dispensational Jesus was the same who passed through Mary, upon whom the Savior from the more exalted region descended."<sup>56</sup> V, 19, 2 (I, 547): "Others still despise the advent of the Lord manifest [to the senses], for they do not admit his incarnation; while others, ignoring the arrangement that he should be born of a virgin, maintain that he was begotten by Joseph."<sup>57</sup>

The standard summary of heresies is to be found in I, 22, 31 (I, 347-58), where, beginning with Simon of Samaria, who held that God appeared among the Jews as Son, to the Samaritans as Father, and to other nations as the Holy Spirit, he passes on to mention nearly every phase of what he calls the "Lernæan hydra that was generated from the school of Valentinus." Saturninus of Antioch in Syria held that

<sup>51</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Ch. H.*, Books III, XXVIII.

<sup>52</sup> "Jesum autem subjecit non ex Virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est); fuisse autem Joseph et Mariæ filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia et sapientia ab hominibus."

<sup>53</sup> "Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum: ea autem, quæ sunt erga Dominum, non similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur."

<sup>54</sup> Κέρδων . . . ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεόν, μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν δὲ ἀγνώστα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν.

<sup>55</sup> EUSEBIUS, *C. H.*, Books IV, X, XI.

<sup>56</sup> "Qui autem a Valentino sunt, Jesum quidem, qui sit ex dispositione, ipsum esse, qui per Mariam transierit in quem illum de superiori Salvatore descendisse; quem et Christum dici."

<sup>57</sup> "Alii autem manifestum adventum Domini contemnunt, incarnationem eius non recipientes; alii autem rursus ignorantes Virginis dispensationem ex Joseph dicunt eum generatum."

the Savior was without birth, body, or form, and was only by supposition a visible man. Basilides thought that Nous (*νοῦς*) was the first-born of the unborn Father. *Νοῦς* is called Christ, and from him was born *Λόγος*. Christ appeared upon earth, wrought miracles, transformed himself as he pleased, was not in any way humiliated, defiled, or crucified. Carpocrates believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph and Mary as above stated; and many of the followers of Basilides and Carpocrates, owing to their negation of the worth and salvability of the body and their belief in salvation and resurrection for the soul only, became degraded into licentiousness and promiscuity. Cerinthus and the Ebionites<sup>58</sup> agreed with Carpocrates as to the birth of Jesus. Cerdo emphasized the fact that the father of Jesus Christ was the unknown God and not he of the law and prophets. Marcion accepted only the gospel of Luke, expunging therefrom the account of the generation of Jesus and other material offensive to the Gnostic taste. He treated the epistles of Paul and prophecy in the same manner. The Encratites were a product of the teaching of Saturninus and Marcion, but represented the extremely opposite result of that teaching which, springing from the same or a similar source, culminated in licentiousness; for the Encratites, holding to the inherent evil of flesh and of human generation, practiced the most rigorous abstinence. Of this class was Tatian after the death of Justin Martyr. The Barbeliotes held that Barbelos, the eternal æon who existed as a virgin spirit, created light and, anointing it, thus constituted the Christ. The Ophites and Sethians, while believing that Jesus was begotten of a virgin through the agency of God, and was therefore wiser, purer, and more righteous than all other men, held at the same time that Jesus was only constituted Christ by the descent of Christ united to Sophia (*σοφία*) into him.

A more condensed summary of the various beliefs touching the birth is found in III, 11, 3 (I, 427):

Some, however, make the assertion that this dispensational Jesus did become incarnate and suffered, whom they represent as having passed through Mary just as water through a tube; but others allege him to be the son of the Demiurge, upon whom the dispensational Jesus descended; while others again say that Jesus was born from Joseph and Mary and that the Christ from above descended upon him, being without flesh and impassible. But according to the opinion of no one of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh. For if anyone carefully examines the systems of them all, he will find that the Word of God is brought in by them all as not having become incar-

<sup>58</sup> It may be that the Ebionites denied the virgin birth of Jesus in order to maintain his Davidic descent as Messiah.

nate (*sine carne*) and impassible, as is also the Christ from above. Others consider him to have been manifested as a transfigured man, but they maintain him to have been neither born nor to have become incarnate; whilst others hold that he did not assume human form at all, but that as a dove he did descend upon that Jesus who was born of Mary. Therefore the Lord's disciple, pointing them all out as false witnesses, says, And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.<sup>59</sup>

In this passage five tolerably distinct views are set forth: (1) That Jesus, the pre-existent one, took a real body and became subject to suffering, but that his body was in no respect derived from Mary. This was the view of Valentinus and was elaborated by Appelles, Ptolemy, Secundus, and Heracleon. (2) That Jesus was the son of the Demiurge and that upon him descended the dispensational Jesus. (3) That Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, and that Christ, spiritual and incapable of suffering, descended upon him as a dove at baptism. This view is twice stated, the second statement being in the sentence before the last of the reference. It was the view of Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and others. (4) That Jesus was manifested as a transfigured man, that he was a semblance only, without flesh and not born. This was the view of Saturninus, Basilides, and others. And (5) the view of the fourth gospel, and of Irenæus, that the Word was made flesh.

So much for the various statements of the doctrine. The chief contribution made to the study is the appearance of Gnosticism in its attempt to entirely rid Jesus Christ of the pollution of the flesh, and this by an ignoring of the New Testament account and by a resort to philosophic theorizing upon the basis of a half-Hebraized and degenerate Greek philosophy. Otherwise the opposing contentions of the natural birth and of the birth from Mary alone by the Power of God are practically the same as in the writings previously reviewed.

<sup>59</sup> IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 11, 3: "Incarnatum autem et passum quidam quidem eum, qui ex dispositione sit, dicunt Jesum, quem par Mariam dicunt pertransisse, quas aquam per tubum, alii vero Demiurgi filium, in quem descendisse eum Jesum, qui ex dispositione sit; alii rursum Jesum quidem ex Joseph et Maria natum dicunt, et in hunc descendisse Christum, qui de superioribus sit; sine carne et impassibilem, existentem. Secundum autem nullam sententiam haereticorum, Verbum Dei caro factum est. Si enim quis regulas ipsorum omnium prescrutetur, inveniet quoniam sine carne, et impassibilis ab omnibus illis inducitur Dei Verbum, et qui est in superioribus Christus. Alii enim putant manifestatum eum, quemadmodum hominem transfiguratum; neque autem natum, neque incarnatum dicunt illum; alii vero neque figura meum assumpsisse hominis; sed quemadmodum columbam descendisse in eum Jesum, qui natus est ex Maria. Omnes igitur illos falsos testes ostendens discipulus Domini, ait: Et Verbum caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis."

2. Irenæus's appeal to Scripture is noteworthy in that with him first we meet the use of the New Testament as an authority similar to the Old. His use of prophecy is on a par with that of Justin Martyr.<sup>60</sup> The quotation of secs. 7 and 8 will suffice to illustrate this :

On this account also Daniel [Dan. 2:34], foreseeing his advent, said that a stone cut out without hands came into this world.<sup>61</sup> For this is what "without hands" means, that his coming into this world was not by the operation of human hands, that is, of those men who are accustomed to stone-cutting ;<sup>62</sup> that is, Joseph taking no part with regard to it, but Mary only co-operating with the prearranged plan. For this stone from the earth derives existence from both the power and the wisdom of God. Wherefore also Isaiah says : " Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I deposit in the foundations of Zion a stone, precious, elect, the chief, the corner one, to be had in honor." So then we understand that his advent in human nature was not by the will of a man, but by the will of God.<sup>63</sup> (8) Wherefore also Moses, giving a type, cast his rod<sup>64</sup> upon the earth, in order that it by becoming flesh might expose and swallow up all the opposition of the Egyptians which was lifting itself up against the prearranged plan of God ; that the Egyptians themselves might testify that it is the finger of God which works salvation for the people, and not the son of Joseph. For if he were the son of Joseph, how could he be greater than Solomon or greater than Jonah or greater than David, when he was generated from the same seed, and was a descendant of these men ? And how was it that he also pronounced Peter blessed because he acknowledged him to be the son of the living God ?<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See III, 9, 2 and 3 ; 21, 1, especially § 6, where the Ebionite contention for *καὶνός* rather than *παθὲνός* in the Immanuel passage is refuted ; and § 5 for a pedantic treatment of *de fructu ventris, renum, lumborum*, showing that the use of *ventris* in the promise to David predicted the virgin birth.

<sup>61</sup> See also *ibid.*, V, 25, 5 (I, 554).

<sup>62</sup> An easy adaptation of the term "carpenter" (*τέκτων*) of the canonical and apocryphal gospels, so as to make it more consonant with the quotation from Daniel.

<sup>63</sup> IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 7 : " Propter hoc autem et Daniel praevidens eius adventum, lapidem sine manibus abscissum advenisse in hunc mundum (hoc enim est quod "sine manibus") significabat ; quod non operantibus humanis manibus, hoc est, virorum illorum qui solent lapides caedere, in hunc mundum eius adventus erat, id est, non operante in eum Joseph, sed sola Maria cooperante dispositioni. Hic enim lapis a terra, ex virtute et arte constat Dei. Propter hoc autem et Isaias ait : 'sic dicit Dominus : Ecce ego mitto in fundamenta Sion lapidem pretiosum, electum, summum, angularem, honorificum ;' uti non ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, adventum eius qui secundum hominem est intelligamus."

<sup>64</sup> Note the play upon words in the original.

<sup>65</sup> IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 8 : " Propter hoc autem et Moyses ostendans typum projecit virgam in terram, ut ea incarnata omnem Ægyptiorum praevaricationem quae insurgebat adversus Dei dispositionem, argueret et absorberet ; et ut ipsi Ægyptii



In the following section (9) Irenæus makes an appeal to prophecy to show that, if Jesus were the son of Joseph, he could not be "king or heir." For in Matt. 1: 12-16 it is shown that Joseph was descended from Joachim and Jechoniah, but according to Jer. 22: 24 ff. and 36: 30 ff. these men were disinherited by God.

Those therefore who say that he was begotten of Joseph, and that they have hope in him, do cause themselves to be disinherited from the kingdom, falling under the curse and rebuke directed against Jechoniah and his seed. Because for this reason have these things been spoken against Jechoniah, the Spirit foreknowing the doctrines of the evil teachers; that they may learn that from his seed—that is, from Joseph—he was not to be born, but that, according to the promise of God, from David's belly the king eternal is raised up, who sums up all things in himself and gathered into himself the ancient formation (of man).<sup>65</sup>

The use of the New Testament centers very largely about the infancy sections.<sup>67</sup> First Cor. 15: 3, 4, 12 is used for emphasis of the real humanity of Christ, III, 17, 3 (I, 446). John 1: 13, "not born by the will of the flesh, or by the will of man," is used in III, 19, 2 (I, 449). But perhaps most significant of all is the use of Gal. 4: 4, 5 in III, 16, 3 (I, 441), and III, 22, 1 (I, 454), "God sent forth his Son, born of a woman." In fragments 52-4 (I, 577) the status of the gospels in this controversy is indicated. "With regard to Christ, the law, the prophets, and the *evangelists* have proclaimed that he was born of a virgin."<sup>68</sup>

The use of the New Testament is, on the whole, very much more reasonable than that of the Old Testament; and while the references in the Pauline epistles do not, in our thinking, contribute anything beyond a confirmation of the actual humanity of Christ (a point for which

testificarentur, quoniam dignus est Dei, qui salutem operatur populo, et non Joseph filius. Si enim Joseph filius esset, quemadmodum plus poterat quam Salomon, aut plus quam Jonas habere, aut plus esse David, cum esset ex eadem seminatione generatus, et proles existens ipsorum? Ut quid autem et beatum dicebat Petrus, quod eum cognosceret esse Filium Dei vivi?"

<sup>65</sup> IRENÆUS, *ibid.*, III, 21, 9: "Qui ergo eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum et in eo habere spem, abdicatos se faciunt a regno, sub maledictione et increpatione decedentes, quae erga Jechoniam et in semen ejus. Propter hoc enim dicta sunt haec de Jechonia, spiritu praesciente ea quae a malis doctoribus dicuntur: uti dicant, quoniam ex semine eius, id est ex Joseph, non erit natus, sed secundum reprobationem Dei de ventre David suscitatur rex aeternus, qui recapitulatur omnia in se et antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulatus est."

<sup>67</sup> E. g., III, 2, 9, 10; 16, 2 ff.; 21, 4; IV, 23, 1.

<sup>68</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Ch. H.*, Books V, VIII.

Irenæus had to contend), still one can readily understand how such a passage as Gal. 4: 4 was irresistibly attractive. But now that the gospels had become authoritative, and the infancy sections especially were so effectually used by the orthodox, it only remained for those who opposed the virgin birth to repudiate these sections. Hence we read in I, 28, 2 (I, 352):

Besides this he [Marcion] mutilates the gospel which is according to Luke, removing all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most clearly confessing that the maker of this universe is his Father.<sup>69</sup>

3. Passing now to Irenæus's more distinctively theological argument and deductions, we see that according to his thinking the virgin birth readily explained how the Son of God became the Son of man:

He therefore, the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the son of man, since he had a generation as to his human nature from Mary—who was descended from mankind, and who was herself a human being—was made the son of man<sup>70</sup> (III, 19, 3 [I, 449]).

Moreover, the ability of Jesus and his excellence of character are not admitted as arguments for his messiahship and sonship apart from the virgin birth, as is the case in Justin Martyr, but are regarded as the consequences of such a birth (I, 30, 12 [I, 357]).

The superficial parallelism and moral antithesis between the virgin birth and the creation and fall can be best appreciated from direct quotation:

III, 21, 10 (I, 454): And as the protoplast himself, Adam, had his substance from untilled and yet virgin soil<sup>71</sup> (for God had not yet sent rain, and man had not yet tilled the ground), and was formed by the hand of God, that is, by the Word of God, for "all things were made by him," and the Lord took dust from the earth and formed man; so did he who is the Word, recapitulating Adam in himself, rightly receive a birth enabling him to gather up Adam into himself from Mary, who was as yet a virgin. If, then,

<sup>69</sup> IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, I, 28, 2: "Et super haec id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens et omnia quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens in quibus manifestissime conditionem huius universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est."

<sup>70</sup> IRENÆUS, *ibid.*, III, 19, 3: "Hic igitur Filius Dei Dominus noster, existens Verbum Patris et filius hominis: quoniam ex Maria, quae ex hominibus habebat genus quae et ipsa erat homo, habuit secundum hominem generationem, factus est filius hominis."

<sup>71</sup> Also III, 17, 7.

the first Adam had a man for his father, and was born of human seed, it were reasonable to say that the second Adam was begotten of Joseph. But if the former was taken from the dust, and God was his maker, it was incumbent that the latter also, making a recapitulation in himself, should be formed as man by God, to have an analogy with the former as respects his origin. Why, then, did not God take dust, but wrought so that the formation should be made of Mary? It was that there might not be another formation called into being, nor any other which should require to be saved, but that the same formation should be summed up, the analogy having been preserved.<sup>72</sup>

Here, as in several other similar passages, Irenæus shows a familiarity with Paul's parallelism between Adam and Jesus, but differs from Paul in pushing the parallelism into a region of which Paul was either wholly ignorant, or with which he was totally unconcerned.<sup>73</sup>

There is a significant passage in IV, 33, 4 (I, 507):

And how shall he [man] escape from the generation subject to death, if not by means of a new generation, given in a wonderful and unexpected manner, but as a sign of salvation by God—I mean that regeneration which is from the virgin through faith?<sup>74</sup> Or how shall they receive adoption from God, if they remain in this kind of generation, which is naturally possessed by man in this world? And how should he [Christ] have been greater than Solomon or greater than Jonah, or have been the Lord of David, who was of the same substance as they were?<sup>75</sup>

Such a statement, taken together with the Paulinistic elaboration

<sup>72</sup> IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 10: "Et quemadmodum protoplastus ille Adam de rudi terra, et de adhuc virgine, (nondum enim pluerat Deus, et homo non erat operatus terram) habuit substantiam: et plasmatus est manu Dei, id est Verbo Dei (omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt) et sumpsit Dominus limum a terra, et plasmavit hominem: ita recapitulans in se Adam, ipse Verbum existens ex Maria, quae adhuc erat virgo, recte accipiebat generationem Adae recapitulationis. *el τούτων ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ ἔσχε πατέρα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς σπέρματος ἐγεννήθη εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ λέγειν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ γεγεννησθαι· ἐλ δε ἐκεῖνος ἐκ γῆς ἐλήφθη. Πλάστῃς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, ἔδει καὶ τὸν ἀνακεφαλαιούμενον εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλασμένον ἄνθρωπον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ τῆς γεννήσεως ἔχειν ὁμοιότητα εἰς τί οὖν πάλιν οὐκ ἔλαβε χοῦν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας ἐνήργησε τὴν πλάσιν γενέσθαι. ἵνα μὴ ἄλλη πλάσις γένηται μηδὲ ἄλλο τὸ σωζόμενον ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνακεφαλαιωθῇ τηρουμένης τῆς ὁμοιότητος"*

<sup>73</sup> See also III, 21, 4 (I, 455); V, 19, 1 (I, 547); and V, 21, 1 (I, 584).

<sup>74</sup> See III, 19, 1 (I, 448); IV, 33, 11 (I, 509); V, 1, 1, 2, 3 (I, 527).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 33, 4: "Quemadmodum autem relinquet mortis generationem, si non in novam generationem mire et inopinate a Deo, in signum autem salutis, datam, quae est ex virgine per fidem, regenerationem? vel quam adoptionem accipient a Deo, permanentes in hac genesi, quae est secundum hominem in hoc mundo? Quomodo autem plus quam Salomon, et plus quam Jonas habebat, et Dominus erat David, qui eiusdem cum ipsis fuit substantiae?"

in III, 19, 1, makes the foundation for Irenæus's ultimate dogmatic assertion :

Those who assert that he was simply a mere man, begotten by Joseph, remaining in the bondage of the primal disobedience, are in a state of death, having been not as yet joined to the Word of God the Father, nor receiving liberty through the Son, as he does himself declare : If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed<sup>76</sup> (III, 19 [I, 448]).

We have traced the doctrine in Irenæus, noticing its multiform statement arising from the conviction of its great importance and the menacing features of the different forms of Gnosticism. The appeal to Scripture is seen to be, in the case of prophecy at least, no more praiseworthy than that of Justin Martyr, while his appeal to the New Testament is much more straightforward, and constitutes a new feature in the study. The more distinctly theological argument is based upon a fanciful, though somewhat Pauline, analogy whose force is not felt today. The argument makes the virgin birth the basal and essential factor in constituting Jesus a fit and capable Savior for lost and polluted man, hence those who do not believe in the virgin birth are "in the bondage of the old disobedience" and "in a state of death." Of course, the other and silent premise underlying this conclusion is that right belief concerning the nature of Christ is necessary to salvation.

1. In conclusion it should be pointed out that, while Irenæus makes a copious use of the canonical infancy stories,<sup>77</sup> he has no reference to the apocryphal accounts, although they would very naturally have been called for in such a passage as IV, 23, § 1. Moreover, it would appear (I, 27, § 2 [I, 352]) that, in the case of the heretic Marcion at least, there existed no apocryphal source of the kind which he needed for his denial of the miraculous generation of Jesus, so that it was necessary for him so to mutilate the gospel of Luke that it might suit his purpose. Nor is there evidence that any of the heretics knew of gospels other than the canonical to which to appeal in advancing or supporting their variant views.

2. In his understanding of the virgin birth Irenæus has passed clear away from the thought of a miraculous but real birth (devoid of

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 19, 1: "Rursus autem qui unde tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinae inobedientiae moriuntur: nondum commisti Verbo Dei Patris, neque per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait: 'Si Filius vos manumiserit vere liberi eritis.'"

<sup>77</sup> *E. g.*, III, 9, 2 and 3 (I, 423 ff.); III, 16, 2, 3, and 4 (I, 440 ff.); III, 21, 4 and 5 (I, 452); IV, 23, 1 (I, 494); V, 25, 5 (I, 554).

the slightest intimation of pre-existence), such as the accounts in Matthew and Luke teach and Ignatius and Justin clearly, though not consistently, imply, and in his adoption of the view of the fourth gospel has converted the virgin birth into an advent or an incarnation in a more rigid and uniform sense than previously prevailed; *e. g.*, *Contra Haer.*, I, 25, 1 (I, 330); III, 9, 3 (I, 423); III, 11, 3 (I, 427). But, at the same time, in his thinking the divine sonship and nature of Jesus were based upon the fact that God, and not man, was his father (III, 21, § 8 [I, 453]).

3. Thus in Irenæus we meet what is so far the clearest statement of Jesus' derivation of divine nature from the fact that God is his father; but Irenæus's chief contribution to the study is in the theological significance which he attributed to the virgin birth; for in his thinking it was only by such a birth that Jesus could be constituted the adequate Savior of mankind—and so far as his moral worth being sufficient *per se* to constitute him Messiah and Son of God, Irenæus, making a bold advance from the position of the earliest apologists, asserted that the pre-eminence of Jesus and his unique moral worth were dependent upon the virgin birth.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

### INTUITIONAL CRITICISM.

THE article in the April number of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY* on "The Transfiguration Story" is an interesting specimen of what may be called intuitional criticism. It settles matters by the decisive method of seeing just what must have been the facts in apostolic times, and formulating the results in vigorous and positive affirmations. There is some show of reasoning and adducing evidence—just enough to satisfy the prejudices of those who still think something of that sort to be necessary; but in the main it is the deliverance of one who enjoys the faculty of critical second sight. A few illustrations may be given.

We are told that Paul's visions were "due to a peculiar nervous temperament" (p. 241). We have so little information in the New Testament about Paul's nervous system that one naturally wonders what the evidence can be. Strictly speaking, none is given. Reference is made to 2 Cor. 12 : 7, where Paul's "thorn in the flesh" is spoken of; and apparently we are expected to infer that this is a figurative reference to a "peculiar nervous temperament." But inasmuch as Paul distinctly intimates that the thorn was sent *after* "the exceeding greatness of the revelations," we can hardly be expected to be much impressed by this evidence. Clearly our conviction of the truth of the proposition must rest on the intuition of the writer. For he himself evidently has a "peculiar nervous temperament" from which "visions" proceed, enabling him to see distinctly and directly what Paul's mental processes were.

Respecting the visions of Joseph and of the magi, of Zacharias, of Mary, and of the shepherds, we are told that they "are not the record of pathological facts, but literary expressions for religious ideas" (p. 242). Here no show of evidence is adduced beyond the declaration itself. We are to trust the intuition implicitly.

Similarly it is declared that the "two anointed ones" of Zech. 14 : 4 were understood by the early Christians as referring to the "two prophet-witnesses of Messiah," so that, when Jesus was seen with two "glorified ones," these were "perceived at once" to be no other than

those mentioned by Zechariah (p. 255). Inasmuch as there is not a particle of historical or exegetical basis for this statement, it is in this case strikingly obvious that we are indebted for the information wholly to the authoritative vision vouchsafed to the writer of the article.

To come nearer the heart of the essay, the narrative of the transfiguration is declared to be unhistorical. No distinct reason is given for the affirmation. Stress is indeed laid on the fact that the narrative embodies the same didactic contents as the preceding account of Peter's confession. But it is not clear how this is any evidence of the apocryphalness of either story. If the two accounts *disagreed* with one another, there would be some plausibility in thinking that one or the other must be discredited. It is true, some critics find both agreement and disagreement to be evidence of spuriousness. Thus, it is said, John could not have written both the fourth gospel and the Revelation, because they are so unlike; and Paul could not have written the epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, because they are so much alike. But our author does not distinctly adopt this as a canon of criticism, and doubtless it would be more fair to him to assume that he rests his case chiefly, if not wholly, on the clearness of the intuition by which he is enabled authoritatively to declare that no transfiguration took place at all.

Although the main topic is the transfiguration story, our author's peculiar nervous temperament has furnished him with a vision respecting the stories about Peter and Cornelius in Acts, chap. 10. We read (p. 243):

We have here more than the inherent improbability of two mutually unknown and widely separated nervous temperaments working in conjunction, to convince us that the vision is fictitious. A separate version of the same event (the emancipation of Peter from his Jewish scruples about eating with converted gentiles), in plain prose, from the hand of Paul himself, Gal. 2:11-21, absolutely establishes the fact.

Here, indeed, we *seem* to have something like reasoning from historic evidence. Paul is set over against Luke, and Paul's testimony seems to be accepted as decisive. But we soon find that it is so only in appearance. Not merely does the essayist calmly set aside the current notion that the coincidence between the visions of Peter and Cornelius was owing to a supernatural influence, but we find him afterward setting aside the very evidence which he so triumphantly adduces. Paul's account in Gal., chap. 2, he tells us, shows that Paul was the one who overcame Peter's scruples about eating with converted gentiles. But

Paul's account shows us just the opposite. It tells us that, before the coming of the men from Jerusalem, Peter "did eat with the gentiles" — from which it is evident that Peter had already been emancipated from his Jewish scruples on this subject. The "plain prose" tells us that what Paul rebuked him for was his drawing back from his previous practice—in other words, his weakness in not consistently and persistently making his practice conform to the emancipation which had already taken place.

But our author knows the facts much better than this. His reference to Paul's testimony seems to have been made only as a concession to the weakness of those men who are always asking for a proof—like the Jews who were always asking for a sign. The really conclusive factor in the settlement of the problem is not what Paul says, but what the seer by his intuition sees. He *knows* that Peter was converted from his prejudices by Paul at Antioch. The fact that Paul seems to say just the opposite only shows that he was unfortunate in his use of language, and did not say what he meant to say or ought to have said. It is much more satisfactory to have a clairvoyant who can see infallibly and immediately from the twentieth century to the first, and from Connecticut to Antioch, than to depend for our information on an old manuscript written in bad Greek, which may or may not represent what Paul actually said.

If anyone imagines that our author cannot really intend to contradict the very authority on which he professedly relies, one needs only to read this declaration found on p. 244:

It is psychologically inconceivable . . . that Peter, acting under what he regarded as special divine revelation, should not only have converted and baptized a company of gentiles (10: 24, 45-48), but eaten with them (10: 48; 11: 3); then been taken to task for it by "them that were of the circumcision" . . . , with the result of triumphant vindication of his course . . . ; and thereafter at Antioch, in spite of the example of Paul and the support of a considerable element of gentile believers, been so overawed by the influence of "certain from James" as inconsistently to withdraw from his eating with the gentiles, desert their cause, and force upon Paul, single-handed, the long battle for their equal rights in the church.

Now, whether or not our seer's intuitions are correct with regard to the narrative in Acts, chap. 10, it is certain that, according to Paul, Peter's scruples had *somehow* been overcome before the rebuke was administered to him by Paul; and it is certain that they could have been overcome only by some evidence that they were contrary to the divine will. In either case, therefore, according to the passage just quoted,



it is psychologically *inconceivable* that Peter could have done what Paul *says that he did do*. Peter is thus relieved of his reputation for cowardice; but it is done at the expense of Paul's reputation for veracity. Probably we shall soon be told that the story of Peter's denial of Christ is fictitious. For the article under consideration lays stress on the importance of Peter's confession of Jesus' messiahship at Cæsarea Philippi; and it is intrinsically more improbable that a short time afterward Peter could have denied all knowledge of Jesus, than that he could have behaved as he is alleged to have done at Antioch. To be sure, the Christian world has, in general, never found any difficulty in believing the story of the denial, and has even found it to be quite in accordance with the working of imperfectly sanctified human nature in all generations; but that will not prevent its being discovered to be psychologically inconceivable that the story can be true. This argument from psychological inconceivability is a very convenient and effective one. I remember once hearing a German theological student emphatically affirm that it was psychologically inconceivable that the mother of Jesus could have had any other children to bring up. How much easier to settle that vexed question in this way than to bother with the various Marys and Jameses and reach no certain result after all!

And so at last it comes to this: All the various accessible witnesses to the facts of the history of the early Christian church are found to be untrustworthy. They agree with one another too much, or they disagree with one another too much; and in either case they come into collision with the psychological make-up of the critical scholar. Accordingly the only satisfactory way of getting at the facts of early Christian history seems to be to trust entirely to the intuitions of the modern seer.

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#### HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF JER. 1:4-19.

1. *Jeremiah's prophetic call, 1:4-10.*—The correctness of the date given both in 1:3 and 25:3 as the thirteenth year of Josiah, *i. e.*, 627-6 B. C., admits of no doubt and is challenged, as far as I know, by nobody. The purpose of the story of Jeremiah's call is the vindication of the prophet's divine authority. Just as Amos told the priest at Bethel that he had been sent directly by Yahweh, and that he did not by any means belong to the professional prophets, so Jeremiah narrates here that he has not sought the prophetic office for himself, but has been compelled

to it by Yahweh. It is manifest that it was necessary for the prophet to emphasize his divine mission and to show his credentials only at a time when he encountered opposition and enmity. We know that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i. e.*, 604 B. C., the opposition against him had already set in. There was only one plausible reason and explanation which his opponents could give for their action against a prophet of Yahweh: that they doubted his divine mission and the genuineness of his prophethood. And they could be sure in Jeremiah's case that this explanation would be readily accepted, for so much was clear to the people: he who prophesied against the holy city, whose inviolability had become a dogma, uttered a blasphemy; he could not have been sent by Yahweh. So the people say in 26: 11. Though their judgment was changed in this instance by wise counsel, yet the doubt had been voiced, suspicion had been excited, and Jeremiah's imprisonment was possible only under the cover of this accusation. If under these circumstances the prophet wanted to procure for his word due respect and authority, he must write the story of his call. By Yahweh he is sent and His words he speaks. It would seem that the shameful treatment which the king gave to the first roll, by the burning of which he showed that he regarded these messages, not as divine oracles, but as the utterances of a traitor, must have given even more point to Jeremiah's desire to vindicate his prophethood. So that, while it is not improbable that he may have prefixed the account already to the first roll, it is perhaps more probable that he wrote it for the second. It might be possible that he prefixed it not until he had finished all his prophecies in 586 B. C. But it is to be remembered that at that time the authority of the prophet was immense. His prophecies had been fulfilled; he was indeed the prophet sent by Yahweh. It was absolutely unnecessary to refute any doubt concerning the genuineness of his prophethood; the events had spoken too plainly. It is therefore more natural to assume that he wrote it for the second roll in 604 B. C.

Now, on psychological grounds we must expect the story, written more than twenty years after it happened, to be tinged with the prophet's later experiences. And a careful examination of the narrative seems to reveal some of these later elements. In vs. 6 Jeremiah gave his youth as the reason for his shrinking back from the great office. He is backward and shy, too young and too little influential, therefore not qualified. That he was afraid the people might persecute him on account of his message, he does not say. In vs. 8, however, it is pre-

supposed that he was afraid of the consequences of his prophetic activity, for the assurance is given him that Yahweh will be with him and save him. Taken together with the fact that he has not yet been told what he should proclaim, so that he must be supposed to be still ignorant of the message, with the further fact that nothing is felt to be missing if vs. 8 be omitted, the connection in the story becoming apparently even more close, and with the fact that in this same chapter (vss. 18, 19) the same verse recurs almost verbatim, it might suggest the conclusion that vs. 8 should be omitted as a later element of the composition. But that would be too hasty, if we consider that with the call to be a נָבִיא, a "prophet," the message was essentially given to Jeremiah.\* For the true prophet proclaims, according to Jeremiah, only disaster (*cf.* 28:8, 9; 5:12, 13); to become a prophet means to him to become a proclaimer of destruction. If this was clear to Jeremiah from the very beginning, it is not to be wondered at that he should have become afraid of the consequences of his prophesying, and that he needed even then the encouragement of Yahweh's presence in danger.

That the word "prophet" was pregnant with this meaning at the time when he wrote down this narrative is manifest, so that we need not regard vs. 8 as a later addition to our present text. But the question is appropriate whether "prophet" meant to Jeremiah "proclaimer of disaster" at the very beginning, and whether Jeremiah needed at this time already encouragement of this kind. It would seem more likely that in the course of his prophetic activity, when he saw that he proclaimed only destruction, while others proclaimed peace, he must have looked back on the past history of his people. There he found that the true prophets of Yahweh had always predicted disaster, and he received comfort from the thought that he, the prophet of woe, was in organic connection with them.

Before him stands at the moment of his call the greatness of the office of a prophet of Yahweh. His sensitive heart is altogether controlled by the feeling of shyness and backwardness. He shrinks back, but it is not fear for his life or the consequences of his prophesying. This is his experience at the time of his call. But later on, when he stood in the midst of opposition and persecution, the conviction is vouchsafed him by Yahweh that he is not alone in his fight for righteousness. Since he was executing His commission, he would experience His help. And now as he—in the very midst of persecution—

\* For the etymology of נָבִיא see my "New Lexical and Critical Suggestions" in *American Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, January, 1902.

writes down the story of his call, he is convinced that this strong assurance of Yahweh's help had been given him at the very beginning. He reads his call in the light of his later experience. Vs. 8 was therefore written or dictated by Jeremiah in 604 B. C., but it is not an original element in his experience at the time of the call.

Another later element is probably contained in the last two words of vs. 10, **לְבָנוֹת וְלִנְטוֹעַ**, "to build and to plant." We saw that Jeremiah regarded it as his commission to proclaim destruction, and his speeches show that he did not speak of restoration till many years later, *i. e.*, not before the time of the first deportation. But in these two words the constructive work is mentioned as forming an element of his task at the beginning. It looks as if this were also a trace of his later experience, and, moreover, not written by Jeremiah in 604, but inserted later on, either by Jeremiah or by Baruch, or by somebody who lived after him. If, however, a comparison with 18: 7-10 be allowed, where this verse receives a full commentary, we shall have to regard as this constructive work, not only the later predictions of hope and restoration, but also the moving calls to repentance with which he strives to save his people from ruin. It would then probably not be necessary to regard the words **לְבָנוֹת וְלִנְטוֹעַ** as the expression of his later experience, though I cannot altogether free myself from the feeling that they are.

Does now, after these later elements are recognized, the remainder represent the contents of the original call?

It has been claimed recently by Duhm\* that the idea expressed in **עַל-הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל-הַמְּמַלְכוֹת**, "for the nations," in vs. 5, and **עַל-הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל-הַמְּמַלְכוֹת**, "over the nations and over the kingdoms," in vs. 10, is altogether irreconcilable with the information given us by Jeremiah in the undisputed parts of his book, and it is mainly on this account that Duhm denies the authenticity of vss. 4-10.

Is this assertion justified, even if we grant that all the passages which Duhm rejects as later additions are really not from Jeremiah?

In deciding this point we must take into account, not simply the prophetic activity, but also the prophetic consciousness of Jeremiah. We have to consider at least the possibility that Jeremiah had the consciousness that he was indeed set by Yahweh over the nations and not only over his own people, even though he did work only for his own people. We know that Jeremiah regarded the true prophets as pro-

\**Das Buch Jeremia* in "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," 1901.

claimers of disaster, not simply to their own people, but also to the nations. He emphasizes this point in 28:8, 9. Yet these prophecies were incidental with them; their real activity was for Israel and Judah. It is certainly of no little importance that Hosea, whom Jeremiah must have regarded as a true prophet, and whom he must have greatly admired, as is evidenced by the great influence of Hosea on the young prophet, dealt exclusively with his own people, and yet he falls under the category of the prophets described by Jeremiah in 28:8, 9. Can we deny that Jeremiah, just like others, saw his people standing in the midst of a great world-movement which affected, not only Judah, but all the neighboring nations? Are there not at least some traces in the undoubted passages which show that he had this view? (4:3 ff., 27.) Can we believe that Jeremiah, when he saw in his vision the terrible Scythian invasion breaking in from the north, should never have thought of the neighboring nations? Must we not rather suppose, even if he had not hinted at it in 4:3 ff., that he was conscious that by proclaiming the doom of his own nation he predicted also that of the others? Could he have regarded the march of Nebuchadnezzar as affecting merely Judah? Chap. 27 points to the contrary. Could he look at the pillaging and the shameful behavior of the neighbors after the destruction of Jerusalem without uttering a passionate word of prophetic retribution—and that after Yahweh had revealed to him that yet again houses and fields should be bought in the land? Surely he regarded the Chaldeans as divine instruments, but there is no trace of evidence that he thought this behavior of the neighbors belonged to the divine punishment.

Suppose that the only genuine passage concerning the hope for the future be in chap. 32, where by the business transaction it is made clear to him that "houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land." Are we here to think seriously that he believed the remaining population, the dregs of the nation, should increase again and thus become a new nation? Was this the new hope which Yahweh revealed to him? We must consider that he never speaks of a pious remnant; he prophesied utter destruction. But here at this time a new element of hope is introduced into his prophecies. There will be a restoration in times to come. Could he think of the good future as intended for anyone else but his own people? It was for this reason that he kept the contract so safe, that in years to come the people might know that he had proclaimed the restoration beforehand. But if Jeremiah saw a future restoration for his people, he must have consid-

ered also the fall of Babylon. It is difficult to see in what other way he could have regarded the restoration as possible except by the interposition of Yahweh and the overthrow of the Chaldean power. How far the idea of a peaceful return was from the thoughts of even the greatest minds is seen in Deutero-Isaiah.

In view of all this, it does not seem to be so improbable that Jeremiah regarded himself to be called a prophet "for the nations."

But even if this idea could be proved not to be by Jeremiah, the objection would hold good only to it and not to the whole story, if the obnoxious idea could be eliminated without destroying the whole narrative. think it can, if the *לְגוֹיִם*, "for the nations," in vs. 5, be changed into *לְעַמִּי*, "for my people," and vs. 10 be omitted as far as *וּמַמְלָכוֹת*, "kingdoms."

That the whole story is not from Jeremiah is very difficult to believe, (1) in view of the difficulty of accounting for an invention of the call ; (2) in view of the story's remarkably fine accord with Jeremiah's character; (3) in view of the singular conception of the extraordinary relation of the prophet to Yahweh, vs. 5 ; (4) in view of the peculiar excuse, "I am too young." It was, of course, not difficult to figure out that Jeremiah must have been a young man in 626, since he lived still in 586 B. C. But that such stress should have been laid on it is strange, especially since it is made use of nowhere else in the book. There breathes all through the story the spirit of Jeremiah, and it is difficult to deny its authenticity; and it will not do to take recourse to the supposition that the interpolator of the Persian era used Baruch's life of Jeremiah in regard to the undoubtedly original points in the narrative (Duhm).

It remains to consider the historicity of the narrated experience. It is not the question whether we think differently from Jeremiah of such an experience, regarding it as inward, and as the culmination of a long struggle, while he looks upon it as outward and the beginning of this struggle. The question is whether we can bring anything forward against the inner truth of this account. We cannot. It is so true to Jeremiah's nature that we feel this shy and sensitive young man would never have taken the initiative. He must have been called by Yahweh in a special revelation. He had seen in his life the guidance of Yahweh manifested in such a marvelous way, and had come to see it also in the life of his parents, that he became convinced that there must be a special divine meaning in it ; it dawns on him that he has been selected by Yahweh for a great mission even before he was

formed in his mother's womb (vs. 5). Whether the character of this mission was then dimly felt—its greatness certainly was; whether it became fully clear to him at the time of his call, we cannot tell. But so much we can see, that an inner struggle must have preceded. Yahweh tries to persuade him, but he shrinks back; he brings forward excuses; but they are overcome. The struggle becomes more intense, until one day he finds himself overmastered; and in the intensity of his realization of the spiritual world, he is conscious that Yahweh has touched his lips; he knows that he has been consecrated to be his prophet. He must prophesy from now on, whether he will or not (*cf.* 20 : 7 ff.), and his message is to be a message of doom, doom for Judah and doom for the nations.

2. *The vision of the almond tree, vs. 11, 12.*—This vision has evidently the purpose to encourage the prophet. "Does it seem to you as if the predicted destruction takes very long in coming? Be of good cheer; I watch over my word and shall also fulfil it." The situation here is quite different from that of the prophetic call. There he is exhorted to begin his prophetic work, his shyness is to be overcome; here the doubt is met whether Yahweh will really perform his word. It is not likely that this vision occurred right at the beginning of his prophetic activity. For first of all he must have proclaimed the message without the expected effect. The threatened disaster has not come; Jeremiah becomes disappointed; he needs this comfort. The vision is probably best explained by placing it after the time of the Scythian invasion. Jeremiah had proclaimed that the awful thunderstorm would break over the city, but it had passed without doing any harm. His prophecy was not fulfilled. He is on the brink of despair, but Yahweh comforts him: his word will yet be fulfilled. And now in the fourth year of King Jehoiakim, after more than twenty years have passed, he writes down this vision in connection with the threatened prediction; he knows it will surely come to pass.

The reason for placing this vision immediately after his call is that he wants to make it at once clear to his people that he has a revelation from Yahweh that the word which he has proclaimed to them so long—apparently without success—must become true after all. He overcomes in this way the doubt of the people, who recognize only that as Yahweh's word which really comes to pass, and secures thus their attention.

There is hardly any reason for doubting its authenticity and historicity. The description of a later interpolator, especially of one who

was familiar with Ezekiel's and Zechariah's visions, would hardly have been so simple, so short, and so chaste. Not one word is superfluous; everything belongs to the matter, just as in Amos, chap. 8.

3. *The vision of the seething caldron, vs. 13-19.*—Destruction threatens from the north. Not a single people is thought of, but "all the tribes of the kingdoms" of the north will march at Yahweh's command against Judah and Jerusalem. It was seething terribly in the north, and it seemed as if all the nations would sweep southward toward Judah. That is the situation.

It fits in best at the time of the Scythian invasion. The expressions in vs. 15 must, however, not be pressed; a little poetical or prophetic liberty must be allowed to Jeremiah. Whether he really knew that it was only one nation which swept through Asia? Why should it not have appeared to the young man as if the whole north would break loose and march against Judah? Was the mistake, after all, so very great? There may, indeed, be reflected in this vision something of the great patriotism of the Jews. Jerusalem and Judah are important enough for all the northern nations to war against. Such sense of self-importance was never wanting in the small nation, and it was not altogether without reason. But if this element is present here, it does not enter into the consciousness of the prophet. He is overawed by the awful danger which threatens his people. I fail to see an eschatological element.

The prophet must have had this vision shortly after his call. Not only what has been said so far speaks for this, but also the reason given in vs. 16, the defection of the people from Yahweh and their idol- and image-worship. When the Chaldean invasion threatened, the stress was laid on moral sins. A slight hint that Jeremiah was still conscious of having received this vision shortly after his call is given in the expression, "And the word of Yahweh came to me a second time," although in this chapter the phrase, *וַיִּדְרִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֵלַי*, "and the word of Yahweh came to me," occurs here for the third time—4, 11, 13. Now, when the prophet wrote down this vision in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, he does not mean the Scythians any more, but the Chaldeans. And here, I believe, is an indication of historic fidelity, that at a time when he knew that not all the nations of the north, but only the Babylonians, could be intended, the prophet says Yahweh had spoken to him at that time, "I will call all the tribes of the kingdoms of the north."

Looked at in this way, not only the contents of the vision become



clearer, but it is also seen how little force, on the whole, the argument against the authenticity of the verses has, which is based on the idea that the writer falls in these verses from the great world-wide standpoint of the prophetic call to the mere threatening of Judah (Duhm). It is true that only Judah is threatened, but the destruction is placed in the midst of a gigantic world-wide movement, all tribes of the kingdoms of the north being summoned to take active part in the tragedy.

In this vision we are first told explicitly what the contents of his message shall be. Well may Jeremiah's heart be filled with fear; he knows that he will make many enemies. But Yahweh encourages him. Whether the encouragement given in vss. 17-19 belongs to the original elements of the vision, or whether it is not rather the outcome of his long, bitter experiences, is the question. That it belongs to the composition dictated by Jeremiah in 604 can hardly be doubted. A certain element of this comfort may have been granted to him at the time when he had the vision. But could he at that time already anticipate the enmity and persecution of the kings of Judah, when we know that King Josiah could hardly have fought against him? He may have anticipated opposition, and encouragement may have consequently been granted him, but the verses here are tinged with his later experience, especially with that under King Jehoiakim.

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#### THE EASTERN CREEDS AND THE OLD ROMAN SYMBOL.

THE problem under consideration is the relation of the various forms of the baptismal symbol in use in the eastern churches to that used in the Roman church in the middle of the fourth century. To proceed in a logical fashion, we must first consider our sources of information; secondly, the dates and mutual relations of those sources; and finally we may endeavor to ascertain the relation between the Roman symbol (hereafter to be designated as R) and the eastern creeds, together with such indications as we shall be able to gather of the route or routes of communication, if such existed.

#### SOURCES FOR THE INVESTIGATION.

The primary sources for our study are the documents printed in Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, 3d ed. (Breslau, 1897), Nos. 123-45, together with Nos. 153-6. A few

notes on these must precede further investigation. For convenience they are here noticed in the order of Hahn's text :

123. "Eusebius Pamphili of Cæsarea." (*Cf.* No. 188.) Written before 325. Probably gives the substance of the creed in use in Cæsarea, but is hardly an authority for its verbiage. No argument can be drawn from the omission of any part, as only those matters in question at the council of Nice are touched on.

124. The "Creed of Jerusalem" as excerpted from a catechetical discourse of Cyril, the archbishop. Before 350.

125. "Epiphanius" (1). Creed of Jerusalem before 374. (Hort, Kattenbusch.) See Kattenbusch, *Das apostol. Symbol*, 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1894 and 1900 (Katt.), Vol. I, p. 288.

126. "Epiphanius" (2); *anno* 374. The composition of Epiphanius himself, based on the Nicene creed, designed to meet the heresies and controversies of the ten years before 374. It is the original source of Nos. 127 and 137. (Katt., I, 288.)

127. "Pseudo-Athanasian;" end of fourth century. This is a somewhat condensed form of Epiphanius (2). (Katt., I, 360.)

128. "Liturgia Jacobi;" late fourth or early fifth century; an unimportant fragment.

129. "Apostolic Constitutions" (l. vii, chap. 41); middle of fourth century (Harnack). Probably based on the "Symbol" of Lucian the Martyr (died 312) (Katt.). But *cf.* Katt., II, 198, where he disputes this early date as against his own conclusions in his first volume.

130a and 130b. The "Creed of Antioch;" about 365. (Hort, Katt.) The creed exists in fragments only, partly in Latin and partly in Greek, and is defective toward the end, but its closing phrases can be conjectured from Nos. 131, 132.

131. "Creed of Laodicea Syriae" (?). Taken from the *κατὰ μέγρος πλῆρως* of Apollinarius (Hahn, No. 204), of the fourth century. Closely dependent on the Antiochenum, and later in date.

132. "Creed of the Nestorians;" before 381; derived from the Antiochenum, and is probably from a Syrian source.

133. "Symbol of Marcus Eremita." Not of Ancyra in Galatia, as maintained by some, but of some place in Syria (Harnack, Katt., Seeberg, and others); between 430 and 440.

134. "Creed of Auxentius Mediolanensis;" probably represents the creed of Cappadocia; written 364; partly derived from the synod of Sirmium (351).

135. "The Decalogue of Gregorius Nazianzen;" written in 381; derived from the Nicene creed (Katt.); valuable only in parts.

136. "Armenian;" late; can be neglected in this discussion.

137. "Armenian;" translated back into Greek. Hort's text (*cf.* *Two*

*Dissertations, etc.*) is given in Katt. I, 303, and is much better than that printed by Hahn. Derived from Epiphanius (2) through the Pseudo-Athanasian creed, and so later than 374.

138. "Armenian;" of doubtful origin, text, and date. Not before the second half of the fifth century.

139. "Koptic Creed;" of uncertain date; "very old" (Katt.); perhaps derived from Rome through the "Canones Hippolyti."

140. "Koptic;" of uncertain date, but "old."

141. "Ethiopic;" of uncertain date, but "old."

142. "The Nicene Creed;" of the year 325; derived from Eusebius of Cæsarea, with certain additions made with a view to greater clearness of statement. Not a baptismal symbol, although its successor, "C," was.

144. "The Constantinopolitanum;" "C;" about 381; agrees almost exactly with Epiphanius (1), and derived in all probability from it. It is *not* a worked-over version of N.

151 ff. "Synodal Creeds." These were almost all created for special occasions and can generally be referred either to an already known form or to the fourth Antiochian formula (No. 153, *anno* 341). The numerous variants render the task of constructing an original form practically impossible. (Katt. I, 261.)

#### OTHER SOURCES.

In the works of no early eastern Father aside from those printed in Hahn and listed above, except possibly Clement of Alexandria and Origen, is there a trace of a formula or creed which can be definitely set forth. Kattenbusch regards it as probable that Clement had a creed which was very similar to the first Koptic form (Katt., II, pp. 102 ff.). I cannot regard this as proved by his arguments. Kattenbusch further believes that Origen knew R, but he cannot prove that he either himself accepted it or testifies to its use in Egypt or elsewhere. It seems proved by the same author that Charisius does not give the creed of Philadelphia (Vol. I, 361).

The sources fall into the following chronological order. Exact date or sequence cannot be asserted in all cases:

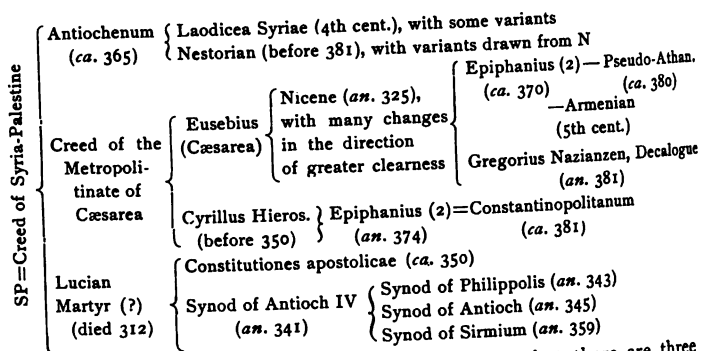
1. Eusebius (Cæsarea), before 325.
2. Nicene (council of Nicæa), 325.
3. Cyril of Jerusalem, before 350.
4. Auxentius of Milan (Cappadocia ?), before 351.
5. Koptic creeds (1, 2, and 3), before 325, early fourth century (?).
6. "Constitutiones apostolicæ," about 350.
7. Antiochenum (Syria), about 365.
8. Laodicea (Syria), fourth century.
9. Epiphanius (1) (Jerusalem), about 370.

10. Epiphanius (2) (Jerusalem), 374.
11. Pseudo-Athanasius, end of fourth century.
12. "Constantinopolitanum," late fourth century.
13. Nestorian (Syria), before 381 (?).
14. Gregorius Nazianzenus, 381.
15. Armenian, early fifth century.
16. Marcus Eremita (Syria), between 430 and 440.

It will be seen by a glance at the foregoing table that no one of these eastern creeds can be pushed back in date so far as is agreed by all scholars that R must be placed. Most of these dates above are contemporary with the R of Marcellus and Rufinus. This fact should be borne in mind when we come to discuss the relations of these creeds to R.

The extensive and detailed study and discussion of each of the documents just enumerated which can be found in the pages of Kattenbusch and other writers, and such a comparison of the texts as I have made, lead to the conclusion, not that we have sixteen or more independent witnesses to the baptismal formula of the East, but, on the contrary, that we can prove several of the forms to be directly related to certain others. We find, for example, that the Nicene creed is derived directly from that of Cæsarea as reported by Eusebius; that the second formula of Epiphanius is derived from the Nicene creed, with additions; that the Pseudo-Athanasian creed is a compression of Epiphanius (2), and that from this shortened form the Armenian creed comes almost directly. Moreover, the creed to which the decalogue of Gregory Nazianzen is a witness must be an expansion of the Nicene. These relations are seen from a very careful and minute study of the documents, and may be regarded as certain. Therefore, in order to get at the original creed of Cæsarea, we must take Eusebius's formula, supplementing it from the later sources in the latter portion where it is defective. The creeds derived from earlier ones can be neglected except when they supplement deficiencies in their archetype or contain readings which support forms found in other families. The process is exactly identical with that of textual criticism, and must be governed by its rules and canons.

We derive, therefore, the following formula from a comparison of the different documents and a study of their chronology:



It will be plain from the foregoing diagram that there are three clearly marked "families" among our witnesses to a creed in Syria and Palestine: (1) that of Antioch; (2) that of Cæsarea, including Jerusalem; and (3) that of Lucian Martyr. In addition, there are a few eastern symbols which do not fall under any of these three; those in Egypt must be treated separately; there remain Auxentius and Marcus Eremita. The last is too late to be considered seriously. Auxentius does not appear to be a witness for the baptismal symbol of a particular church—although it has been claimed, with some appearance of correctness, that he represents the creed of some Cappadocian church—but rather seems to give a confession of individual belief. If the elimination of these two from the discussion be accepted—the other witnesses to an Asiatic creed, Charisius and the presbyter of Ephesus (controversy with Noetius), are too indefinite to be of service—we are left with the creeds of Syria-Palestine and of Egypt.

We shall first endeavor to ascertain the creed of the churches of Syria and Palestine (SP) about the year 300. The method to be followed is to ascertain by careful comparison the probable creeds of Antioch, of Cæsarea, and of Lucian Martyr. It is necessary to take issue squarely on this point with Kattenbusch. His principle that only those symbols known to be those of a particular church are to be considered cannot be accepted, nor, indeed, does he himself make use of this canon before the eighth chapter of his first volume, neither does he hold strictly to it there. Documents proving the existence of a creed must be considered in this study, whether, as in Cyril of Jerusalem, they give with certainty the creed of a particular city, or, as in Apollinarius, they give a creed whose origin and provenience is somewhat doubtful.

Certain cautions must be observed in applying this method. Mathematical exactness and a certain appearance of cleverness must not be our end; nor should it be forgotten that we are particularly liable to meet with obstacles to the easy working out of this problem. In the first place, the state of the text of the various documents cannot be regarded as ideal, or even as thoroughly satisfactory for a working basis. In no other form of literature are the words present in the memory of the scribe so likely to have been set down in the manuscript instead of those he was supposed to copy, as in creeds, hymns, and liturgic passages. Again, direct and intentional introduction of passages from other creeds by way of addition (contamination), or the substitution of other turns of expression from other documents for those in the text (conflation), are more to be feared in such passages than in any others.

When we attempt the restoration of the creed of Antioch, about 350, we have to consider (1) the Antiochenum as shown by the Greek fragments and the Latin version of Johannes Cassianus, and (2) where this is defective we must make use of the evidence afforded by the creeds of Laodicea Syriae and the Nestorians. It should be said in addition that a truly scientific process would be to add to these a discussion in detail of the evidence afforded for the text of A by the two last-named creeds. Time and space do not permit this here, although the results given are based upon such a study as well as the comparison of the primary sources. The creed resulting from this process is, in all probability, the one in use in Antioch early in the fourth century.

#### *The Creed of Antioch.*

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα κτίστην  
(δημιουργὸν?) πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων,

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, θεὸν  
ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, δι' οὗ καὶ οἱ αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθη-  
σαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ σταυρω-  
θέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα, καὶ  
ἀναβάντα (ἀνελθόντα) εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ  
πάλιν ἐλευσόμενον (ῆξοντα) (? pres.) κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον,

καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,

καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

The creeds of Cæsarea and Jerusalem present a more difficult

problem. Eusebius is defective, and possibly diffuse also. We must take the various subordinate forms shown on the previous diagram, and construct as best we can the creed of Cæsarea. It is a fact that at the period referred to, 325-50, Jerusalem was subject in ecclesiastical matters to Cæsarea, and therefore we may confidently expect to find a common baptismal symbol in use in both churches. The text of the creed of Cyril (first carefully compared with its subordinates) must then be compared with that of Cæsarea as represented by Eusebius. This should give us the baptismal symbol of the metropolitane of Cæsarea before 325.

*Creed of Cæsarea-Jerusalem.*

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν,

καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἀνθρωπήσαντα, καὶ σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον [ῥῆζοντα] κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, κ. τ. ε. (Epiph. 13 clauses),

καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν (order uncertain),

καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,

καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,

καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

There is less firm ground for the next step. The seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" and the fourth creed of the synod of Antioch held in 341 present so many points in common that they are referred to one source. There seems very good reason to believe that this source was the work of Lucian Martyr, who was put to death in 312 under Maxentius. The creed resulting from a comparison of these two is then to be called that of Lucian Martyr.

*Creed of (?) Lucian Martyr.*

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν παντοκράτορα, κτίστην (καὶ δημιουργὸν ?) τῶν ἀπάντων, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα,

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν, τὸν πρὸ [πάντων ?] τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν [κατελθόντα] καὶ σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα, ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἀποθανόντα. [καὶ ταφέντα ?], καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ

καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος κρίναι  
ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος,  
καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε. (4 clauses) (τοῖς πιστεύουσι ἐν) τῇ  
ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,  
καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (variation in order),  
εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,  
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

A careful and detailed comparison of these three creeds results in the following form. It would be too lengthy a process to go here over all the steps which have led to the production of this creed, which I believe to be substantially that in use in the churches of Syria-Palestine about the year 300. I am not certain as to its exact wording, for that is impossible to determine with absolute accuracy in all points, but as to its substance I think there can be little doubt.

*Creed of Syria-Palestine, about 300 A. D.*

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀορά-  
των κτίστην [ποιητὴν],

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἁγίον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ<sup>1</sup>, τὸν  
πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν  
σαρκωθέντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Πον-  
τίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς  
οὐρανοὺς, καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε.,  
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,  
εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,  
εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,  
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

We come now to a comparison of SP and R. If placed side by side, underscoring variants, we have the following:

R. <sup>2</sup>	SP.
Πιστεύω εἰς θεόν	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν
πατέρα παντοκράτορα,	πατέρα παντοκράτορα
	<u>ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ</u>
	<u>ἀοράτων κτίστην,</u>

<sup>1</sup> ὁ γινώσκων = order uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MCGIFFERT, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 42.



R.

καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν  
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν  
μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν,

τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ  
πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ  
Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν  
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρ-  
ωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ  
νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς  
οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ  
τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃθεν ἔρχεται  
κρίναι τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,  
ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,

ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,  
σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.

SP.

καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν  
μονογενῆ, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν  
αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα,  
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν  
σαρκωθέντα, καὶ γεννηθέντα  
ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ  
σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,  
καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,  
ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,  
καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,  
ἐρχόμενον  
κρίναι τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,

καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, κ. τ. ε.  
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ  
ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,  
εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,  
εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν  
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Two facts confront us immediately on a cursory glance at the comparison of SP and R: (1) SP is much larger than R, although it omits but two phrases of importance found in R, *i. e.*, the words ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου in connection with the birth of Christ, and ἐκ νεκρῶν with ἀνάστασιν; (2) the additions have in nearly every instance some doctrinal, especially an anti-heretical, animus. Taking up the comparison more in detail, we may perhaps first notice the difference in structure. To borrow the language of syntax, SP is paratactic, while R is more generally hypotactic. The constant repetition of καὶ in SP destroys all literary merit in the document.

How shall the additions to the form of R be treated? Are they earlier than R, and is R therefore a compression of an original longer form; or are they additions made with a definite purpose to a common original creed? The *ἐνα θεὸν* (perhaps also *ἐνα κύριον*, but not very probably), *ἐν πν. ἁγ.*, seem to point to a controversy, of which

the *unum* or *unicum deum* of Tertullian may be an echo. 'Ἀπάντων δρατῶν τε καὶ δοράτων also finds its echo in the later Western form *in coeli et terrae conditorem*, but seems to point to a definite dogmatic purpose. The additions to the first part of the christological article, especially τὸν σαρκωθέντα, seem so likely to be additions of a later period, which have crept into earlier texts, that Kattenbusch rejects them utterly before beginning his comparison for finding SP.

The omission of ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου seems very baffling. I cannot account for this omission, if we admit that it was in the original form of R, on any theory that R is the direct ancestor of SP. Some of the creeds of a later and subordinate character—the Constantinopolitanum, Epiphanius (1) (2), Nestorian, Auxentius, Armenian—give it, but its absence from Eusebius, the Nicene, Cyril, Laodicea Syr., and Antioch seems decisive proof that its presence in the later creeds cannot lead us to place it in SP. It is to be remembered that the presence of this phrase in earlier forms of R rests on scant testimony.

The variations in order and in words having practically the same meaning, such as ἀνελθόντα [R ἀναβάντα], etc., are unimportant.

The additions to the clauses concerning the Holy Spirit are so numerous and so various that it seems impossible to arrive at any form which could honestly be given a place in SP. We can only say that there *were* additions even in our earliest form.

In closing the discussion of SP and R we may conclude that R is a shorter, more compact, and more finished document than SP. The additions are so purely dogmatic in character that they must have had their origin in controversies other than those which produced R. There seems to me little doubt that the R which underlies the Marcellus-Rufinus form contemporary with most of the documents on which SP is based is the original *Symbolum apostolicum*.

It will be well also to consider the relation of the three creeds, R (365-410), SP (ca. 300), and the early R formed by a comparison of the symbol given in Irenæus and Tertullian with the later R.<sup>3</sup> There

<sup>3</sup> This text is printed here by the courtesy of Professor A. C. McGiffert, of Union Theological Seminary. Cf. also his *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 84-100.

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,  
καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ [[τὸν μονογενῆ]] [τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν], τὸν  
γεννηθέντα ἐκ [[πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ]] Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου  
σταυρωθέντα [καὶ ταφέντα], τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς  
οὐρανοὺς, καθημένον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,  
καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,  
[ἀγλαν] ἐκκλησίαν, [[ἁφесιν ἁμαρτιῶν]],  
σαρκὸς ἀντάσσειν.

can be no doubt that (1) this early form is entirely contained in the later forms SP and R, with the exception of the clause *ἐκ νεκρῶν αἰῶν* in connection with the virgin birth of Christ. Now, precisely this clause has been put in double brackets in constructing the early R, on the ground of its absence from Irenæus and Tertullian. This fact should lead us to eliminate the clause from this early form of R, in my opinion. (2) The other forms bracketed in the early R are all found in SP, at least sixty-five years earlier than our documents for R. (3) The additions to this early form noticed in R, and much more in evidence in SP, are not the same in both creeds. In R the additions are few, and each one of them is a vigorous, compact phrase. The additions made in Syria took a different turn, substituting exactness of expression and comprehensiveness of definition for the more laconic forms added to make the R of Marcellus and Rufinus. The traces of controversies of a different nature and of philosophical speculation of a character foreign to the western mind are to be seen in these additions, a fact which will impress the student more emphatically on consulting the documents from which SP has been derived.

There seems little reason to connect the early form of R with the East. Tertullian expressly connects it with Rome. We have, therefore, a starting-point which is western, a western development—R, and an eastern development—SP. Can the steps by which this creed came into use in Syria be traced? The most alluring conjecture is that elaborated by Kattenbusch (Vol. II, pp. 201 ff.), although previously suggested by others, to the effect that the removal of Paul of Samosata from the episcopate of Antioch in 272, and the elevation by Aurelian of Domnus, an adherent of the Roman bishop, was the occasion for the introduction of the Roman symbol into the East. But, if not previously known and used in the East, are forty or fifty years a sufficient time to secure its adoption in Antioch, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and other places in Syria? A baptismal symbol is not a document to be lightly adopted or easily changed. The solution offered seems entirely too clever and easy to be accepted without reserve. If we could prove the use and knowledge of a creed of this sort by Clement of Alexandria, derived probably from Hippolytus, we should have a more natural mode of transportation. But this particular progression cannot be proven.

The whole matter of the relation of the Egyptian symbols to those of Rome and the East still awaits a searching investigation.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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DIE RELIGIÖSE ENTWICKLUNG DER MENSCHHEIT IM SPIEGEL DER WELTLITTERATUR. Zusammenhängende Einzelbilder von verschiedenen Verfassern. Herausgegeben von L. WEBER. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. x + 555. M. 6.

It is indeed a noble undertaking to depict the development of religion as it is reflected in the literature of mankind, and the thirty-seven essays of this volume are a valuable contribution to such an undertaking. Seven of them treat of the religious development in the pre-Christian period. Zöckler discusses the religion of the ancient Arians, of the Mongolians, of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and of the Egyptians; Blass, the religion of the Greeks and of the Romans. Mumm treats of Buddhism, and Orelli of the religion of Israel; while the editor describes the disintegration of the Græco-Roman paganism. The second part treats of the Christian period, and consists of thirty essays, beginning with New Testament Christianity and closing with the un-Christian and anti-Christian philosophies of the present time. The great defect of the volume is its lack of proportion. Of the thirty-seven essays, more than half are taken up with German literature. There is, indeed, a very fine essay on the Italian literature of the Middle Ages by Vowinckel, and one not quite so good upon Protestantism in English literature by Samtleben. But the essay of the latter writer upon the Christian and anti-Christian literature of recent times in France and England is glaringly inadequate. Think of omitting Balzac and including Ohnet; of omitting Tennyson and Browning and Matthew Arnold and Herbert Spencer, while including Edward Bulwer Lytton and Rudyard Kipling! Stein's essay upon Russian literature is a fine piece of work, and so, in the main, is Paulsen's discussion of the latest realism. Ibsen, to be sure, is hardly understood, and Björnson is not mentioned. There is, moreover, an inclination to denounce which is not altogether illuminating. Modern realism is a very serious phenomenon, especially in its bearing upon religious life; however severely the critic may condemn the excesses of it, his chief task is to explain it, and this must be done with a tranquil mind. The essays upon German literature, twenty-two in all, are of very unequal merit. Stein's upon the old German literature, and Tschackert's upon

Luther and Melancthon, are excellent; so are those of Lemme upon Kant's philosophy and Schleiermacher's theology. Rocholl contributes a fine paper upon Goethe. The editor asks indulgence for his numerous contributions to the volume, fifteen in all; and not without reason. Hegel's philosophy and the "Tendencies of Contemporary Thought" required treatment by an abler hand, or rather a larger mind. Nevertheless, Weber must be praised for having perceived so clearly what is too often overlooked, the importance of the religious aspects of the world's literature.

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LETTERS ON LIFE. By "CLAUDIUS CLEAR." New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1901. Pp. 277. \$1.75.

IN subject-matter these twenty-seven brief essays remind us of Lecky's admirable *Map of Life, Conduct, and Character*. But "Claudius Clear" writes in a lighter vein than Lecky and goes less deeply into casuistry. The style in *Letters on Life* nears perfection. Not a page is dull, while many sparkle with gems of rare literary beauty. The best essays are "The Art of Taking Things Coolly," "Vanity and its Mortifications," and "Concerning Order and Method." But the others, any of them, will richly repay perusal even by the busiest. The book contains just one unclear sentence, which is this: "James Payn has told us how men used to come to him, and at a certain stage of the conversation move their hands toward the breast pocket of their shabby coats and extract a letter from the Chief Persons who write letters asking favors from those to whom they are strangers should construct silence charitably" (pp. 150, 151). The spirit of the book is above praise. Most of the advice it contains is fresh and stimulating as well as sane. A few of the admonitions are trite, but even these are so racily presented that they are as good as new. For philosophy the author has only common-sense. This usually stands him in good enough stead, though here and there are implicit contradictions which deeper insight might have avoided. Thus, "Firing out the Fools," in the way the author advocates, would certainly promote "The Sin of Overwork," which he deprecates. Two choice bits of poetry cited in the volume (pp. 23, 78) are by themselves worth its price.

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A REVOLUTION IN THE SCIENCE OF COSMOLOGY. The Keystone to the Arch of Science. By GEORGE CAMPBELL. Topeka, Kan.: Crane & Co., 1902. Pp. 210. \$1.

THIS is a book which should be read only by those who are so thoroughly informed in the sciences as to be able to distinguish between statements of truth and statements of error, and those who are thus informed will not care to read it. The book is singularly reckless in its statements. One is quite accustomed to find theory take on the positive phraseology of demonstrative fact, but the author does not stop at this. In speaking of matters that the reader would certainly suppose to be undisputed facts, the author makes bald assertions which have no other foundation than pure imagination; for example, on p. 34 he says: "The stratified rocks of the earth constitute but a small part of its bulk; they are about thirteen miles in thickness at the equator, and diminish gradually in thickness to the north and south from the equator, and disappear slightly within the polar circles, where the unstratified rocks form the surface of the globe, as well as its interior." The reader would naturally infer that geologists had found the stratified rocks distributed in this peculiar way, and that the statement was made on their authority, but nothing bearing the remotest resemblance to it is found in any geological work, and nothing is known to geologists that justifies such a statement; yet the author proceeds to build an argument on the basis of this assertion.

So again, in the astronomical field, he gives two cuts on p. 72, the first of which he says "represents a comet without a nucleus or center. It has no orbit, but drifts in space;" and the second he says "represents a comet that has progressed sufficiently to develop a center, and has in consequence an orbit." Here it is implied that nucleated comets have orbits and un-nucleated comets do not. This is utterly without foundation, as all known comets have orbits, and the nucleation has nothing to do with the nature of their orbits. These are but samples.

The gist of the author's "cosmology" may be inferred from the following:

Comets may be divided into two general classes, Solar and Planetary. A Solar comet is an aggregation of matter so massive in form that its condensation gives rise to a solar system, while a Planetary comet consists in the main of detached matter from the Solar comet, and its condensation gives rise to a planet, like the earth and other globes of the system.

As all known comets are exceedingly trivial in mass, this is sheer

nonsense. Aside from almost unparalleled recklessness of statement of this kind, there are instances of amusing carelessness. On p. 63 there is introduced an antiquated drawing of a nebula found in *Cane's Venatici*, under which is the title "Known as Cane's Venatice, which is a solar comet in gestation;" and farther on, "Cane's Venatice" is solemnly discussed in the text as a *comet*.

The book is not worth thus much of notice, and there would be no occasion for giving it any attention at all were it not put forth in pious garb as a verification of the Bible. It is needless to observe that the Bible and the cause of religion have no worse enemies than works of this sort.

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THE WORLD AND THE INDIVIDUAL. Gifford Lectures, delivered at the University of Aberdeen. By JOSIAH ROYCE. Second Series: *Nature, Man, and the Moral Order*. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xvi + 452. \$2.25.

IN his first series of *Gifford* lectures<sup>\*</sup> Professor Royce undertakes to lay the metaphysical foundations of his system of philosophy; in the series before us the principles earlier discovered are used to elucidate a number of our deeper ethical and theological problems.

In its dominant note the system may be described as a *profound* anthropomorphism. Not the outward trappings nor the transient phases of man, but his essential and permanent characteristics, are searched out by many devices of ingenious and scholarly scrutiny, and then this sublimated essence is generalized and asserted to be the very heart and core of universal reality. Man is a Self, a being with a unique purpose; and only selves are real. But man is also in essence a person, a moral self that consciously strives to find its ideal and realize it, and that includes within its being other lesser selves, some of them non-moral. And God also is a person, the person of persons, whose essence it also is to strive and to include other selves, indeed *all* selves, among them men, the selves of larger scope that include men, and countless others; *e. g.*, as Professor Royce tentatively suggests, the selves hinted to us in animal species and, by inorganic nature. But this does not exhaust the essence of God. In addition to striving he attains his ideals, among them the ideal of knowledge. In addition to self-consciously experiencing and understanding the whole of the

<sup>\*</sup> See this JOURNAL, Vol. V, No. 2 (April, 1901), pp. 328-30.

strivings of all his included selves, which are also his strivings, he also experiences and appreciates their and his attainment—he views the universe, and he views it *totum simul*, in one eternal moment.

And, coming to more practical problems, the freedom of man and of other finite selves is genuine as far as it goes, though by no means unlimited. The kind, the universal aspect of the purpose of each self, is wholly determined by others from without, but what unique and individual embodiment this purpose shall have is determined from within by the free choice of the self concerned. Thus every finite self is largely, but not wholly, determined; while God, the All-inclusive, having none without him, is wholly free.

Again, the life of man and of other “ethical individuals” is immortal or unending. For, that every purpose finds fulfilment is fundamental for Professor Royce, and a moral purpose ever demands new embodiments, as each oncoming situation presents new duties to keep alive the purpose of a moral self *in infinitum*. Of course, this doctrine compels the author to deny that death is the end of man. But how he substantiates this position it is impossible so much as to hint, in default of space to suggest his theory of nature, as a system of non-material selves of broader scope, inclusive of man among other selves. Both theories are very interesting and original, and, together with the reconciliation of evil with the divine perfection, call forth some fascinating discussions.

This must serve to suggest, most inadequately, the mere framework of Professor Royce's system. The consideration that it takes into account only human reason and its implications affords the justification for calling it anthropomorphic. And the further consideration that for the author our reason is but a special form of purposeful activity, which he would admit to be a product of evolution, destined, in all probability, to be superseded by some higher type of activity, with its higher form of reflection—this consideration proposes a question to Professor Royce, which he and others have proposed to Kant. How, namely, does he know that our present type of reason is to remain unmodified; how does he know that it will not give place to, say, an angelic reason, whose implications will picture a very different universe? But whether the author's conception be logically compulsory or merely a hypothesis, the marvelous consistency of its rich content, its frank and sympathetic attitude toward opposed views and awkward facts, an empirical basis unusually solid for a metaphysical theory, together with its excellent literary form, unite in



assuring it a broad and deep influence on philosophic and theological thought.

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THE INDIVIDUAL. A Study of Life and Death. By NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE SHALER. New York: Appleton, 1901. Pp. xi + 351. \$1.50.

PROFESSOR SHALER discusses the nature of the individual and of the relations of individuals to each other as viewed from the standpoint of natural science. His book includes in the first place the discussion of a problem—the problem of death. The problem of death is the problem of individuality, for it is the fact of death which makes the race-history a succession of individual lives rather than a continuous stream of existence. What, then, is the meaning and function of death in the process of human evolution? The answer is as follows: Death removes the useless and defective individuals whose multiplication and continued existence would interfere with the further progress of the race. In imposing a predetermined limit upon individual life nature herself removes a difficulty which could not be so easily removed in any other way. The discussion of the problem as such covers, however, only a small part of the book, most of it being taken up with a description of the individual in his various aspects and relations. The author begins with a description of inorganic individuals, *i. e.*, crystals, molecules, and atoms, all of which, he thinks, may be complex in their nature. His treatment of organic individuals (which naturally takes up most of the book) covers such questions as the duration of the individual life, the place of organic life in the universe, the relation of individuals to each other, the relation of parent and child, and the value of old age. His general point of view is that of the organic unity of the race. Though the characteristics observable in individuals vary widely, yet each individual has inherited practically the whole nature of the race; he also transmits his inherited capacities to practically all of the coming race. Accordingly, the individual is not a mere atom of humanity, but the representative of all that is contained in human nature; and the development of the race as a whole is nothing but a more complete development of the qualities contained in each individual. The discussion closes with a chapter on "Immortality," in which the author holds that science has no positive ground for the denial of immortality, while, on the other hand, the great significance

of the individual man in the natural order "fairly raises the presumption that his place in nature has a meaning that is not to be measured by the length of his life in the body." Looking at the work critically, the main objection to be noted is that the author fails to furnish us with a really clear conception of what constitutes the individual and of what distinguishes him as such from other individuals—a deficiency which is not altogether excused by the assumption of a purely scientific point of view. On the other hand, the simplicity of the style and the many new and original points of view from which the subject is treated make the work as a whole one of unusual attractiveness and interest.

WARNER FITE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE NEW WORLD AND THE NEW THOUGHT. By JAMES THOMPSON BIXBY. New York: T. Whittaker, 1901. Pp. 219. \$1.

THE purpose of the author, who is evidently a theistic evolutionist, as in his previous volume, entitled *Religion and Science as Allies*, is to promote this alliance. He holds that the vastness of the universe, as disclosed by modern science, does not indicate the insignificance of man, but his greatness, since evolution proves that he is "the end and aim of creation"—"the head of the kingdom of life." He claims, in opposition to Huxley, that evolutionary processes, if traced far enough, disclose a moral purpose and tendency; and, in antagonism with Tyndall and Spencer, he claims that God is knowable by man, and that our religious instincts and intuitions are trustworthy.

Evolution being defined as God's method of working, an alliance between evolution and Christianity needs only a correct conception of Christianity, and this, our author believes, is furnished by the higher criticism. Some things said by the author seem to indicate his rejection of the Bible miracles; but he says: "The only miracles which even religion today should know are those wonders . . . that present examples of subtler and deeper laws than we are acquainted with." Since what we call natural laws are only what we know of God's method of working, and since it would be absurd to assume that men have discovered all God's methods, we may be sure that there are such "subtler and deeper laws," with which the Bible miracles may be in perfect harmony. The believer in miracles needs to claim no more.

The style of the author's criticisms of the Old Testament provokes the suspicion that he has not given to it the candid and independent

study which its acknowledged superiority to all other literature and his own avowed purpose warrant us in expecting, but has accepted the dicta of the radical critics with little acquaintance with the arguments of conservative scholars.

The counsel given in the chapter on modern dogmatism is good; but it is a two-edged sword, for there is dogmatism in radicalism as well as in conservatism.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

DAS DING AN SICH UND DAS NATURGESETZ DER SEELE. Eine neue Erkenntnistheorie. Von ERNST FR. WYNEKEN. Heidelberg: Winter, 1901. Pp. xvi + 446. M. 15.

THIS work is partly an interpretation, partly a modification, of Kant's theory of knowledge. We remember the general uncertainty of Kant's attitude toward the thing in itself; sometimes, by affirming merely that we can know nothing of its character, he seems to imply its existence, while again he seems to affirm that nothing exists beyond the world of phenomena. The object of the work before us is to show both that the thing in itself exists and that we have a positive basis for a statement of its character. This basis is to be found in our self-consciousness. For there we have a real experience both of the thing in itself — the soul or ego — and of its external phenomena. What we find in ourselves we may then infer of the other objects which we know through phenomena only. Their underlying substance and reality must be the same as our own, which is the only form of reality with which we are acquainted or which is ultimately conceivable. Accordingly, the principle underlying the world as a whole must be the conscious principle. Here we have the meaning of the author's title, "The Thing in Itself and the Natural Law of the Soul." But his argument, unlike that of most forms of idealistic philosophy, does not bring him merely to a universal world-soul. On the contrary, from the nature of our individual consciousness, he infers that other objects must, like ourselves, be the expression of individual souls. He thus conceives of the world, after the manner of Leibniz, as an aggregate of monads, or conscious elements, whose interaction results in the phenomena found in experience. Having outlined his hypothesis, he proceeds to apply it in detail to the various problems of science and metaphysics. He seeks to show, in the first place, that it is the hypothesis toward which men are tending in all of the recent philos-

ophy of science ; moreover, that it furnishes the only possible conception of a law of nature and of the relation between structure and function. He then makes it account for the course of our experience and for the nature of our *a priori* conceptions, including among the latter our conception of a tridimensional space. Further applications are to the conception of cause, the difference between the human and the animal soul, and the meaning of teleological judgments ; finally, to the distinction between science and art, and at the same time to the mental differences of men and women. In speaking of the book as a whole, it should be said that it shows a wide acquaintance with the literature both of philosophy and science, and a thorough grasp of philosophical problems ; and, whether we accept or reject the author's conclusions, we shall find his discussions of individual topics generally valuable and suggestive.

WARNER FITE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LA DÉGÉNÉRESCENCE BACHIQUE ET LA NÉVROSE RELIGIEUSE DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ. Par J.-PAUL MILLIET. Paris: Édition de "Pages Libres," 1901. Pp. 260. Fr. 3.50.

MR. MILLIET points out that programs of instruction have heretofore been arranged with reference to the rich, while the laboring man has had no opportunity to know either the truth or the beauty derived from the study of history and art. He writes avowedly for laboring men, and his plan is (1) to put before the reader some pages chosen from the masterpieces of ancient literature ; (2) to translate these selections and explain them in the light of the best modern commentaries ; and (3) to show that the most disturbing questions of the present were discussed by the ancients also. Capitalism, militarism, clericalism, and alcoholism are regarded as the principal of the shameful maladies which threaten the life of society ; and alcoholism and religious mysticism are the social scourges singled out for treatment in this volume.

This is the plan of the work, but the historical passages have not been selected with a fair discrimination between history and legend ; in fact, we feel that the author is not sufficiently skilled in historical matters to do this. And the attempt to teach history, and at the same time point a moral in connection with a series of detached passages, leaves a very unorganized impression.

W. I. THOMAS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RELIGION IN HISTORY AND IN MODERN LIFE. Together with an Essay on the Church and the Working Classes. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN. New edition. New York: Whittaker. Pp. xvi + 261. \$0.80.

IN republishing these essays a real service has been rendered to the cause of intelligent thinking among the numerous laymen the book will reach. The theological specialist may find many things to which he would give only a qualified assent, but the volume is not intended for the specialist. The chapter on "The Church and the Working Man" is useful and frank. It is plainly seen by the writer that Catholicism and the established church of England are hampered by their traditions of feudalism; he does not quite so plainly see how in our modern middle-class Protestantism the ideals and hopes of *bourgeoisie* are equally plainly reflected, and that until we, as Protestants, reach a higher plane, the working class as such will be more or less consciously repelled by Protestant preaching and Protestant worship. The essay says many true things, and is wholesome reading for all; but, several times the author just misses putting his finger upon the real reason of the working classes' hostility—we fear a growing hostility—to Protestantism. The change in life-ideals must come, and this change must be one of radical import, particularly for the extremely individualistic type of Protestantism that has grown up among us. Our author has, of course, the English workingman in mind as he writes, but what he says is almost wholly applicable to our own conditions, and sometimes with increased force. The little volume ought to be widely read, and it is a model of courageous frankness.

T. C. HALL.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
New York, N. Y.

LIFE EVERLASTING. By JOHN FISKE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1901. Pp. 87. \$1.

THE importance of the subject and the recognized ability of the author combine to make this volume one of unusual interest. It is the *Ingersoll* lecture on "The Immortality of Man," delivered by Mr. Fiske in Sanders's Theater, Cambridge, on the evening of December 19, 1900, and printed after his death without any alteration in the manuscript. The present work continues and complements the series of studies by Mr. Fiske issued under the titles, *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin*, *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge*, and *Through Nature to God*.

Faith in the future life Mr. Fiske calls "the great poetic achievement of the human mind," and the destruction of this faith would leave nothing but a moral desert. Objections to the validity of this belief are urged in the name of modern science. It is generally conceded that the doctrine of immortality began with the savage's interpretation of his dreams. Is this fact sufficient to prove the belief unworthy of serious attention? No! for the fact that primitive man misstated his relations to the unseen world in no wise militates against the truth of his assumption that such a world existed. It is a significant fact that the dreaming savage has somehow acquired a mental attitude toward death which is totally different from that of all other animals.

The fact that we have no warrant in experience for supposing consciousness to exist without a nervous system is not an insuperable objection to belief in a future life. We must remember that human experience is very far from being infinite, and that there are, in all probability, immense regions of existence concerning which we cannot form the faintest rudiment of a conception. "Until we can go wherever the testimony may be, we are not entitled to affirm that there is no testimony." In answering the materialistic assumption that consciousness is a function of the brain, it may be urged that consciousness is not the *product* of molecular activity, but its *accompaniment*. To sum up: in the course of evolution there would be no more difficulty in man's acquiring immortal life than in his acquiring the erect posture and articulate speech.

Mr. Fiske does not undertake to demonstrate immortality, but, with great clearness and force, sets forth the reasons for holding that faith in the future life is not unscientific.

LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

RELIGIONSFILOSOFI. Af HARALD HÖFFDING. Köbenhavn: Nordiske Forlag, 1901. Pp. 362. Kr. 6.

THE contents of this book are divided into four parts: (1) "Problem and Plan;" (2) "The Philosophy of Religion, Based on Epistemology;" (3) "The Philosophy of Religion, Based on Psychology;" and (4) "The Philosophy of Religion, Based on Ethics."

The author places himself in his investigation outside of all religions and endeavors to find that which is common to them all, the universal nature and laws of religion. His criticism is based upon a

positivistic view. The religious belief he teaches he calls "critical monism." The kernel of religion, according to the author, is faith in the stability of value in existence. And the idea of God, as an object for faith, means the principle for the stability of value through all oscillations and all struggles. He who would experience God must train his eye to discover a valuable kernel behind the hard shell of reality and train his mind to patient expectation that such a kernel always is to be found. Therefore he is a child of God who is endeavoring himself to maintain value in existence. Jesus of Nazareth and Plato, Augustine and Spinoza, Luther and Rousseau, are all types of men having religious faith.

The doctrine of the stability of value is in itself independent of how little or how much of value there is in existence. It says only that the value which is consists under all forms of religion. It is the continuation in the whole spiritual development which is established. But what kind of values a man shall find depends upon the motive of valuation which controls him. The values can in various ways be highly different. The faith of the Greenlander in the stability of value must therefore be widely different from that of the Greek. In the valuation of the religions in their mutual relation the standard must be the degree in which they are able to state and to realize the sentence of the stability of value, which is the fundamental notion of all religion. But there is no religion which has been able with clearness and consistency to do this.

The religious conceptions have no other import than to be symbolical expressions of the human feelings and wishes during the struggle of life. They have no positive reality. Nor can the religious consciousness fasten itself to ideas of a deity who is fixed and settled, but to one who is continually realizing his existence and developing himself, as is the case with the religious consciousness itself. Religious experiences are looked upon only as hallucinations.

The doctrine of the stability of value, the author thinks, could be maintained from a standpoint which is outside of all positive religion. His opinion is that a religious society could be established whose belief could find a poetical symbolical form without any dogmatical fixation. A more definite construction of it he will not enter upon, but thinks that life itself will produce it in its own ways, if it should come.

In his "Ethical Philosophy of Religion" he maintains the possibility and necessity of ethics independent of creeds and metaphysics.

Christianity cannot more than the Greek ethics be the standard for the view and principle of life during all times. But we can take from the New Testament as from all other productions of the mind what can be used in our spiritual housekeeping. There are here many important elements which every system of ethics can and must receive.

Höfding's book is very profound and displays the learning and intellectual acuteness of the author. He is doubtless sincere in his belief, though Christian theism cannot accept his religious speculations. They will perhaps do good in stimulating thought on the important topics with which the work deals. His exegetical conception of Scripture is often misleading, but he always seems to be confident as to the correctness of his interpretation.

HENRIK GUNDERSEN.

MORGAN PARK, ILL.

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A SKETCH OF SEMITIC ORIGINS, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS. By GEORGE AARON BARTON. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. xiii + 342. \$3, net.

THE evolution of Semitic religious and social life is a theme of vast dimensions. Many of the intricate questions involved in its discussion cannot as yet be answered out of the fragmentary materials which have been discovered touching the earliest periods of Semitic life.

Professor Barton's researches on this question are the outgrowth of a study of Semitic religion extending over several years. He attempts in this series of studies to point out "the trail along which the Semites dragged themselves during those weary centuries when they were working their way from savagery to civilization" (p. vii). It is freely admitted at the outset that there are many places where the trail cannot be found, but its general course is all that we can expect to find through such trackless wastes.

The coherency of the discussion may be judged from the following chapter headings: i, "The Cradle of the Semites;" ii, "Primitive Semitic Social Life;" iii, "Semitic Religious Origins;" iv, "Transformations among the Southern and Western Semites;" v, "Transformations in Babylonia;" vi, "Survivals;" vii, "Yahwe;" viii, "Brief Estimate of Semitic Social and Religious Influence on the Non-Semitic World."

As a result of the gathering up of all the principal views on the origin of the Semites, the author says:

We conclude, then, that we must hold to the Arabic origin of the Semites.



Taking Arabia as the Semitic cradle-land, the course of distribution of the Semitic nations over the lands occupied by them during the historical period would be that described by Schrader and Wright on the basis of the relative divergence of the languages from the primitive type (pp. 28, 29). The Aramæans were the first to separate from the main body of emigrants; at a considerably later period the Canaanites, and, last of all, the Assyrians (p. 29).

The chapter on "Primitive Semitic Social Life" is almost wholly a sociological study of such problems as those that have been treated by Robertson Smith, Wellhausen, modern travelers in Arabia, and modern sociologists. The author utilizes a wide range of diverse materials. The discussion strikes one as rather loosely articulated, due, however, most probably to the fragmentary character of the sources which he is obliged to use. As a summing up of the chapter he specifies the following points as clear to him:

The Semites, perhaps as early as the time of their separation from the Hamites, had reached the animistic stage of culture, and formed totemistic clans. Their family relations were exceedingly vague. . . . Descent was reckoned through them [the women] . . . the killing of female infants created a paucity of women, which produced a condition of polyandry . . . and, later, a system of male kinship. Perhaps at the time of their separation from the Hamites, and at all events comparatively early, they had entered the pastoral and semi-agricultural stage of culture, in which the date-palm played an important part (pp. 79, 80).

In the discussion of the religious origins of the Semites the author follows out the lines of economical and social development laid down in the preceding chapter, and concludes that the earliest deities of the Semites were feminine, and that these were displaced, as was the polyandrous state of society, by male kinship or the patriarchal state. As the matriarchal state of society gave way to the patriarchal, so the primitive mother-goddess largely gave way before the masculine deity. If she was retained at all, it was in the form of a companion of the male deity.

The longest chapter (v) in the book is an elaborate research of "Transformations in Babylonia"—of the whole assemblage of deities of Babylonia and Assyria as found in the wide range of literature now available for the Semitic scholar. The author attempts to prove that the Sumerians were the original inhabitants of Babylonia, but his arguments, from the point of view of a historian, do not carry his case. With careful discrimination he traces the origin and relationships of the Babylonian pantheon down to the close of Semitic sovereignty in

Babylonia and the West—and even beyond. His conclusions regarding their relations are, in most respects, the same as those set forth by Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

"Survivals" (chap. vi) is a tracing of the deities of Arabia, Phœnicia, and other later Semitic peoples back to their originals, either in Arabia or Babylonia. The chapter (vii) on "Yahwe" adopts practically Budde's position regarding his origin and early relations to the Kenites. In accordance with his scheme, Barton here presents arguments to prove that the Yahweh of the Kenites, "like Ramman, Hadad, and most other Semitic deities," was developed by the same processes out of the primitive mother-goddess (p. 280). This point is wrought out with considerable elaboration, but the arguments are not convincing.

The volume is a valuable summary of the material bearing on Semitic origins, though that material is too fragmentary to reach much more than hypothetical conclusions, especially in the earliest periods of Semitic life.

The book is written in a pleasing though rather loose style. The spirit is that of a true scholar searching for the truth in every available source.

The book is well printed, and presents a delightful page. The reader, however, is too often interrupted by typographical errors, which should be corrected in another edition.

IRA M. PRICE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

#### DIE RELIGIÖS-POLITISCHEN OPPOSITIONSPARTEIEN IM ALTEN ISLAM.

Von JULIUS WELLHAUSEN. Berlin: Weidmann, 1901. Pp. 99. M. 6.50. [= "Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen": Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band V, Nr. 2.]

THE parties here treated of are the *Hawārij* or Separatists and the *Shiites* or *Alyites*; for the history Wellhausen relies mainly on Abu Miḥnaf, who is Tabari's oldest authority. The first question considered is whether Aṣ'ath and Abu Musa were traitors, as Weil, Dozy, Brünnow, and Müller hold. At the battle of Siffin, when the Syrians were practically defeated and were saved only by Amr's clever trick of raising Korans on spear-points, Aṣ'ath went through Ali's army announcing the agreement between him and Moawia to refer their dispute to two arbiters; it is said by late Arabic writers that Aṣ'ath had an under-

standing with Amr that his proposal should be accepted by the Iraqites. Then Ali was forced by his soldiers to appoint Abu Musa as his representative, and Abu Musa allowed himself to be completely tricked by the wily Amr, and is therefore held to have been untrue to Ali. Wellhausen appeals to Abu Miḥnaf and to the character and subsequent career of the two chieftains for proof that they were not traitors. The next question is as to the origin of the Ḥawārij. Brünnow (in *Die Charidschiten*) derives them from the desert Arabs settled in Kufa and Basra, Wellhausen from the Koran readers. It was the latter, he points out, who forced Ali to the agreement at Siffin, and they hold precisely the theocratic idea (the Koran against everything, including califs) that the Ḥawārij afterward consistently represented. Wellhausen goes on to describe the principles and policy of these latter (who bear a striking resemblance to the Jewish Zealots), and follows their history down to the incoming of the Abbassides. To the same point he brings the history of the Shiites. His discussion is throughout vigorous and interesting.

C. H. Toy.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS TO THE ROMAN PERIOD.  
By R. L. OTTLEY. With maps. New York: Macmillan,  
1901. Pp. lx + 324. \$1.25, net.

HISTORY, PROPHECY AND THE MONUMENTS; OR, ISRAEL AND  
THE NATIONS. Vol. III (completing the work). By JAMES  
FREDERICK MCCURDY. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp.  
xxiii + 470. \$3.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE. By LEWIS  
BAYLES PATON. With maps. ("The Semitic Series.")  
New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xxxvi + 302. \$1.25, net.

MR. OTTLEY'S book is "an attempt to furnish teachers or students of the Old Testament with a sketch of the actual course of Hebrew history, somewhat more consistent with the present state of our knowledge than the text-books now in use." Undoubtedly this modest statement is justified; the treatment of the subject is "somewhat more consistent with the present state of our knowledge." The real question is, however, whether it is sufficiently "consistent," i. e., whether in endeavoring to pursue a mediating course the author has succeeded in satisfying anybody. This we very much doubt. Neither in principles adopted nor in details presented can the book be regarded as ade-

quately representing the newer view of Old Testament history, although its tendencies and spirit lead in that direction. His summing up of the sources for Israel's patriarchal age illustrates his attitude :

Thus for our knowledge of this interesting period we depend for the most part on narratives "of which it is simply impossible for us at this time of day to establish the accuracy." At the same time, there is a good reason for supposing that the book of Genesis, after every allowance has been made for the natural bias or defective information of the original writers, contains a life-like picture of an age which really existed, and we are so far justified in accepting the account of the patriarchal period as being in its broad outlines credible (p. 24).

Such a balancing of light and shade is characteristic of the author's method throughout. Nor is it clear that he is furnished with the necessary breadth and depth of scholarship for his task. He follows Driver's *Introduction* closely and does not seem to have made independent investigation into details which are there necessarily passed over. The narrative of Sennacherib's invasion is a case in point, where no suspicion of difficulty is felt. His chronology shows some slips. Not only are minor matters of detail overlooked, but, what is after all the real test of a popular book on Hebrew history, there is no grouping, no tracing of great historic influences either of the inner or outer history. Twelve chapters of about equal length carry the account down to the Roman period. In the list of "chief works consulted" not one German work (except in translation) and but one French work appears. When all this has been said in the way of criticism, it must be added that the book is defective more by its vacillation in the acceptance of the newer views than by actual inaccuracy. It may help some students in their endeavor toward the larger light. We hope that it will have this result.

The third and concluding volume of Professor McCurdy's admirable and useful work brings us the welcome index to the three volumes. Unfortunately maps are still wanting, which will be supplied, we trust, in a new and cheaper edition for which biblical students are waiting. The volume brings with it, also, some surprises, chief of which is the attitude toward problems of Hebrew literature, taken by the author in his long-awaited discussion of this theme. It appears in his third chapter, entitled "Deuteronomy and Hebrew Literature." Here he arrays himself unmistakably with the so-called "critics." A brief sketch of his views is as follows :

The "Song of Deborah" points to a long preceding period of literary

activity in Israel of which the poetic snatches quoted in the pentateuchal books are fragments and illustrations. This is the age of minstrelsy and rhapsody. The first purely Israelitish poem is, very probably, the song in Exodus, chap. 15, and it must go back to the earliest period of the national existence. The early chapters of Genesis contain the oldest materials of Hebrew literature. As for the Book of the Covenant, the spirit, if not the actual words, of Moses pervades it. David's elegy introduces us to an established poetical literature. The actual collecting of ancient tradition began under Solomon. The "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" and the "Book of Jashar" belong here. To this age is assigned also the "Blessing of Jacob." Of the pieces like Jotham's parable and Hannah's song appearing in Judges and 1 Samuel, some are genuine, others are later. David wrote no Psalms; possibly some of the Proverbs belong to the Solomonic age. The kernel of Judges is not much later than the disruption, as also are the personal histories of David and Saul. The J and E documents are recognized, both are composite; E is northern and dated 770-760 B. C., J is southern and dated toward the close of the eighth century. The "Blessing of Moses," the Elijah and Elisha stories, and the Samuel-Saul narratives, belong in these centuries. Amos and the prophets follow and prepare the way for Deuteronomy, which was a new and enlarged edition of the "Book of the Covenant" prepared for the need of the times of Josiah.

As for the origin of Deuteronomy and its dissemination the following statement is made :

The probable explanation is that the former "law-book," which we now know as the first "Book of the Covenant," and whose existence was a matter of notoriety in Israel, had never been in force as a statute-book, and had been almost forgotten . . . it was now reproduced in an expanded form, with the hortatory and minatory additions which greatly impressed King Josiah. The work of preparing the book having been done under priestly auspices and perhaps within the precincts of the temple itself, the volume might very well have been "found where it was not lost." That there was a certain amount of conscientious finesse in the business is, however, quite apparent, though in this quality it has been outclassed by many of the ecclesiastical intrigues of our better Christian times.

A chapter summarizing the ethical development of Israel follows, entitled "Religion and Morals." Before the prophetic era the morality of the best men in Israel was, as a rule, both rudimentary and partial. The picture of Joseph, "the highest type of ancient Hebrew morality," is explained as an idealizing parable drawn for a later reflective age of Israel's history. On the other hand, the author's verdict on Solomon is that "his reign was probably more harmful to public and private morals than that of any other king of either Israel or Judah, with the pos-

sible exception of Manasseh." A most extraordinary and, may we add, extravagant statement !

The remainder of the volume follows down the stream of the history from Josiah to the Restoration. The dramatic climaxes, the pathetic situations, the startling contrasts, and the heroic figures are nowhere more numerous and more impressive than in this century. Professor McCurdy has utilized his opportunities and produced a stirring and instructive picture. The horizon widens to take in Babylonia, Media, and Egypt. The politics of Judah are involved, as never before, with world-issues. It is a century of upheaval in western Asia. The fine, large, grasp of this broader situation, characteristic of the author's method and mind, does not fail him here. No scrap of evidence from the historical, literary, and social memorials of the great oriental nations, that can enlighten the course of Jewish history, is neglected. The morality of Israel has its background in the ethical life of the Semitic peoples ; the exilic life of Judah is illuminated by the delineation of Babylonian society and religion of the days of Nebuchadrezzar. The significance of Cyrus and the Persians for Jewish life and thought is illustrated by an exposition of Iranian culture and religion. It is never forgotten that the prophets are greater than all ; that to their interpretation of history and their imperative demand of righteousness, all else is contributory and secondary. Thus, large space is given to the exposition of the words and work of Jeremiah, the central figure of that age of heroes. Ezekiel, also, is sympathetically delineated, and his close relation to Babylonian life demonstrated, as well as his epoch-making significance for the later course of Jewish religion. It would be simply impossible in the space at our command to enumerate the points which make this volume one of the most instructive and stimulating contributions to its theme.

Naturally, in a book discussing subjects under controversy, there is ample room for disagreement with the author. Perhaps what will be regarded as the most evident defect in the book, on the part of all schools of Old Testament study, is what seems to be the inconsistency of the author's procedure. One party will quarrel with the broad principles which he lays down ; the other will object to the exceedingly cautious application made of those principles to the facts in hand. One example of this is in the sphere of religion. The largest use is made of the phenomena of general Semitic religion ; yet the bearing of these phenomena upon the development of Hebrew religion is minimized, and a sharp line of demarkation set up between Yahwism and

the other religions, for which no adequate justification is presented. Much that is said exclusively of Hebrew morality may with equal truth be asserted of the ethics of other Semitic peoples. Likewise, the broad foundations for the building up of a national literature laid down by the author, coupled with the facts adduced as to early Palestinian culture, do not seem, in our judgment, in any sense adequate to bearing the weight of the early Hebrew literary structure built up upon it. To descend to more detailed points of disagreement, two extreme positions taken are the following: "Deuteronomy is primarily and fundamentally formal and ritualistic;" "Jeremiah stood aloof from Josiah and the Deuteronomic reformation." The high estimate of Nebuchadnezzar's provincial policy will have to be modified, and we are sorry to see that the author accepts the conventional verdict on Nabonidus, calling him "a king of antiquarian tastes and subterranean habits." Attention should be called to a few chronological slips, as, e. g., "ninety years," the period during which the fate of Judah was bound up with the Babylonian empire (p. 142); two different dates given for the battle of Carchemish on pp. 142 and 436; the succession of Evil-merodach is differently dated on pp. 171 and 392. Finally, everyone will sincerely regret the author's new and surprising employment of "modern instances" in illustration of ancient situations and policies. We refer not only to the bitter references of Professor McCurdy to the Boer war (p. 309), the policy of Cecil Rhodes (p. 87), the "cant of modern imperialistic warfare" (p. 289), "those present-day prophets who see the cause of righteousness prevailing in South Africa" (p. 426), but also to the illustration of the Witch of Endor by the "Christian Scientist" (p. 263). Honest differences of opinion exist on these subjects, and a sober historical narrative should not be disfigured by sneers at, or denunciations of, those who do not agree religiously or politically with the historian.

Professor Paton's *Early History of Syria and Palestine* in the "Semitic Series" makes it evident that, in the author, we have one of the most scholarly, constructive, and clear-headed of the modern historians of oriental antiquity. He has gathered with laborious effort from the various sources of knowledge, whether the ancient documents, modern treatises, or the thousand and one periodical articles, the scattered facts of Syrian and Palestinian history; has organized and interpreted them in an admirable fashion, and has furnished to hand in the modest volume of three hundred pages the sifted information which for the ordinary student, hitherto, was simply unattainable. No one is so familiar with

the field as not to find the book useful ; to many it will be, not merely most illuminating and instructive, but simply invaluable. It is, for the most part, objective, crammed with facts stated concisely and clearly, ranging from Babylonia to Egypt, from Mitanni to Muçri. An index of sixteen pages of fine type, in double columns, suggests the immense number of names mentioned and topics treated. A chronological table, several outline maps, and a bibliography are furnished. Thirteen chapters carry us from the "Earliest Inhabitants" to the "New Babylonian Supremacy."

The accuracy of the statement of facts is most gratifying, and the proofreading very correct. We have noticed : Amenhotep III. for A. IV. on p. 136 ; Martsuate for Mantsuate (p. 222) ; p. 731 for p. 231(?) at foot of p. 224 ; "twenty-two" provinces of Egypt for twenty (p. 264) ; Jehoiakim is dated 606 B. C. in the chronological table, but is earlier, according to p. 274 ; Syrians for Tyrians on p. 277. That it was Sarduris "son of Lutipris" who founded the Armenian kingdom of Van (p. 219) is hardly possible. These are the few inaccuracies that we have noted in a somewhat careful examination of the latter half of the book. Our one cause of dissatisfaction with the author's work lies in his choice of some doubtful hypotheses of chronological and historical import, which are made prominent without being indicated as doubtful. Indeed, the author probably regards them as beyond question. We refer as typical instances in chronology to the adoption of the date of Sargon I. as 2770 B. C. instead of the usual 3800 B. C., and that of Tiglath Pileser as 1023 B. C. instead of 1120 B. C. As instances of conjectural historical theories, we may indicate the acceptance of Winkler's Muçri hypothesis to explain the majority of the cases in which Miçraim is used in the books of Kings and elsewhere. A brilliant example of hypothetical argument is the explanation of the union of historical and unhistorical elements in Gen., chap. 14, by the view that two persons have been here confounded, the Abram of Canaanite tradition who figured in the Elamite war, and the Abraham of Hebrew patriarchal days. We cannot but lay emphasis on the clear divisions of the history of Syria made by the author and his admirable treatment of the various migrations which from time to time changed the face of the ancient oriental world, although we have some doubts on the Wincklerian schematism which is adopted in the exposition of the latter subject. To get well in hand the outline and the turning-points of the history of Syria and Palestine, as here presented, is to be master of the key to the history of oriental antiquity. Especially by



every student of the Old Testament should this book be studied carefully and made a part of his working library.

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JUDAICA. Forschungen zur hellenistisch-jüdischen Geschichte und Litteratur. Von HUGO WILLRICH. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. iv + 184. M. 5.60.

THIS book continues and corrects the investigations begun in the work published by the same author five years previously, entitled *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (1895). The four chapters that make up the work are varied in character and cover a wide field. The first one discusses the books of Esther and Judith. Esther comes from the year 48-47 B. C., and was composed originally in Greek at the instigation of the priest of the Onias Temple at Laontopolis, in Egypt. This exact date is determined by the note appended to the Greek text of Esther. The Ptolemy and Cleopatra here referred to are Ptolemy XIV. and his celebrated sister, Cleopatra VI. The fourth year of their joint rule brings us to 48-47 B. C. As for the feast of Purim, it commemorates the planting of Jewish military colonies in Egypt by Ptolemy Philometor. It is accordingly correct to say that Purim = κλήροι; but we are to think, not of the lots of an oracle, but of land-lots (*Landlose*).

Judith was written before the death of Demetrius I., probably in the interval between 157 and 153 B. C. It is the history of this period which the book really presents under the mask of ancient history. The writer's attitude toward the Hasmonean house also suits this time. In a "Beilage" to the discussion of Judith, Willrich gives his reasons for rejecting the tradition of an expedition against the Jews and their deportation during the reign of Artaxerxes (III.) Ochus.

The second chapter treats of the origin of the Hellenistic and Roman official documents in Jewish writers. The first paragraph discusses a collection of decrees and enactments which in Philo (*Leg. ad Cajum*, 28) is connected with the name of King Agrippa I. This collection included a large number of public documents gathered from all parts of the world, in part genuine and in part forgeries, favorable to the Jews. Later writers, especially Josephus, the author and interpolator of 1 Maccabees, and Jason of Cyrene, made large use of it. Most of the letters and decrees in 1 Maccabees are either forgeries taken by the interpolator from this source, or are genuine documents

changed and wrongly used. It is maintained at some length that this is true with reference to the sections treating of the *φιλία* and *συμμαχία* with Rome.

The third chapter opens with a discussion as to the extent of the acquaintance of Hecateus of Abdera and Pseudo-Hecateus with Jewish history. Pseudo-Hecateus is made to be one of the first Jewish forgers to begin operations on a large scale. He belongs to a time shortly before the composition of the letter of Aristeas, thus not to the first century B. C., as Willrich previously thought, but to the years following 33 A. D. For it was after this date, and probably during the persecution under Caligula, that the letter of Aristeas was written. Several arguments are advanced in support of this late date. The one which is considered absolutely conclusive was first advanced by Graetz, namely, the allusion to the *ἐμφανισταί* ("Delatoren," see Wendland, § 167). We hear of measures against such persons first under Tiberius in the year 33.

In the last chapter Jason of Cyrene and 2 Maccabees are taken up. Jason is made to be the prince of Jewish forgers. The epitomizer of 2 Maccabees used not only Jason, whom he often changed and greatly abbreviated, but other sources as well. In the story of the martyrs he drew from 4 Maccabees. Jason used Agrippa's collection of documents and also 3 and 4 Maccabees. This last-named work comes from the age of persecution under Caligula. Thus 2 Maccabees is later than 3 and 4 Maccabees, and Jason wrote at the earliest under Claudius. Second Maccabees comes from the last half, or rather the last quarter, of the first Christian century, at the time of the great war under Vespasian. From the later writing of Joseph ben Gorion and from the Arabic Maccabees, which was dependent on Jason, we can gain information as to the content of his work.

This book of Willrich's has received, it seems to me, more attention than it deserves. Its fundamental hypotheses are drawn almost entirely from the thin air of imagination, but once introduced they are used with the greatest confidence. The evidence for an Agrippa collection of letters and enactments of the nature advocated is extremely meager and unsatisfactory. The elaboration in the latter part of the book, which space forbids us to consider in detail, does not remove the improbability of his view that so much of the Jewish literature arose from forgery within so short a period in the first century A. D. Investigations of literary phenomena elsewhere have shown that such writings do not grow up thus and gain acceptance without basis in fact or in

tradition. The assumption that the legend of the Septuagint first came at so late a date from the imagination of the writer of Aristeeus will commend itself to few who read the author's exposition of this view. No doubt in his next book Willrich will say of many of his present positions what he now says of some put forward in his earlier work, that they were held *sehr mit Unrecht*.

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STUDIEN ZUR ENTSTEHUNGSGESCHICHTE DER JÜDISCHEN GEMEINDE NACH DEM BABYLONISCHEN EXIL. VON ERNST SELLIN. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. Pp. iv+302; iv+199. M. 10.

THE first of these studies, and by far the longer, as it occupies the whole of the first volume, is devoted to the identification of the Servant of Jehovah in the so-called Ebed-Yahweh passages of Deutero-Isaiah. The author had already dealt with this subject in his work *Serubbabel*, 1898, when he reached the conclusion that Zerubbabel was the Servant. Subsequent investigation, induced in part by the trenchant criticisms of his earlier work, have led him to modify his conclusions. In the book before us he goes over the ground most carefully, considering at each step the views of the most important recent writers on the subject, and step by step building up a theory which he hopes will prove acceptable to Old Testament scholars.

The first point to be settled is whether the Servant in the Servant passages, Isa. 42: 1-4; 49: 1-6; 50: 4-9; 52: 12-53: 13, is individual or collective. Here he decides most positively, and, as I think, correctly, in favor of the individual interpretation. The descriptions of the function and of the work of the Servant are so individualistic in their character, and he is so definitely distinguished from the people as a whole, and by his very anonymity in these passages stands out in such marked contrast from the people, that Budde's<sup>1</sup> brilliant argument has not persuaded me to adopt the collective view. The mention of Israel, Isa. 49: 3, is clearly a gloss, as is shown by the fact that it disturbs the meter and is difficult to construe (p. 16), while Budde's attempt to force Israel into the text of 52: 12 by reading *ישראל* for *ישראל* can hardly be regarded as successful.

In his second chapter Sellin seeks to prove that the Servant is not a future nor yet an ideal person, but an actual contemporary of the

<sup>1</sup> AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, 1899, pp. 499-540.

author. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of his arguments, I must declare myself unconvinced. While it is probably true that some of the prophet's contemporaries may have furnished him with some of the details of his description, I cannot bring myself to the belief that any actual living man could have posed for the magnificent pen-pictures which these passages give us. Even if one makes all possible allowance for the poetical description, the idealist that the author of these passages was could no more have found his model in an actual contemporary than his great predecessor could have found the reality which he pictured, say in Isa. 9 : 5, 6, in any actual child.

With the contention of the next chapter, that the Servant is neither a prophet nor a teacher of the law, but a descendant of the house of David, who is to be the leader of the new kingdom of God, I find myself in substantial agreement, with the limitation, of course, that the conception of the Servant was not realized in any actual, living member of the Davidic house. It was no innovation to speak of David as servant rather than king (*cf.* 2 Sam. 7 : 4; 1 Kings 3 : 6, and other passages in the historical books). And more significant even than these references is Ezekiel's mention of the servant David (Ezek. 34 : 23, 24).

Inasmuch as the date of the Servant passages, their relation to Deutero-Isaiah, and the date of Deutero-Isaiah are important questions for the identification of the actual person whom Sellin supposes to be the Servant, he devotes the next two chapters to the consideration of these matters. With his conclusion, that Isa., chaps. 40-55, are from a single author, and that there is no good reason for denying the Servant passages to the same hand, I find myself in hearty agreement. But when he goes on to argue that chaps. 40-48 were published during the march of the Persian army against Babylon, and contains citations from the earlier work of Deutero-Isaiah, *e. g.*, 41 : 2-4; 46 : 10, 11, and that chaps. 49-55 were published after the occupation of the city and the proclamation of the general edict of restoration, but before the Jews had received their special edict, I can only say that, in my opinion, he goes beyond the evidence. His definition of the "former things" (ראשונות) and the "new things" (חדשות) in chaps. 40-48 is interesting, and, so far as the new things are concerned, he seems to me to make out a very strong case for the view that they are "the wonderful return of the people to their own land and the wonderful re-establishment of the kingdom of God" (p. 150). It may be a question whether his definition of the former things as "the prophecies of the victorious

career of Cyrus up the time of his march on Babylon" is not too narrow. That they are fulfilled prophecies is clear, but they need not all be prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah. The argument for the identity of authorship of the Servant passages and the rest of Deutero-Isaiah is strengthened in the opinion of Sellin by the discovery of the individual Servant outside of the Servant passages, *e. g.*, Isa. 42:5-7; 49:8, 9; 50:10, etc. Here, too, he seems to me to be in the main correct. But when he tries to find the individual Servant in 42:18-21, on the theory that the blindness and deafness of the Servant are not his fault but his misfortune, because he has been imprisoned and so made to walk in darkness, the argument seems to me strained and unconvincing.

The culmination of Sellin's argument is, of course, the identification of the Servant. After examining and rejecting the claims of various members of the Davidic house, he finally decides for Jehoiachin, whose release from prison by Evil-Merodach in 561 he regards as having given rise to a new outburst of the messianic hope. That Jehoiachin might have been living in the latter years of the exile cannot be denied, and that his fate may have furnished some of the features of the description of the Servant is equally possible; but, as I have already stated, no real member of the Davidic house could, in my opinion, have been the original of the Servant. Sellin himself regards it as possible that the Servant may be the Davidic house, while in the various descriptions now one and now another personality furnishes the principal details of the picture. If he had contented himself with this broader identification, he would have been nearer the truth.

The closing chapter of the study is devoted to some excellent remarks on the place which these Ebed-Yahweh passages occupy in the historical development of the Old Testament religion, in which he shows that the most strictly scientific historical interpretation of these passages not only does not hinder, but really favors, the recognition of their actual fruition in Jesus Christ.

The second study deals with the restoration of the Jewish community in the years 538-516. The various authorities for the period are carefully examined. Sellin's estimate of the historical value of Ezra 4:7-6:15 is even higher than that of Eduard Meyer in his *Entstehung des Judenthums*. It seems to me that very possibly he has furnished the clue for the correct interpretation of Ezra 4:7-23. As is well known, this passage deals with the building of the walls, not of the temple (4:12). This fact, together with the mention of the kings

Ahashuerus and Artaxerxes, has given occasion for unlimited speculation among historical critics. In agreement with Winckler, Sellin holds that the names of the Persian kings are probably not entirely in order, and he makes the very plausible suggestion that the restoration of the city mentioned here is that which would naturally be undertaken immediately after the return in 538. The record of this early attempt and its frustration is, in our present book of Ezra, taken from an Aramaic document sent from Jerusalem and Samaria to Artaxerxes by the opponents of Nehemiah, who sought, by this reference to the action of Cyrus or his immediate successor in regard to the building of the walls of Jerusalem, to recall the royal permission given to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls and thus to rehabilitate the city. Ezra 4:7 is then the title or label of this fragmentary Aramaic document. Tabeel is the Tobiah of Nehemiah (*cf.* Neh. 2:10), Mithredath is the Persian satrap, and Bishlam is not a proper name at all, but is to be read as a common noun with the preposition (*cf.* LXX, *ἐν ἀφίῳ*), so "with the approval of Mithredath, wrote Tabeel, etc." The order of events then is: the temple edict of Cyrus; the return of Sheshbazzar and his laying of the foundation of the temple; gradual return of the exiles to Jerusalem; an attempt to build the walls frustrated by the machinations of the Samaritans; consequent cessation of work upon the walls and the temple; resumption of work on the temple, and its completion by Zerubbabel. This is practically the order of events as outlined in Ezra, chaps. 1-6, and I agree with Sellin in holding that there is no reason for rejecting the narrative of the earlier attempt to build the temple, and it seems to me that he shows most conclusively that the testimony of Haggai and Zechariah, when rightly interpreted, does not oppose the narrative in Ezra. Sellin holds that Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are two distinct personages. Here I must confess that his arguments have not convinced me.

The novel feature in Sellin's discussion of the return is the interpretation which he puts upon the prophecy of Zechariah. He proposes the highly improbable theory that in his vision Zechariah transports himself into various past periods, *e. g.*, the Babylonian exile before the fall of Babylon; the first years of the return after Joshua had arrived, but before the arrival of Zerubbabel; and, most remarkable of all, the pre-exilic time for the fifth and sixth visions, when the declaration is made that the evil of the land is to be carried into Babylon, and then back again to the exilic period. In this way he develops and seeks to support his theory, not only that the return was

a gradual one—this is now very generally accepted—but that the prophecy of Zechariah enables us to mark at least three stages in that return: (1) that under Joshua, (2) that under the lead of Heldai and his associates, and (3), shortly before 520, that under the leadership of Zerubbabel. On this hypothesis the crown of Zech. 6:11 was actually placed upon the head of Joshua in anticipation of the coming of the Branch—in other words, Zerubbabel: with the coming of Zerubbabel, according to Sellin, the great body of the exiles were once more in their own land, and consequently the dawn of the messianic era was regarded as at hand. The fact is that both Haggai and Zechariah show that not even in 520 was the work of restoration regarded as completed, and, while they had great hopes for the future after the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel, they still looked to Babylon for further reinforcements, and recognized that the divine displeasure was still resting upon them. Sellin is also mistaken, as I think, when he adduces the lists in Ezra, chap. 2, and Neh., chap. 7, in support of his theory that the great body of the exiled had returned by 520. These are lists, not of the exiles who returned during these early years, but of the inhabitants of the province of Judea, in so far as these inhabitants consisted of returned exiles, and they come from the time of Nehemiah, and hence are without weight for this earlier period.

Sellin's argument that the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah support his view of the restoration is undoubtedly true for the main points of his view as against the interpretation of Kesters, but they by no means confirm his theory that the restoration was regarded as completed by the return of Zerubbabel. One is inclined to think that he emphasizes this point so strongly in order to make room for his theory with regard to the elevation and downfall of Zerubbabel which he set forth with so much ingenuity in his work on Zerubbabel, and the main outlines of which he still defends in the third study of the present work.

In his suggestion that Isa., chaps. 56–66, must have originated in Jerusalem during the years 536–520 Sellin seems to me to have made a contribution of real value toward the solution of the problem of the Trito-Isaiah. Indications of the age are not numerous in these chapters, but, as Sellin says, 63:18; 64:9, 10; 66:1–5, find a natural explanation in the Samaritan hostilities of this period, and there is nothing in the section which cannot be explained out of the conditions during the early years of the restoration when the work so enthusiastically begun was so forcibly stopped. Sellin considers the question of the Deutero-Isaianic authorship of these chapters and

declines to do more than to admit its possibility. I am inclined to go farther and maintain that it is highly probable that these closing chapters of the book come from the same hand as the earlier chapters. The change in place and circumstances is no argument against this view, for it is only reasonable to assume that the man who did so much to prepare the people to take advantage of the permission to return would take part in the return when it became a reality, and would follow with the same zeal and interest the course of events during those cruel years of disenchantment and disappointed hopes.

Sellin concludes his review of the sources for this period with an estimate of the Chronicler, whom he regards as having in the main given his materials faithfully, his chief error being his identification of Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar. But, as I have already indicated, I am by no means convinced that it is not Sellin rather than the Chronicler who is in error here. It is not necessary to assume that Zerubbabel was not in Jerusalem in order to account for the attitude of the people during 536-520 and the change in public sentiment in 520. It is not at all unlikely that the courage of the people may have been stimulated by the new arrivals from Babylon. But the revolutions in the Persian empire attendant upon the accession of Darius, and the zeal of Haggai and Zechariah, are sufficient, it seems to me, to account for the reawakening of the messianic hope. And to whom else than Zerubbabel could that hope be directed?

Space will permit of no more than a mention of the third study, the "Fate of Zerubbabel." Suffice it to say that here Sellin seeks to collect the fragments of his earlier Zerubbabel hypothesis which he has himself done so much to shatter. He still maintains that there was an actual attempt to make Zerubbabel king, that this attempt was treated as an act of rebellion by the Persian government, that Zerubbabel was dethroned, and that the line of David was declared ineligible for the governorship. These events are regarded as having been the cause of the unhappy conditions in Jerusalem at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or rather of Nehemiah and Ezra, as Kusters and Sellin arrange them. This is an ingenious hypothesis and may be true, but in my opinion it still awaits its proof.

The principal criticism which I should make upon the work as a whole is that it seems to me to be too much influenced by the exigencies of a theory. But, notwithstanding this, I am glad, in closing this notice, to record my sense of indebtedness to our author for many stimulating suggestions, and for some valuable contributions to our



understanding of this difficult and highly important period of Old Testament history.

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FÜNF NEUE ARABISCHE LANDSCHAFTSNAMEN IM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Beleuchtet von EDUARD KÖNIG. Mit einem Exkurs über die Paradiesesfrage. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902. Pp. 78. M. 3.

KÖNIG's pamphlet is a critical review of some theories recently put forth by H. Winckler and F. Hommel. These two scholars believe to have discovered that in several cases names of Arabic tribes or countries and rivers occur in the Old Testament, where they have not been recognized before (*cf.* Winckler's studies on *Musri*, Berlin, 1898, and Hommel's *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, III, i, 8: "Vier neue Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament," Munich, 1901). (1) The אַשְׁשׁוּר, Gen. 25:3, are identified with אַשְׁשׁוּר in a Minæan inscription of Ed. Glaser's; being a branch of דָּדָן, probably a north-Arabian tribe, they must be located somewhere in northern Arabia, not far from Edom. König accepts this combination, but rejects Hommel's further conclusions with regard to some other passages in the Old Testament, where this Ashshûr = אַשְׁשׁוּר is said to be originally intended. (2) מִצְרַיִם is, according to Winckler and Hommel, in a great many cases not = Egypt, but = *Muṣrân* in north Arabia; furthermore is *Muṣrân* or *Moṣar* (*Maṣor*) = Midian according to Hommel. Without denying that *Muṣri* may have been intended in a few passages, König gives his reasons against the new explanation of most of these cases. (3) The מִצְרַיִם or מִצְרַיִם נָהָר and even הַנָּהָר (usually thought to be the Euphrates) is with Hommel = Wādi Sirhān. (4) כְּנָעַן, to be read *Kōs* or *Keṣōs* = a region and tribe in central Arabia. (5) The יָרֵב is the "king of Aribi."

In (3)-(5) König disapproves Hommel's views and argues against him, sometimes, as it seems to me, with truisms. In an appendix König treats of the question whether three of the four rivers of Paradise should be located, with Hommel, in Arabia, and he arrives at a negative decision.

König's peculiar style has been noted often enough (*cf.* recently Wellhausen in *Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeig.*, 1901, p. 739). Each writer has certainly his right of individuality, but for the sake of the German

language such enrichments as "Auffallendheit" (p. 22) and "Jenseitsgegend" (p. 44) should be avoided.

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EUPHEMISTIC LITURGICAL APPENDIXES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.  
By KARL J. GRIMM. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. viii + 96. M. 6.50.

THE subject which Dr. Grimm here treats is a ripe and timely one. That there are certain additions to the text of the Old Testament due to the use, more or less formally, of portions of it as a lectionary, has been recognized to a greater or less degree by many exegetes. Some, who have made excursions into the broader oriental field, have pointed out the value which the oriental—continuing the primitive tradition—finds in the spoken word apart from the intention of the speaker. Expressions of misfortune are as arrows shot forth; they are bound to strike somewhere, perhaps even the speaker himself. The fullest treatment of the subject for the Semitic world is by Goldziher in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I. Dr. Grimm, curiously enough, does not seem to make any allusion to this rich and suggestive book.

But, apart from this omission, the present treatment is exceedingly full and satisfactory. Between eighty and ninety passages are discussed where the author suspects the presence of additions thus introduced to prevent the "lesson" ending with unlucky words. Opinions, of course, must differ on some of these cases. For myself, I see no reason to abandon the genuineness of the "doxologies" in Amos. But my view as to the structure of the whole book of Amos probably differs from that of Dr. Grimm, and is too large a question to open up here. It may be enough to say that I do not regard the book as a constructional unity, but as a collection of scraps from the speeches of Amos strung together on a mechanical principle—the origin exactly of the Qur'an; further, that Amos, being a darwish prophet on the border of ecstasy, might easily fly off into such disjointed expressions of praise when religious emotion overcame him. How far this explanation of prophetic incoherencies may have more general applications is, of course, a question.

It need hardly be said that the details of this study are worked out with the exact fulness to which we have become accustomed in the

pupils of Professor Haupt. Dr. Grimm and the Johns Hopkins Seminar are both to be congratulated on this thesis.

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GENESIS ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT. Von HERMANN GUNKEL.  
(="Handkommentar zum Alten Testament." I. Abtheilung, "Die historischen Bücher." 3. Band, 1. Theil.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. lxxiv+450.  
M. 11.60.

THIS is without doubt the most brilliant commentary on Genesis in existence. The introduction is occupied with a very rigorous and interesting examination of "the legends of Genesis." According to Gunkel, there can no longer be any serious thought of treating Genesis as history, though there is equally little doubt that many of its elements dimly reflect historic conditions of a very early time. The key, however, to the interpretation of Genesis is that the stories are in the main an attempt to account for *existing conditions*, whether those conditions be the sorrow of human life or the sanctity of a particular shrine. The stories answer the question, "How did those things come to be?" by referring them to some deed or word—usually of an ancestor—in the distant past. Thus they may be classed as historical, ethnographical, ætiological, and with these elements an etymological motive is often mixed up. Legend is more valuable than a prosaic recital of fact would be, as it gives us a glimpse into the characteristics of the various peoples (*e. g.*, Esau, Ishmael). There are practically three stages: the myths (in Gen., chaps. 1-11) are Babylonian; the patriarchal legends are essentially Canaanitish; with Moses starts the specifically Israelitish tradition. The legends represent almost all stages of theological belief—from a mythology involving polytheism to the belief in God as the providence of human life. Many of them are very old, and deal with peoples long forgotten (*e. g.*, Hagar). The stories are told often with great literary skill. They are graphic, because they deal with action rather than reflection; the reflective elements are demonstrably later.

J and E represent collections rather than literary units, and the date of the constituent elements it is impossible to determine; but it is possible, by a sympathetic examination of the temper and spirit of the stories, especially of the variants, to follow the course of the development of early Israel's morality. Many stories are—at least

in their original isolation—quite destitute of any moral element (12: 10–20). The later variants offer subtle corrections.

The grouping of the single stories is sometimes rather externally done; more often—especially in the Joseph group—it is effected with great skill. There are many proofs that the Joseph story is later than the others: the literary skill, the more diffuse and elaborate style, the more complicated psychology, the absence of theophanies, and the belief in God as providence. J and E are pre-prophetic; J from the ninth century, and E from the first half of the eighth; united by R<sup>J</sup> toward the end of the Judæan monarchy.

The commentary proper offers a rare combination of sanity and enthusiasm. Its supreme aim is to put us in possession of the historic sense, and there is a not infrequent polemic against the dogmatic theology, which has done much to obscure, if not to travesty, that sense. He who has once drunk of the wine of allegory is not easily sobered (p. 18). "It seems hard for many theologians to understand that morality has a history" (Gen., chap. 12; pp. 156, 282). "How hard it is for theological exegetes to understand an ancient legend" p. 378), and without the investigation of legend Genesis is simply not to be understood (p. lxxi). More important than the power to draw fanciful distinctions between אֱלֹהִים and דִּמְיוֹת (1: 26) is the power to understand the thrill with which the ancient story was told, and the throb which it roused in the hearts of the listeners. A sense of humor would have saved the theologians from many a blunder—a sense in which Gunkel himself is by no means deficient; as when he criticises the view that Jacob's wrestling was in prayer, by saying: "In the wrestlings of prayer one does not dislocate one's thigh."

The author's polemic against what he many times calls a "one-sided literary criticism" is just as keen as his polemic against dogmatic theology. It is impossible, he reminds us, to fix the dates of spiritual processes on the basis of purely literary evidence. He often impresses upon us that in the Old Testament we have but the "ruins" of a once rich literature, and that nothing can be more unscientific or unjust than to draw large inferences from our ignorance or from the silence of our meager sources. We know too little of early Israel to say that certain tempers (*e. g.*, the moral earnestness of the flood story) were impossible before the age of the literary prophets. Words (*e. g.*, בָּרָא), phrases (אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, 49: 1), customs and ideals, may exist centuries before they have literary attestation. Investigation should have a little more respect for tradition (p. 145). "The author cannot

conceal his conviction that the present prevalent literary criticism has been too ready to declare as spurious the passages which do not fit into its construction of history, or which are unintelligible to the modern investigator, and that this period of criticism must necessarily be followed by a strong reaction" (p. 113). The general result of Gunkel's attitude is to increase our estimate of the pre-exilic period. The cult was more important and elaborate (15:9, 10), and the individual had a higher religious value (27:20), than is commonly allowed. The author believes in the genuineness of 49:10, because he "does not share the conviction that there is no pre-prophetic eschatology. Rather he believes that we can understand the prophets only by assuming that they combated and transformed an eschatology already in existence." A true history of the religion of Israel will never be possible (p. 113) till more regard be paid to the history of the material whose literary form has been so carefully studied.

It will thus be seen that incidentally this commentary represents a conservative reaction, and not the least interesting or important parts of the book are the suggestions of a pre-exilic date for passages in other parts of the Old Testament which are commonly regarded as late: Hos. 2:20; Isa. 11:6 ff.; 17:12-14; Ps. 110; Numb. 24:22, 24.

Gunkel's analysis of the text is very thorough. Where he differs from other scholars he always offers his results with becoming reserve. Gen., chap. 24, he regards as composite; chap. 34 he assigns to J and E, not to J and P. He detects two sources in the account 11:1-9, one dealing with the city (Babel) and the other with the tower (*Pis* or *Pis*?). Few words are wasted over the discussion of such passages as יִרְדֵּן and בְּשִׁגְמוֹ (6:3) or אֲבִרָךְ (41:4). One or two of many interesting results may be mentioned. Jacob and Esau do not represent the historical Israel and Edom: Israel was not unwarlike, nor was Edom stupid. The cave of Machpelah was probably contested in P's time by the Idumæans. The four stages of revelation in P are relics of the four seasons of the great world year. The place of Isaac's sacrifice was probably Jeruel, near Tekoa (2 Chron. 20:16). One of Gunkel's most important conclusions is that much of P (in Gen., chaps. 1-10) may well be very old. It is not an invention, but embodies ancient tradition akin to J. The blessing of Jacob received its present form in the time of David or Solomon. No verse necessarily implies the divided monarchy, not even those dealing with Ephraim—the invasions there being probably not those of the Aramæans, but of nomads in the time of the judges.

Seldom has the historic sense of a book been more relentlessly investigated than in this commentary. It would not be impossible or unjust, however, to read more ethical content into the stories than Gunkel does. For we have not only to determine their original sense, but also to discover what sense is suggested for them by the connection in which the final redactor of the Hexateuch has placed them. Dillmann could plead the acknowledged unity of the Hexateuch in excuse for his more spiritual interpretation. Doubtless the original sense is by far the more important, but the other is neither unimportant nor illegitimate, and there are hints of such a concession in this commentary.

It is a great pleasure to welcome a commentary which combines to so extraordinary a degree information, inspiration, and literary charm.

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DIE BÜCHER DER CHRONIK. Erklärt von I. BENZINGER.  
(= "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von Karl Marti, Lieferung 14.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. xviii + 141. M. 3.

THE author of this commentary regards the Chronicles as a midrash, the fullest example in the Old Testament of that method of history-telling. He objects, however, to the theory that the chronicler has invented his material, and considers that he has founded his work on written sources. The special value of Benzinger's book is the judicial spirit in which he endeavors to explain the origin of those narratives which cannot be regarded as historical, and to indicate what may have been the basis of fact. Two main sources, in addition to Samuel and Kings, are noted: (1) the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings (variously named) and (2) a History of the Prophets. Many critics regard these as identical. In these works the earlier history had already been very much worked over in the midrashic spirit. The chronicler carried the process still farther. Two examples may be cited. The expedition of Zerah the Cushite exhibits all the marks of the midrash, "fabulous hosts, edifying prayer, marvelous victory," but it is not invention. The chronicler's sources gave an account of an invasion of a Cushite tribe, doubtless from Arabia. He imagined that it meant the Cushites of Egypt, and so built up his narrative. The captivity of Manasseh in Babylon may have historical basis, either in a visit of Manasseh to pay homage after having refused

tribute in connection with the Babylonian revolt, or in an actual transportation for participation in the revolt. The repentance, however, is the mere theory of the midrashist, who sought an explanation of the wicked king's long reign.

Many other sources were also available to the chronicler, and he has preserved valuable information regarding the families of the kings, their building operations and their border wars. Whenever the religious interest is not involved, a careful study of each incident may yield historical fact. The registers (chaps. 1-9), while derived from written sources, have been extraordinarily worked over. No historical reliance can be placed upon the tribal genealogies. The descent of the high-priests from Aaron and of the singers from Samuel are quite unhistorical. The geographical lists, however, probably contain much valuable information, but the text is in very bad condition.

The date of the compilation is probably about 300 B. C., but it has received many additions. As the Levitical families enlarged and their duties became more diverse, new genealogical lists were added. There was a constant tendency to add material from the earlier and more revered canonical books. The chronicler was a Levitical singer, and so dwelt much upon the sacred song, but there are indications of additions by one specially interested in the instruments of music and their proper use.

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EZEKIEL AND DANIEL. By CAMDEN M. COBERN. (= "Commentary on the Old Testament," edited by Wheedon, Vol. VIII.) New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1901. Pp. 415. \$2.50.

THESE comments on Ezekiel and Daniel have been written under the pressure of pastoral duty in two of the largest and most important charges in American Methodism. Great debts have been raised, large plans of institutional church work projected, and many hundreds admitted to the church on confession of faith while this work was being carried forward. . . . No one can be more sensible than the writer of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of doing one's best critical work under the circumstances.

Thus we read as we open the book at the preface. The statement does not sound encouraging, except to those concerned with American Methodism. For those who are seeking light on Ezekiel and Daniel the apology destroys expectation. It is a matter of concern to every

Christian, to whatever denomination he may belong, that great debts have been paid, great plans projected, and great masses brought into the church; but such things do not help the student of these obscure and difficult books of the Bible. Such an excuse is valid for delay, but if an author finds it impossible to put his best work on a book, why write at all? The best in Ezekiel and Daniel is poor enough; what we are to look for in confessedly second-best work is easily imagined. There are many brief excerpts from scholars who have written about Ezekiel and Daniel, but this work cannot be classed as a scholarly production. We do not find in it much fresh light on these puzzling books, nor does it sufficiently acquaint us with the best work done by others. The author assumes an extreme conservative position in regard to Ezekiel, and builds upon it without scruple. For example, he sets against the harsh things which have been said about Ezekiel this statement:

In St. John's highest hour of rapture he saw the vision which Ezekiel had seen six centuries before. Surely St. John and the Teacher of Nazareth were as good judges of Hebrew style and spiritual visions as any modern professor, and this judgment is not so severe.

This assertion assumes that John wrote the Apocalypse; but that conclusion is scarcely tenable as an assumption. The apostle may have been a better judge of "spiritual vision" than any modern professor, for aught we know, but we think he was not likely to be as good a judge of "Hebrew style." Dr. Cobern alleges that our Lord adopted Ezekiel's method of teaching, and used his writings more than those of any other prophet (p. 19). Surely there is no good warrant for such a statement. Moreover, Ezekiel needs no such bolstering. The notes on the text show that the author has spiritual insight and power. While they contribute little to a knowledge of Ezekiel, they are doubtless good for edification.

When we turn to the treatment of Daniel, we are surprised to note that the introduction covers almost exactly the same space as the commentary. There is a good deal of this disproportionately long introduction that is not important in a popular book. On the whole, however, the work is here better done than in the treatment of Ezekiel. There are many signs of a deep interest, if not in Daniel, at all events in the times to which the history is supposed to belong. Dr. Cobern rejects both the extreme views, on the one side, that Daniel is authentic history and prophecy, and, on the other, that it is pure fiction. He holds that it is "an apocalypse, a vision in which the



past is opened and made to live again, in which the ancient prophet speaks as if still alive" (p. 263).

The author makes unquestioned use of Ezekiel's allusion to Daniel (p. 298). In the note on Ezek. 14:14 he dismisses forthwith the proposed emendation of "Enoch" for "Daniel," a correction which Cheyne pronounces to be certainly necessary, and which has so much in its favor that the building on Ezekiel's mention of Daniel is surely precarious.

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ZUR GENESIS DER AGADA. Beitrag zur Entstehungs- und Entwicklungsgeschichte des talmudischen Schriftthums. Von N. I. WEINSTEIN. II. Theil: *Die alexandrinische Agada*.<sup>1</sup> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 275. M. 7.

THE identity of the talmudic *minim* has exercised the ingenuity of scholars since the time of Elias Levita. In the face of a categorical declaration of the Palestinian Talmud that לא גלו ישראל עד שיעשו כ"ד כחות של מינים (*Sanhedr.*, X, 5), pains have been taken to recognize in them exclusively now one, now another heresy. They were thus identified in turn with the Manichæans, Zarathustrians, Jewish Christians, Hellenists, etc. In 1898 Friedländer entered the lists of this somewhat futile tournament with a book entitled *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*,<sup>2</sup> in which he maintained with considerable sagacity and spirit that the *Minim* are no other than Antinomian Jewish Gnostics, who formed the radical wing of Hellenistic Judaism. This was an amplification and defense of a former essay of his in which the importance of those Jews for the universalizing of Judaism was defended sympathetically and ably, though perhaps not in a way to carry conviction.<sup>3</sup> Our author enters upon Friedländer's work with the easy conscience of an ancient Israelite spoiling an Egyptian, not, however, before mutilating the original idea almost beyond recognition. For while Friedländer draws an important distinction between the conservative majority and the radical minority, Dr. Weinstein speaks unqualifiedly of Alexandrian Judaism, and in this way what was at least plausible becomes now preposterous.

<sup>1</sup> Part I will appear in 1902.

<sup>2</sup> See CLEMEN'S review in this JOURNAL, Vol. IV (1900), pp. 164, 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen jüdischen Welt*. See this JOURNAL, Vol. II (1898), pp. 213, 214.

We are asked to believe, on "evidence" concocted out of a preposterous manipulation of texts, that the entire Hellenistic Jewish diaspora was a hotbed of apostasy from monotheism; that a ditheistic Logos-worship flourished in regularly organized synagogues, and even infested many Palestinian cities; that those apostates annoyed the students, pestered the authorities, and, what is worst, actually made secret converts among the foremost teachers of the law and bearers of the tradition, who thus under the cloak of outward sanctity harbored the demon of heresy, whose tail and horns peep out here and there in the numerous agadic passages and reveal to the discerning eye of Dr. Weinstein their true identity as Alexandrian, Philonic, Logos-ridden, ditheistic; for all these terms are interchangeable to our author. The Jewish authorities could not, of course, tolerate such horrors, and, in their contest with them, had to resort to some severely repressive measures. Needless to say that all this is a pure hashish dream. Any one who has read the Midrash intelligently and observed the perfect *insouciance* with which poetry, humor, shrewdness, whimsicality, and fanciful exegesis combine to form the quaintest and most fascinating arabesques, as innocent of metaphysics as of bigoted pedantry, will laugh at the desperate efforts of Weinstein to convict these delightful preachers of awful heresies.

But we must hasten to another point. Our author offers a novel solution of the etymology of מִיָּנִי. Our heretics are no other than the Arabian tribe of the Minæi, with whom Dozy in the *Die Israeliten zu Mekka* identifies the Simeonites. After a lengthy argument our author feels that he has definitively settled this point. We can do no more than give the gist of his argument. The Simeonites were never of much account or importance. A comparison of their census before and after the plague (Numb. 25:9) shows the greatest numerical loss, because they were the most egregious offenders. Small wonder, then, that the descendants of these reprobates, so wantonly susceptible to the charms of the Moabitish maidens, fell victims some thousand years later to the metaphysical charms of a ditheistic Logos-worship. After locating them, within a few pages, successively in Arabia, in Arabia Petrea, and in Arabia Felix—our author is very light-hearted in matters geographical—he makes them gradually migrate to southern Palestine, where they mingle with the population and pervert the agadists of the South. Cæsarea, which lies south of Jerusalem, in fact on the southern coast of the Mediterranean (p. 167)—this, by the way, is based on the authority of a passage in the Palest. Talmud, given in

a footnote, speaking of the Cæsarean harbor!—as well as Lydda (Diospolis), swarm with them. But they are also found in other places, and are everywhere the cause of much mischief, of heartburnings, of patriarchal severities, and of the insidious heresies of the "Alexandrian" agada. Space forbids to do more than draw attention to a plagiarism (pp. 125, 126) from Jellinek (*cf.* Beth Ha-Midrash, III); to some peculiar remarks on Hebrew grammar (pp. 219–23); to a sample of our author's Greek (*γένικος ἄνθρωπος* = "der sinnliche Mensch"); or to his fondness for "proving" well-known commonplaces. These are mere trifles when compared with the habit of disingenuousness with which texts are altered and twisted so as to testify falsely in behalf of a pet theory. For example see pp. 75, note 110; 84, note 133; 167, note 31; 168, note 34; 213, note 163; 247, note 228; 255, note 4; 260, note 7; 261, note 10; 264, note 19.

We hope not to exaggerate in saying that such "contributions" belong to the debit side of the ledger, and that a fair number of them will rapidly land any science in the hands of a receiver.

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HANDBOOK TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.  
By FREDERIC G. KENYON. With Sixteen Facsimiles. New  
York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xi + 321. \$3.25, net.

DR. KENYON has been assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum since 1889. He has made himself well known wherever Greek letters are cultivated, by his editions of papyrus texts deposited in the British Museum, and by his *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, published in two volumes, issued, respectively, in 1893 and 1898. The results of his study of the papyri he has summed up also in an excellent sketch of *The Palæography of Greek Papyri*, published in 1899. His interest in the biblical text has shown itself in an admirable popular volume on *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, which reached its third edition in 1898, and in a series of *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum* which appeared in 1900. The treatise which he now gives us profits, of course, from his long and close occupation with Greek diplomatics.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first of these is a brief introductory precis of "the function of textual criticism." The next three give a full account of the Greek manuscripts preserving

the New Testament text. These are followed by chapters on "The Ancient Versions" and the "Patristic Quotations." The volume closes with two chapters treating respectively of "Textual Criticism in the Past" and "The Textual Problem." It is throughout admirably written: it is clear and precise in style and thoroughly well informed in matter. The task which it sets itself could hardly be better accomplished. A great part of it is, of course, merely a careful summary of former writers; but the best writers are selected for summarizing, and the work is carefully and admirably performed. The information, moreover, is everywhere brought fully up to date. Nor are original features wanting. It may even be said that Dr. Kenyon, out of his own stores of first-hand knowledge, has added a whole new chapter to the external history of the New Testament text. He is able to prefix to the periods of uncial and minuscule transmission a previous period of propagation on papyrus, of a duration of some four hundred years. He has naturally drawn largely upon his previous writings on Greek papyri for his description of this period. It makes a notable addition to the current account of the early transmission of the New Testament text.

The best thing about Dr. Kenyon's book is its eminent sobriety. An air of balance and good judgment pervades it; and the reader finds no difficulty in trusting himself to the guidance of a writer who is obviously circumspect in forming his opinions and prudent in expressing them. These qualities are conspicuously exhibited in the closing chapters, in which the theories of the past and of the present come under discussion. These are treated with the most transparent fairness and are estimated in scales of evident righteousness. It is a great comfort to read a writer who reins himself in and prefers sanity to brilliancy, when dealing with topics which have been made of late the peculiar field of over-acute speculation. The result of his survey of past and present discussion of the textual history of the New Testament is to settle down upon substantially Dr. Hort's reading of it. There has been as yet no real advance made upon either Dr. Hort's construction of the history of the text, or Dr. Hort's methods of criticism.

But in speaking of the textual problem we are approaching the limitations of Dr. Kenyon's good book. He is content to remain the historian of this problem. He offers no efficient help toward solving it. In effect his book deals only with the externals of New Testament criticism, and has little to say about the theory or practice of the art. Remarkable for the excellence of its contents, it is even more remark-

able for the extent and nature of its omissions. It offers itself as an attempt "to provide a serviceable handbook to the textual criticism of the New Testament, for the use of students who are comparatively new to the subject" (p. vii). But it is framed on a somewhat defective theory of what is needed in a "serviceable handbook." "The function of a textual critic" it considers to be summed up in these two operations: "first, to collect documentary evidence, and, secondly, to examine it and estimate its value" (p. 15). It would seem, then, that it is no part of the function of the textual critic to criticise the text; and no part of the function of a handbook to textual criticism to instruct the tyro how to proceed in criticising the text. When the external evidence is collected, and its value estimated, the critic is to stop short, and make no effort to apply this evidence to the actual criticism of the text. It is on this conception of its task that Dr. Kenyon's handbook is framed. Accordingly all that concerns the act of criticism is omitted: we look in vain for any adequate account of "various readings" in their origin or nature; and equally in vain for any exposition of critical method — for any discussion of the various kinds of evidence and their use, even for any presentation of the right methods of applying external evidence itself. From this *Hamlet* certainly *Hamlet* is left out.

It may be said that we are blaming the book for not being something else than it is. This is in a measure true. If it professes to be a handbook to the *externalia* of textual criticism only, it deserves nothing but appreciation. It puts into the hands of the prospective critic a great deal of most interesting information connected with his craft, and it does this charmingly. But it seems to present itself as a practical handbook to textual criticism, designed for beginners. And it is not unfair to the book, and only fair to the beginners, to say frankly that, so considered, it is fatally defective. It does not teach the *principia* of the art. If Dr. Kenyon, writing with the same admirable sobriety with which he has compiled these chapters on its *externalia*, would only add further chapters on the processes of textual criticism — illustrating each process from the treasures of his large experience with classical texts — then he would give us the handbook we had hoped for from him. If he will not do this, we shall have to wait for another.

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DIE JÜDISCHE SCHRIFTGELEHRSAMKEIT ZUR ZEIT JESU. Von OSCAR HOLTZMANN. Giessen: Ricker, 1901. Pp. 32. M. 0.70. ("Vorträge der Theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen," 17. Folge.)

THE quality of this brochure stands in inverse ratio to its quantity. As the rabbis would say, it is *מעט בכמות*, "insignificant in extent," but *רב באיכות*, "great in content." It counts only thirty-two small pages. But the subject is treated exhaustively. In a delightful manner the true character and function of the rabbis and their teachings are presented, as far as the days of Jesus are concerned. The author, in order to do justice to the much-maligned rabbinical schools, had to expose the common prejudices according to which dry formalism and literalism leading to hypocrisy and presumptuousness are the distinguishing traits of Jewish rabbinical religiosity. He does not hesitate to style this picture, popular though it is, a caricature. He shows that the scribes and teachers were the successors of the prophet, and as such the agents of progress, making for a moral interpretation of religious implications. He brings out in clear relief the opposition of the synagogue to the temple, an opposition foreshadowed, indeed, in the antithesis of prophet and priest in the Old Testament canon. He admits that Jesus employed in his interpretations largely the methods in vogue in the exegetical schools of the rabbis, and eminently suggestive is his observation that the attention paid by the rabbinical scheme to the "little and petty" things affected beneficially the style of the Master's sermons, in which, also, the common, everyday experiences are dignified and become tremendous occasions for instruction.

On the whole, the picture drawn in this discourse must be said to be true to life, though greater concessions are made to the old misapprehensions of the rabbis' ambitions and attitudes than the sources warrant. It is true Holtzmann would impute to the class and excuse as professional care for the professional dignity the faults attributed to the learned men in the New Testament records, allowing that individuals in the class may have risen above these limitations. This view is certainly ingenious, and betrays the desire of the author to be scrupulously impartial and fair. Still, we believe, had he made larger use than he has of the rabbinical sources, he would have modified seriously even this qualified restatement of the common mistrust and misjudgment of the character of the rabbis as a class (*ein Stand*). The number of those among them that merited the censure which the New Testament writers have chronicled was by no means large. Talmudi-

cal passages abound in which pride and presumption on the part of the teachers are severely condemned ("Sôta," 5a and 5b). The Pharisee as drawn in the New Testament is modeled after one or two of the classes of Pharisees enumerated in the Talmud ("Sôta," 20a, 22a, 22b, and "Tôsaphôth," *ad locum*). The true Pharisee is he who serves God from love without expectation of reward. Nor was hypocrisy condoned. The most striking of the many sayings condemnatory of outward piety without inward sanctification which might be quoted, is found in Yômā, 72: "The teacher whose interior does not correspond to his exterior is unworthy of the teacher's post." Stress was laid on sanctified and spiritual sentiment. Mere learning and scrupulosity were not deemed sufficient. "He who possesses learning but is without true fear of the Lord is like a treasurer to whom were delivered the keys to the inner door, but not those opening the outer. How can he get access to the treasure?" ("Šabbath," 31a.)

Professor Holtzmann has overlooked a vital factor, the double character of rabbinical exegesis. On the one hand, it is rigidly legalistic (halakhic). In the legalistic discussions and decisions the lawyer's temper predominates. To it applies the description of rabbinical religiosity as primarily concerned about fulfilling the letter of the law with the least possible inconvenience. The "law" is satisfied by the deed, and takes no cognizance of the motive. But, on the other hand, rabbinical exegesis is *haggadic*. And to the Haggadah one must go would one form a correct notion of the quality of the true "religion" of the synagogue. This "haggadic" preaching embraces much more than what Holtzmann is willing to concede. In addition to the speculations on eschatological themes, it was busy with the insistences that found articulations in the Sermon on the Mount. It is not so plain that Jesus did not preach as did one of the scribes, as tradition would have us believe. That statement must be construed in a sense other than that given it by Holtzmann. In fact, it is not true that the preachers in the synagogue on sabbath days and during religious service discoursed on legalistic perplexities. The "Haggadah" formed the main preoccupation of the preachers in the synagogues; exceptions to this were made only before the holidays, when the ritual practices incidental to the holy season would be explained. It is true, Hillel is reported to have also paid attention to a mass of things without intrinsic moral or religious worth. But had we of him and the other scribes no other reports but those contained in the haggadic midrashîm, his and their memory and that of their activity would at

once assume a different aspect. Of Jesus' preaching we have only the account given by the gospels, and these, in our opinion, may only be compared with the midrashim. In calling attention to what we deem the limitations of Holtzmann's viewpoint, we would not for a moment be understood as undervaluing his popular contribution to one of the most difficult problems of New Testament times. He could not present the theme otherwise than from the point of view of a Christian. And from this fact arise differences which by no means detract from the value of his lecture. We hope that soon it will be translated into English. It would be in English, as it is in German, an urgent invitation to many to go over the ground once more and bring about the correction of many an unjust prejudice.

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THE CARPENTER PROPHET. A Life of Jesus Christ and a Discussion of His Ideals. By CHARLES WILLIAM PEARSON. Chicago: Stone, 1902. Pp. ix+288. \$1.50.

IN this volume Professor Pearson seems to think that he has discovered an original view of the Christ, and has entered upon a unique path of candor and honesty which none others have trod. He declares that, if all the text-books of systematic theology, and all the sermons based upon them, should be committed to a bonfire similar to that which consumed the books of "those who used curious arts" at Ephesus, the gain today would be relatively as great. And then, naively wishing to undermine no man's faith, he earnestly exhorts preachers to be honest and courageous in proclaiming views which harmonize with every known truth!

Professor Pearson's major premise is stated as follows: "The argument of this book is that all the superhuman powers attributed to Jesus, whether by the enthusiasm of disciples, by the imagination of poets, or by the self-interest of priests, are untrue."

This, so far as the book goes, is an assumption. There is no examination of the foundations of belief, no investigation of the historical sources, no philosophical discussion of the religious nature and needs of man, no apparent acquaintance with the work of specialists in biblical criticism, comparative religion, or any allied branch of study. Professor Pearson speaks his own *ipse dixit*. His imagination is fertile and its fruit abundant. Its virility may be seen, when he says, "In all probability Jesus was not a very good carpenter," and



yet, after a few lines, adds, "perhaps no mechanical occupation is more favorable to the development of the intellectual and the moral faculties."

The style is graphic, and the story, subjective as it is, told interestingly. Quotations from good literature abound. Browning, Burns, Shakespeare, and the Bible as literature enrich the narrative with apt suggestiveness. But the substance of the book is old, exploited, and exploded. The phrasing may be the phrasing of Pearson, but the subject-matter is the subject-matter of Renan and Strauss and Celsus.

ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY.

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ROMAN LAW AND HISTORY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By SEPTIMUS BUSS. London: Rivingtons, 1901. Pp. viii + 480. 6s., *net*.

THIS book is a collection of numerous details relating to Roman history, biography, customs, and law, to which allusion is made, more or less directly, in the New Testament. The promise implied in the title is liberally fulfilled. Few, if any, New Testament allusions to Roman matters are left unmentioned, though each topic is treated with great conciseness. Not infrequently, in fact, as in the five-page sketch of the life of Augustus, in the account of Cleopatra, embellished with two Shakespearean quotations, and in the description of the different forms of Roman marriage, the connection with the Scripture narrative is very slight indeed. The order of treatment follows the order of the allusions in the New Testament books. The author has selected about twenty leading events, such as the nativity, the death of John the Baptist, the crucifixion, the arrest of St. Paul, the appeal to Cæsar, St. John at Patmos; and has grouped about each occurrence the various topics which it suggests. Thus the incident of the tribute money gives opportunity for a discussion of the character of Tiberius, Roman taxation in its several forms, the tax gatherers, Greek and Roman coinage, and questions pertaining to money, banking, and trade. Notwithstanding the miscellaneousness of the subjects discussed and the brevity of the treatment, the book is thoroughly interesting. The style is simple and clear, and the statements of fact are generally accurate. Yet Tiberius is not usually thought by critical historians to have been as black as he is painted in the gossip pages of Suetonius, from whom

Mr. Buss seems to borrow the coloring of his portrait. In treating the later years of St. Paul's life the author usually indicates clearly the hypothetical character of the alleged events, but is occasionally too much influenced by the reckless conjectures of more dogmatic writers, as when he quotes with approval Ramsay's remark that, in asserting his Roman citizenship, "Paul could not have used the exact words which Luke reports," but must have spoken in Latin, for "*no civis Romanus* would claim his rights in Greek." The tone of the book is reverential—almost studiously so; the author seldom loses an opportunity to point a moral; and in disputed questions, such as the accuracy of St. Luke's statement about the "taxing" under Cyrenius, he never fails to defend the traditional view.

HENRY F. BURTON.

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DAS MESSIASGHEHEIMNIS IN DEN EVANGELIEN. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums. Von W. WREDE. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. xiii + 291. M. 8.

THE criticism of the gospels has within recent years occupied itself very largely with the attempt to discover the sources of the synoptists. It has been a question of whether an original Mark underlies the first three gospels in their present form, or two documents, one of which may be loosely identified with the Logia of Papias. Dr. Wrede turns away from this pursuit to what he deems a more fruitful theme; namely, the question, What do we know of the life of Jesus? what do we know of the history of the earliest conceptions and representations of him among his followers? In the solution of the problem, he naturally starts with the gospel of Mark, agreeing with the majority of scholars that this gospel, or, at any rate, a document almost identical with it, lies at the basis of the synoptics. But was Mark composed as a plain life-history of Jesus? Undoubtedly not. The author of Mark does not possess a historical view of Jesus Christ. The plan of the gospel is not determined by a clear grasp and a full knowledge of the details of Jesus' life. He was writing under the spell of a theological, or, at best, of a religious idea, rather than under that of a historical one. And his idea is this: During his earthly life, the messiahship of Jesus is a special secret. No one besides his three closest trusted disciples must know of it. Only with his resurrection should the secret be made

known. This is Wrede's thesis. Mark writes in order to explain why Jesus was not recognized by his contemporaries as the Messiah. His explanation is that he did not wish to be recognized until after the resurrection. He takes special pains to hide his messiahship from men. He commands the sick whom he has healed, not to publish the miraculous way of their cure. He enjoins silence on the demons that seem to know him. He creates a special circle of three among his followers to keep the secret. He speaks in parables, chiefly in order to conceal his personality. He hints at a mystery of the kingdom (*μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας*) which can be nothing else than that he himself is the Messiah. It is along this line that Wrede builds his argument for the tendency origin of the gospel of Mark. In Matthew and Luke the idea of a secret messiahship is still present, but does not constitute the center of the narratives. In the fourth gospel there is no longer a question of self-concealment on the part of Jesus. He can claim that he has spoken openly before the people.

From this brief sketch of Wrede's argument, it will be easily seen that his treatise involves much more than the investigation of a specific question. It is, in fact, an effort to explain the reports of the life and work of Jesus as the result of a rapid and radical transformation within a very short period. The real Jesus is, according to this portrait, soon lost in the cloud of opinions formed about him by his followers. The gospels may not be mythical, but they certainly cannot serve as reliable sources of information about him. Wrede deprecates subjectivity in criticism, but his method of treating the sources leaves him practically nothing but the subjective element to work with. Critical sensitiveness may be developed to abnormality, just as the optic nerve may become so acute in its response to the touch of light that it will not perceive things in their real proportions and colors. This is what we fear has come to pass in the case of our author.

A. C. ZENOS.

THE McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

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PATRISTIC STUDY. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE. (= "Handbooks for the Clergy.") New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. xi + 194. \$0.90, *net*.

THESE pleasant pages are designed to introduce the clerical reader to patristic literature in its widest sense. From Clement of Rome down to Photius and Bede every important Christian writer in Greek or Latin

is briefly described and estimated. The necessary brevity of these treatments has left no room for the discussion or even the statement of those literary and historical problems which really give to patristic study its chief interest, and it is a fair question whether a more effective way to attract men to the study of the Fathers would not have been to present a series of these problems with some indication of the directions in which the solution of them must be sought. Sometimes this brevity of treatment amounts almost to bareness, and one feels, regretfully, how much is being withheld. A *Patristic Study* of thrice the compass of the present book would have been most welcome from the pen of Professor Swete. As a comprehensive and sympathetic sketch of patristic literature, however, the book, small as it is, promises to be useful and even valuable, while its price puts it within the reach of all. In some details there is room for difference of opinion. The statement that the best tradition represents Clement as bishop of Rome, "second in succession after St. Peter and St. Paul" (p. 12), should certainly be modified to read "third in succession;" for the order Linus, Anacletus, Clement seems quite incontestable. It may also be questioned whether the gospels according to the Hebrews and Egyptians may not be earlier than the second century, to which Professor Swete assigns them (p. 39).

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIODORUS VON TARSUS. Vier Pseudojustinische Schriften als Eigentum Diodors nachgewiesen. Von ADOLF HARNACK. (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, N. F., VI, 40.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. 251. M. 8.

HARNACK's brilliant ingenuity has made a fruitful discovery in old possessions. He attacks the problem of the authorship of four pseudo-Justinian documents of the Codex Parisinus 450: *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, *Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos*, *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, *Confutatio Dogmatum Aristotelis*. Harnack translates the first three and the theological portion of the fourth, and presents a fascinating theory of the authorship, with a concluding summary of the theological and philosophical characteristics of the works. Interest in them had been quiescent until Papadopoulos Kerameus in 1895 found a more original text of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, attributed in the codex to Theodoret. Agreeing with

Ehrhard, of Vienna, in the rejection of such authorship, Harnack will substantiate the opinion of La Croze (1721) that the author is Diodorus of Tarsus. If the argument is successful, we have works added to the fragments of the great master of the Antioch school.

To the reviewer the discussion of the date is convincing. The author writes after Julian's reign and uses the formulas of the Cappadocian orthodoxy. He is consciously orthodox, but is in danger of tritheism rather than of Sabellianism. The date cannot be earlier than about 365. But, though Christianity has triumphed, pagans and heretics are in the majority, and heretics are in control of the state. The critical point is thus the *terminus ad quem*. Is it when monophysite heresy is dominant in the fifth century, or the end of Arian control with the death of Valens, 378? Aside from the doctrinal implications on which Harnack relies, the most cogent argument for the fourth century would seem to be the answer to Quæstio 143, where it is said that earthly sovereignty must alternate between Christians, heretics, and Hellenes. Surely no one in the fifth century feared a return of pagan hands. The author must have a personal knowledge of Julian's reign.

It is furthermore made probable that the author is a Syrian living on the seacoast, and certainly in a city where Apollonius of Tyana had erected magic protectives against violence of sea and wind. This, we learn from Malalas, was done by Apollonius in Antioch. The author is a monk, recognized as an authority in philosophical and biblical learning, and an enthusiast for church music. All indications thus fit Diodorus, monk in Antioch until made bishop of Tarsus in 378. A study of the extant fragments of Diodorus and of the titles of his works heightens the probability of this conclusion.

That the other three documents came from a single author had been already assumed by Harnack and others. A closer examination of thought and style shows conclusively that all four are of the same authorship. If the author is not Diodorus, it would seem to be an unknown *Doppelgänger*. Harnack gives, in any case, a masterly evaluation of the contents of the works as an illustration of the methods and tendencies of the Antioch school.

In an appendix Harnack assigns also the pseudo-Justinian *Expositio rectæ fidei* to Diodorus, but the style surely forbids, and the contents of chap. 15 seem to fit only the fifth century.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

DE BRIEF VAN BARNABAS. Door A. VAN VELDHIJZEN. Groningen: Wolters, 1901. Pp. 156.

THE problems relating to the so-called Epistle of Barnabas are so important, and yet so far from solution, that any serious and competent effort to solve or even to restate them commands interest. Van Veldhuizen offers in this little volume a full review of the criticism of Barnabas up to date, with his own conclusions as to the chief points in question. The scope of the work is wide, including the manuscripts, a somewhat critical comparison of the editions, an analysis of the contents of the epistle, a review of the various attempts to resolve it into documentary sources, a study of its ideas and the environment in which it was composed, as well as matters of authorship, date, and place of composition. Van Veldhuizen ascribes the epistle to some itinerant Christian teacher, writing under Alexandrian influence, if not in Alexandria itself. With Wieseler, Riggenbach, and Luthardt, he holds to a date in the time of Domitian, 90-96 A. D., against Lightfoot, Weizsäcker, and others, who place it in the reign of Vespasian; Hilgenfeld, Funk, and Bardenhewer, who date it in the time of Nerva; and Harnack, Volkmar, and Loman, who find its origin under Hadrian. On the important question of the relation of Barnabas to the *Didaché*, the writer holds that both used a common source, "The Two Ways."

On the whole, Dutch students of Barnabas will find in this book a trustworthy and comprehensive epitome of critical opinion as to that epistle, with a well-considered independent opinion upon the critical questions centering in it.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

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ANTILEGOMENA: *Die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Ueberlieferungen*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von ERWIN PREUSCHEN. Giessen: Ricker, 1901. Pp. vi + 175. M. 3.

THE editor of this collection is best known as Harnack's collaborator in *Die Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, and thus stands at a focal point in present-day patristic study. If this new work of his occasion surprise, it will be that he should turn even so little aside from that great undertaking to issue so unambitious a book as this. Yet in doing so he has performed a very real service to students of the apocryphal gospels. Other such collections there have been, notably those of Hilgenfeld and Nestle, but since the latest of these (1896) the

Oxyrhynchus Logia and gospel fragment have been added to our patristic spoils. In none of them have the fragments of these lost gospels been more completely or compactly presented than here. The book contains the Greek texts and German translations of the fragments of non-canonical gospels that are preserved in the Fathers or have come down to us directly in ancient manuscripts. The texts, translations, and indexes constitute the volume; there is no comment. The editor gives the fragments of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Ebionites, Philip, Thomas, Peter, the Apocalypse and Preaching of Peter, the Fayûm fragment, the Oxyrhynchus Logia and possible gospel fragment, the gospel quotations in Second Clement, Justin, the Clementine Homilies and the fragments of Papias, and the pertinent passages in Irenæus and Hegesippus. The Coptic gospel fragments recently published by Jacoby (Strassburg, 1900) and assigned by some to the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, might have been included, at least in German, if the extremely meager Oxyrhynchus gospel fragment was to be given a place. The whole makes an ideally complete and convenient collection to put into the hands of students of the non-canonical gospels, for whom just such a book has been needed.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

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PELAGIUS IN IRLAND. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Litteratur. Von HEINRICH ZIMMER. Berlin: Weidmann, 1901. Pp. 458. M. 12.

THIS volume is concerned with the fact that a commentary on St. Paul's epistles (with exception of the epistle to the Hebrews) by the heresiarch Pelagius was known and used in Ireland from the fifth to the ninth century. The author discusses the various defective rescensions of that work at present identified, and argues the existence of an unutilized version in Ireland. Three Irish MSS. are his chief authorities, viz., the Codex Wirzburgensis (a copy of St. Paul's epistles renowned for containing the eighth-century Irish glosses which formed the prime source of Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*), the Codex Palatinus Vaticanus, and the Book of Armagh, copied in 807. He prints at the end the variants and additional matter furnished by Codex St. Gallensis, 73 (S. IX), discovered by himself in the library of the Irish monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland after his first investigation was finished, and shown in Part II to be a commentary by Pelagius,

and actually the unmutilated version in question. And he demonstrates that even that has suffered change, both by excision and addition.

The book contains a prodigious array of facts, selected with the acumen and marshaled with the precision for which Zimmer is famous, and, for such masterly handling of so much new material, will form a notable addition to patristic studies. It will also bring into clearer light the methods of those who wrote the old Irish biblical glosses. Furthermore, it justifies once again the expectation of all who look for pronouncements of the deepest interest from one so versed in the literature of the period and locality under discussion. For instance, the English invasion of Britain intruded a "rampart of barbarians" which for a long time isolated Ireland from its wonted cultured intercourse with the continent. The beginning of the conversion of Ireland must be placed far anterior to 432, the date usually assigned to that event. The Irish taught the English the use of letters (p. 8). The honor of giving birth to such a notability as Pelagius is vindicated for Ireland. Other matters of the kind there are, too many for recital here.

Unfortunately, the vision of the seer is too vivid at times for coherent reasoning, and his argument is too often articulated with a "naturally," or "it is extremely likely." For instance, he wishes to discover a Pelagian party in Ireland in 455, and adduces in proof what he terms "quite remarkable testimony." He then quotes (p. 22) the seventeenth-century English translation of the lost "Annals of Clonmacnoise" at the year 455: "The Resurrection of our Lord was celebrated the 8 of the Calends of May by the Pelagion heresy," and adds "*natürlich in Irland.*" But as those "Annals" also recorded contemporary happenings on the continent, and as there is absolutely no proof that a native event was chronicled in that place, his statement that the testimony was "quite remarkable" must be accorded instant acquiescence. He returns to the charge and holds that a citation found in St. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 19, of a reproof addressed by an unconsecrated pope to the Irish regarding the recrudescence of Pelagianism among them, decides the question. But that was procured by the southern Roman-Irish party, who sent an embassy to Rome for the purpose of forcing their northern compatriots to observe Easter according to the Roman computation. That was before 640. They returned home in 633 "with miraculous relics, and therefore irresistible on the side of Rome, and with books designed for such as would



not yield to mere relic miracles." But that embassy, according to his showing, was bad enough for anything. He even admits that probably the northern Irish were driven to give vent to Pelagian expressions out of pure opposition to the southern. But might this reproof not have been procured by the English nation, who always felt such tender concern for our spiritual welfare and never failed to express it by intermeddling? He fails utterly to consider the question why it was that those Irish priests and monks, full charged as they were with Pelagian errors, failed to elicit any *reclamatio* on the continent, whither they flocked in such numbers at that very time to dot the land with monasteries and establish schools and churches, and where, presumably, folks were gifted with a fairly sensitive nose for heterodoxy. And many of those pilgrims were demonstrably from the north of Ireland. He remarks that the *collectanea* in Wb. (Codex Wirziburg.) quote Pelagius oftener than any other commentator, and that St. Augustine was so little used because of his known anti-Pelagian bias. But in the same place (p. 164) he says that glosses exhibiting outspoken Pelagian views are quoted in Wb. only for purposes of refutation. Pelagian exegetical literature was undoubtedly used in Ireland—a fact long in the possession of all students of Wb.—but with what intent and purpose is a matter Professor Zimmer fails to decide, because he does not address himself to the question in the proper temper.

The honor in which I hold an eminent scientist, and the affection I bear a kind and indulgent master, would force me to stop here. But there are concerns that the amenities must wait upon. Dr. Zimmer has deliberately chosen to inject an acrid dose of the *odium theologicum* into Keltics, and, if for nothing else, I, as one engaged in the same studies, regard it my duty to protest. One wonders, for instance, at the naïveté that can make repeated reference to the prolixity (*Weit-schweifigkeit*) of St. Jerome's style, and the vanity (*Eitelkeit*) of his nature. He is possessor of a vocabulary of abuse (p. 20), he is a babbler (p. 206), and, *horresco referens*! on p. 205 his commentaries are classed as "discursive expectorations." P. 224 it is said Bishop Marcus and his nephew Moengal had doubtless (*wohl*) a copy of Pelagius's commentary by them when they paid their visit *ad limina*, but that they scarcely showed it to Pope Leo IV. The rogues! They made that pilgrimage to Rome, no half-holiday excursion in those days, for the pure fun of humbugging the pope, while all the time they had Pelagius's commentary in their pocket. And the only evidence

that they had such a work, the only proof of that silly charge of bad faith against a bishop of the old Irish period, is this *wohl* sucked from the author's fingers. But let the matter on p. 224, note, be put on file as the most brilliant exposition of his motives and methods. He says:

To show better the mind of the Irish church a hundred years after the northern had accepted the Roman computation of Easter, let there be put in evidence a stanza found in the ninth-century Codex Boernerianus.

He translates:

Wandern nach Rom macht grosse Mühe, bringt geringen Nutzen.

Den (himmlischen) König, den du zu Hause suchst (vermisstest), wenn du ihn nicht mit dir trägst, nicht findest du ihn (dort).

Gross ist die Thorheit, gross die Verrücktheit, gross der Sinnenverlust, gross der Wahnsinn:

denn es ist sicher (nämlich "Wandern nach Rom") (!!) ein in den Tod gehen, ein den Unwillen des Sohnes der Maria auf sich ziehen.

The text is:

Téicht do Róim mór saido. beic torbai.

Inrí chondaigi hifoss. manimbera latt nífogbái.

Mór báis mór baile mór coll ceille mór mire.

Olais aircenn teicht do écaib beith fo étoil. máic Maire.

Now, this Irish fragment in a Latin word-for-word translation reads:

adire Romam nimium laboris parum lucri.

regem quem quaeris hic nisi eum tecum portaveris non invenies.

magna fatuitas magna deliratio magna amentia magna insania.

quia verum mori est esse sub odio filii Mariae.

It is simply a "vanitas vanitatum" stanza, a common Irish theme where pilgrimages, devotions, everything, was regarded as barren without the grace of God. As usual in such short stanzas, the fourth line contains the kernel. Dr. Zimmer translates it: "denn es ist sicher (nämlich 'Wandern nach Rom') ein in den Tod gehen, ein den Unwillen des Sohnes der Maria auf sich ziehen." But, as a matter of common Irish knowledge, *teicht do écaib* is not *ein in den Tod gehen*, but "to die" merely; and again the subject of the sentence is *beith fo étoil*, *esse sub odio*, and the translation is as plain as a pike-staff: "For it is very death to be under the displeasure of the Son of Mary." And so topples the imposing edifice raised about "*die Stimmung in der irischen Kirche*." This is either a very sad instance of lapse, or the mistake of an overwilling partisan. For quittance from the blame of it I must let Dr. Zimmer's scholarship wrangle with his honesty.

RICHARD HENEERY.

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DIE UNVERÄNDERTE AUGSBURGISCHE KONFESSION. Deutsch und Lateinisch nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitze der Unterzeichner. Kritische Ausgabe mit den wichtigsten Varianten der Handschriften und dem Textus receptus. Von PAUL TSCHACKERT. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. Pp. x+231. M. 7.

Text-Ausgabe. Pp. 54. M. 1.

THE Augsburg Confession, in a German and in a Latin text, was delivered to the emperor Charles V., June 25, 1530. The signers of the Confession did not keep an official copy of either text. But subsequently they had copies of the finished Confession made for their private use, and these they brought or sent home. Melancthon's *editio princeps*, printed in the autumn of 1530, was by no means a simple reproduction of the originals. This has long been known. The German text introduced into the "Book of Concord" in 1580 was taken, not from the original German text, but from an inexact copy made before the Confession had been finished and signed. The Latin copy taken into the same book was Melancthon's *editio princeps*. Thus it has happened that the official text of the Augsburg Confession, known as the *Textus Receptus*, is far from being a reproduction of the text delivered to the emperor.

Professor Tschackert, chiefly by means of nine "authoritative codices"—five German and four Latin—formerly in the possession of the signers of the Confession, has constructed a critical text of the Augsburg Confession, which, beyond the possibility of doubt, reproduces the original text with a very high degree of accuracy. This critical text deviates from the *Textus Receptus* in more than 450 instances in the German, and in about 150 in the Latin. The result, which must be accepted, and has been accepted by the German reviewers of the book, as relatively final, shows that "the German text of the Confession in the 'Book of Concord' is out and out inaccurate," and that "the Latin text of Melancthon and of the 'Book of Concord' is thus beyond doubt not the *Confessio Invariata*, delivered June 25, but a private writing of Melancthon."

Of course, the vast majority of the variants are utterly without doctrinal significance; but not a few of them do materially affect the sense. This is especially the case in Articles iv, xiii, xviii, xxvii, xxviii, of the German text, and in Articles xiii, xviii, xxi, xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, of the Latin text. The *editio princeps* is much more protestantized than the original text, which is here restored. This critical edition effect-

ally explodes the conceit of "the Unaltered Augsburg Confession," as the same was installed by the authors of the "Form of Concord," and has been so long made a test of Lutheran orthodoxy. Of this book sixty-two pages describe the various MSS.; the remaining pages contain the critical text and the *Textus Receptus*, both in German and in Latin, in parallel columns, with the variants of the different MSS. in the margin.

The "Text Edition" simply gives the two critical texts—the German in modern spelling—and is intended "for ministers, teachers, students, and scholars."

JAMES W. RICHARD.

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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST. By HERBERT KELLY. Vol. I. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. vii + 329. \$1.25, *net*.

THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS. A History of Christianity from Clement to Gregory. By ROBERT THOMAS KERLIN. Nashville (Tenn.): Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1901. Pp. xiii + 347. \$1.25.

THE ANCIENT CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM THE ACCESSION OF TRAJAN TO THE FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL. By ROBERT RAINY. New York: Scribner, 1902. Pp. xii + 529. \$2.50, *net*.

THESE works cover respectively the three periods: 29–324 A. D., 100–600 A. D., 98–451 A. D. The first was written by an Anglican, the second by a Methodist, the third by a Presbyterian. The first discusses various churchly and theological ideas found in certain of the ante-Nicene Fathers; the second, in a more diffuse and general way, describes the progress of Christianity from the end of the first century to the accession of Gregory I.; the third begins with the reign of Trajan and ends with the council of Chalcedon, and treats of the rise, growth, and influence of the ancient catholic church. A volume by the same author on the later catholic church is in preparation.

The title of Professor Kelly's work is entirely misleading. There is no attempt to give *A History of the Church of Christ*. The events which make up that history—even the most important—are not even mentioned. The author is concerned, rather, with certain "underlying ideas"—ecclesiastical and doctrinal—which he reproduces from the writings of sundry church fathers. In the apostolic period he is interested in various topics suggested by the Acts and epistles; in the sub-apostolic period he directs attention to the episcopal teachings of

Ignatius and Clement, and to religious, philosophical, and Christian ideas prevalent in the empire; in the third-century period views broached by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian are presented. The principle on which the selections of ideas are made is not very apparent, though perhaps the chief ruling thought is that the catholic church is "the representative of the unity of God," and the bishop is "the authoritative representative of this ineffable unity," and the eucharist is "the achievement of the incarnation and presence of Christ on earth." The author is not the master of a clear English style, and the line of thought it is not always easy to follow. In an appendix he frames a historical argument against the special and exclusive claims of the Church of Rome.

Professor Kerlin's treatise is wider in scope, less critical in tone, and more popular in style. It abounds in excerpts from the Fathers, who are accounted "true heroes of the faith" and "men of light and leading." Their writings are the perennial source of inspiration and wisdom. For general information Professor Kerlin's is the more valuable book; for the special discussion of a few selected topics Professor Kelly is more painstaking and helpful.

Principal Rainy's volume is by far the ablest of the three. The limited field traversed by Professor Kelly is here much more thoroughly explored; and the wider range of topics, covered by Professor Kerlin in a popular way, is here treated with the intelligence and penetration of a scholar.

*The Ancient Catholic Church* is one in the series of "The International Theological Library," and takes up the history where Professor McGiffert's *Christianity in the Apostolic Age* drops it. Equally with Professor McGiffert, Principal Rainy is the master of the sources. He is quite as erudite, though in the expression of critical opinion he is less pronounced and less novel. His temper is more cautious, and his conclusions will meet less opposition, except perhaps in Anglican circles. He finds his chief interest in the inward rather than the outward history, and the reader who turns his pages in the expectation of finding Neander, Schaff, and other general histories supplanted will meet with disappointment.

The spread of Christianity, the persecutions, and the external history generally are meagerly treated. The organization of the church, including the changing conception of the character of the clergy and of their relation to the sacraments, the growth of the prerogative and power of the bishop, the development of the hierarchy, and the central-

ization of ecclesiastical government, receive more attention. The author's chief interest, however, lies in the intellectual life of the church, in the various heresies which strove for recognition, in the heated theological controversies in which the leaders engaged, and in the gradual formulation of orthodoxy. While topics like Montanism, Donatism, and monasticism are discussed in a fresh and instructive way, the writer is at his best in the sections devoted to Gnosticism, Manicheism, neo-Platonism, Monarchianism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and like subjects. Principal Rainy possesses the rare talent of lucid exposition. An intricate and confusing system of speculation is firmly grasped in its fundamental principles, and is so explained that the reader is distinctly cognizant of its essential features and of its inner import.

*The Later Catholic Church* is now in preparation by the same author. "The Library" will also include a history of *The Latin Church*, but no provision seems to have been made for the Reformation period or for post-Reformation times—a serious omission and defect, which it is to be hoped the editors will remedy.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ORIGEN AND THE GREEK PATRISTIC THEOLOGY. By WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER. (= "The World's Epoch-Makers.") New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xiv + 268. \$1.25.

A MORE compact, comprehensive, and generally satisfactory treatment of the great Alexandrian than Mr. Fairweather has given us in this little volume, we believe, could not be found.

The first chapter, of thirty-five pages, treats of Origen's precursors, and most of the space is given to Clement of Alexandria, Origen's immediate predecessor. The second chapter is biographical, giving, in brief form, what is known of Origen's life-experiences. Then follow chapters on "Origen's View of Holy Scripture;" "The Religious Philosophy of Origen;" "The Writings of Origen;" "Origen's Theology;" "God and His Self-Manifestation;" "Creation and the Fall;" "Redemption and Restoration;" "Successors of Origen;" "Historical Services, General Characteristics, and Distinctive Doctrinal Complexion of Greek Theology;" "Reaction against Origenism;" and "Subsequent History of Origenism."

It thus appears that we have a strict monograph on Origen, which in no sense pretends "to be a treatment of the third century."

The author warns the reader that "this volume cannot claim to be written in the popular style adopted in some other volumes of the series, for the simple reason that the subject scarcely admits of being popularized." Yet the work is clearly and delightfully written, and we think any reader who would be in the least inclined to look into these great subjects would be held from the first chapter to the last.

The limits set for this notice do not admit of quotation, although the temptation is strong. The author's appreciation of his subject is partly seen in this passage :

In one sense Origen had no enemies. Nature is not so prolific in men of his moral and intellectual stature as to keep up an unbroken apostolical succession of this sort. These choice spirits that tower like Alpine peaks above the general level of humanity appear only at intervals upon the stage of history. They are, indeed, "the world's epoch-makers," the uncrowned kings of learning, thought, and science. . . . No one can study his life and writings without being impressed with the greatness of his personality and the versatility of his genius. His work in any single department of theological study would have brought him fame, but he excelled in all departments. . . . He was also at the same time a great Christian preacher, a believing expositor, a devotional writer, and an orthodox traditionalist (p. 213).

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DER "VERDIENST"-BEGRIFF IN DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE.  
Nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt von  
KARL HERMANN WIRTH. I: Der "Verdienst"-Begriff bei  
Tertullian. II: Der "Verdienst"-Begriff bei Cyprian.  
Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1892 and 1901. Pp. 74; 184.  
M. 1.20; 3.60.

IN these two monographs the author has collected valuable material from the sources, and has analyzed and expounded it with great clearness. On the basis of Tertullian's sentence, "*Nemo indulgentia [sc. Dei] utendo promeretur, sed voluntati obsequendo*" ("De exhort. cast.", 1), he sets forth the threefold classification of actions which makes possible the conception of merit; *i. e.*, (1) acts inherently evil (*illicitum*), (2) acts morally permissible (*indulgentia Dei*), and (3) acts involving special sacrifice (*voluntas Dei*). By renouncing the privileges of the second class and by voluntarily assuming the sacrifices of the third class, one may earn (*mereri*) a reward, the value of which is proportioned to one's merit. Fear of punishment and hope of reward are the motives of the Christian life. This commercial conception of

salvation was by Cyprian elaborated into the institution of penance under ecclesiastical supervision. The main part of the discussion is devoted to an exposition of the material gathered. A brief critique at the close of each volume shows the close parallel between the conception under discussion and the ethical ideals of Roman stoicism. Great importance is attached to the pagan education of both Tertullian and Cyprian; and to paganism is attributed their merit-system of morality.

The greatest value in the books is to be found in the painstaking collating of quotations and references. In evaluating the material the author's hostility to legalism leads him to emphasize its mechanical details to the almost total exclusion of the religious elements which modify this legalism. The somewhat audacious summary of the teaching of the New Testament in three extremely anti-legalistic texts (I, p. 52) is made the basis of the assertion that legalism must have a non-Christian origin. But do we not find, in the Shepherd of Hermas and in Justin's Apology, the germ of the merit-system? Did Tertullian do more than give explicit formulation to a conception already implicitly accepted by Christians? An investigation of this sort should precede the author's conclusion. It would have added to the value of the first monograph, if the difference between Tertullian the Catholic and Tertullian the Montanist, which is hinted at on p. 35, had been observed in the use of sources. The reader feels in both monographs that he has been studying phrases rather than fathoming the thoughts and ideals of the men in question; but the study is valuable as a contribution to the history of Christian ethics.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

ANSELM AND HIS WORK. By A. C. WELCH. (= "The World's Epoch-Makers.") New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xiv + 251. \$1.25.

ANSELM is a conspicuous figure in the history of theology and philosophy. As a scholastic he is second only to Thomas Aquinas; as an ecclesiastical statesman he exerted a mighty and wholesome influence at a critical period in English history; as a monk he was exemplary; as a saint he has no superior. There are numerous biographies and monographs of Anselm, but there was no short comprehensive sketch which showed the man in his historical setting, and treated him as seen in his principal works. This service we think Dr. Welch has rendered in the volume before us. Perhaps the chapter



that will attract most attention is the ninth, on "The First Exile and *Cur Deus Homo*." Anselm in this work, "Why Did God Become Man?" was the first thinker to work out an elaborate and philosophical theory of the atonement. In this clear and beautiful treatise he becomes the author of what is known as the commercial theory of the atonement. In this theory he spoke to his age in terms that it could understand, and the theory has spread and had a very large following even down into our own times. The author makes a clear statement of the doctrine, appreciates it, and at the same time subjects it to a keen criticism. One of its greatest services was its rejection of the view that Christ's death was a ransom paid to Satan. He thinks that the weakness of Anselm's whole position is the legality through which it construes all God's dealing with men :

Sin is misunderstood when it is made synonymous with debt, and, since the obligations of conscience cannot be adequately represented as debt, since personal self-surrender is something essentially different from and richer than the nice calculation of all that is due to God's honor, the theory fails to interpret, and therefore to educate, the moral nature, and fails even more completely to represent the soul's hunger for the living God. I can transfer an obligation of the purse; I cannot transfer an obligation of the conscience. If I try to do it, I only hurt the conscience. If I think I have succeeded, that is a sign of a blunted conscience. Another may pay the debt which another has contracted, and the creditor will not too carefully ask whence comes the money which he gladly accepts. But no one can fulfil the obligation, the very essence of which is that it rests on one man's conscience, must be recognized in that man's life, and must be fulfilled, if at all, by that man's patience. (Pp. 176, 177.)

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

L'ÉGLISE ET LES ORIGINES DE LA RENAISSANCE. Par JEAN GUIRAUD. Paris : Lecoffre, 1902. Pp. 339. Fr. 3.50.

"THE movement of the Renaissance," says M. Guiraud, "was produced by such various causes, and was developed in such vast territories, that it is difficult to distinguish with certainty its first origins. In other words, there have been several revivals which have not been without influence on each other, and they have had their distinct sources, like those tributaries which, converging from the most widely separated parts, form by their union one great river."

It is the author's purpose to show the contribution of the Roman church to this great movement. He writes chapters on "Boniface

VIII.;" "The Arts at the Court of Avignon;" "Humanism at the Court of Avignon;" "The Arts at Rome in the Fourteenth Century;" "Martin V.;" "Eugene IV. and the Arts;" "Letters under Eugene IV.;" "Nicholas V. and the Arts;" "Nicholas V. and Humanism;" "Cardinals, Artists, and Humanists at the Middle of the Fifteenth Century;" "Christianity and Paganism at the Middle of the Fifteenth Century."

The volume is well written, and the chapters are interesting and valuable discussions of the subjects coming within their range. The author, of course, has his own interpretations of the events, and is sure to meet opposition—most of all in the last chapter. It is the fifth volume in the series entitled "Library of Instruction in Church History."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

LUTHER UND DIE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE NACH SEINEN SCHRIFTEN, ZUNÄCHST BIS 1521. Von W. KÖHLER. I: Untersuchender Teil. 1. Abteilung: *Die Ablassinstructio, die Bullen, Symbole, Concilien, und die Mystiker*. Erlangen: Junge, 1900. Pp. 371. M. 10.

THE volume before us constitutes only the initial part of Köhler's monograph on "Luther and Church History," and this latter forms the beginning of a still larger work or series of works to be entitled "Contributions to the Beginnings of Protestant Historiography." Luther has become a historical personage of so surpassing importance that whatever seems calculated to throw the slightest light on the development of his methods of thought is of interest to the student of church history. Following a suggestion by Harnack, the author has, by a most laborious process, sought to make an exhaustive collection of Luther's citations of earlier literature, and of the indirect indications of his acquaintance therewith in his primary writings. The publication of a monograph by Schäffer on "Luther as a Church Historian" (1897) by no means rendered the author's undertaking superfluous, it being, in his opinion, "a superstructure without a foundation." The questions that Köhler seeks to answer are: "What did Luther know of church history and history of doctrine? From what sources did he derive his information? When did he acquire his knowledge of these subjects? How did he view and judge these materials? And why just so and not otherwise?" He places the chief

emphasis on the last two questions. The documents used by Luther in the writings of 1517-21 are the *Instructio Summaria*, issued by the archbishop-electoral Albert of Mainz for the guidance of Tetzel and other indulgence-sellers, which was based upon a bull of Leo X. in regard to a new indulgence for the building of St. Peter's; Leo's well-known indulgence bull itself; Leo's bull for Luther's excommunication; the bull *In Coena Domini*; the so-called Apostolic Confession of Faith; the so-called Athanasian Symbol; the canons of the fifth Lateran council; the canons of the council of Basel; the canons of the Nicene council; the canons of the council of Constance, and the writings of John Huss; the writings of John Tauler; the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite; and the writings of Hugo of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventura, and Gerson. In a concluding chapter the author discusses Luther's historical apprehension of mysticism. It will be noticed that a large proportion of the writings included in the above list are mystical in their tendency, and it is well known that Luther was profoundly influenced by Staupitz, the mystic, and that as early as 1516 he published the "German Theology" with the warmest commendation, placing this work side by side with the writings of Augustine and Tauler. That he had long been an earnest student of the writings of Augustine goes without saying. The author rightly regards mysticism as, in the case of Luther, a stepping-stone from his complete distrust of the regular Catholic way of salvation to trust in the salvation by grace revealed in Christ. The book, with its succeeding part or parts, is one that future students of Luther's theology cannot afford to overlook.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY,  
Waco, Tex.

LUTHERS THEOLOGIE IN IHRER GESCHICHTLICHEN ENTWICKLUNG  
UND IHREM INNEREN ZUSAMMENHANG. Von JULIUS KÖSTLIN.  
Zweite, vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage. Zwei Bände.  
Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1901. Pp. x + 491; iv + 368. M.  
12.80.

WHEN Köstlin published the first edition of this book, in 1863, nothing similar to it was in existence. Since then the raw material has been greatly increased by new discoveries, and the scientific study of Luther's theology in particular has been very fruitful. Now after forty years the veteran historian has rewritten the entire book with the

greater fulness and precision for which years of added study have qualified him.

These two volumes are a most valuable companion piece to K $\ddot{o}$ stlin's *Life of Luther*. The first volume is, in fact, a biography from another point of view. It discusses the main outward events of his life, but only in so far as they contributed to fashioning his thought. It was the secret of Luther's power that his doctrine was the product of his life. His ideas cannot be understood apart from his experiences. The spiritual struggles of his youth, his contact with mysticism, the conflict between the spiritual certainties which had been wrought out in him and the doctrines and practices of his church, his opposition against Roman Catholicism on the one side and the ultra-Protestantism of Carlstadt and Zwingli on the other—all these left a chemical deposit in the sum of truth as he held it. The first volume of K $\ddot{o}$ stlin's book is a most interesting history of this spiritual process. It was an even more delicate task to inquire how much of Luther's theology was really Luther's, and how much had been merely taken over by him without real scrutiny. Only some portions of theology were melted down by the heat of his personal experience and cast into new molds, and he hardly became conscious of some of the contradictions between the inherited and the renovated portions.

In the second volume K $\ddot{o}$ stlin arranges in systematic form the finished product of Luther's thought. The chapters deal with "The Scriptures as the Source and Norm of Truth;" "God, the Triune;" "God and His Creatures, Especially Angels and Devils;" "The Condition of Man before Redemption;" "Christ the Redeemer and Lord;" "The Word and the Sacraments;" "The Church;" "The Unfolding of Christian Morality in its Various Aspects;" "The Last Things."

The author has maintained throughout the dignified tranquillity of purely historical investigation. He has resisted the temptation to apply Luther's theology as a plaster to blister the back of modern theology. But the readers are not estopped from making the application.

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THOMAS WOLSEY, Legate and Reformer. By ETHELRED L. TAUNTON. New York: Lane, 1902. Pp. xx + 254. \$6.

THIS interesting volume is a thorough examination of Wolsey in his relations as an ecclesiastical statesman. This work, the author

thinks, has never been done before. Wolsey was first and last a churchman, but this, the most prominent feature in his character, has been thrown into the background by his great achievements in the secular sphere.

The author has gone to the original documents, and has considered every scrap of evidence that could have any bearing on the subject. He does not appear as the champion of Wolsey, but merely as one seeking the truth. The result seems to us a remarkably candid and convincing discussion.

The author is a Roman priest, loyal to the Roman church. He has no sympathy with the Reformation, as it came through the new learning, Luther and Calvin. But he does recognize fully the need of reformation—the shortcomings, even the gross immorality, of some of the popes and clergy. He thinks, however, that reformation should have taken place within the church. Wolsey throughout his public career was a loyal and consistent Romanist. All his strivings after position and honor were that he might use these in reforming the monks and clergy and advance the cause of Rome. He did use all his ingenuity to be made a legate, but as soon as he got the commission he instituted thoroughgoing reforms. He did aspire to become pope, and worked to that end, but it was with a view to glorifying his king, and to the enlightenment and glorification of Christendom. In the celebrated divorce case, which was Wolsey's undoing, his course, so the author claims, was in the main consistent and upright. After his fall his true greatness and genuine piety came out.

Despoiled of all his goods and shut out from the presence of the king by enemies, who knew and dreaded his influence, stripped of all his dignities, and basely accused of high treason, stricken in body and soul, and a prey to grief which reveals a highly sensitive nature, Wolsey arose to the occasion and showed the true nobility of his soul. He found in God and the service an abundant consolation for his earthly disgrace.

Taunton squarely faces the evidence as to Wolsey's illegitimate children, and finds it at least not fully convincing, and dismisses it with the comment: "An age that could tolerate Alexander III., who certainly, while pope, had a son, would look mildly upon such lapses on the part of a cardinal."

The publishers have given us an elegant piece of work. The illustrations are exceptionally good.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE GESCHICHTSQUELLEN DES BISTHUMS MÜNSTER. Bd. V und VI: *Kerssenbrochs Wiedertäufergeschichte*. Herausgegeben von H. DETMER. Münster: Theissing, 1899-1900. Pp. ix + 1459. M. 36.

It is a matter of regret to the editors and the reviewer that this highly important work should have come to hand too long after the dates of publication to admit of such a review as it deserves. As a youth Kerssenbroch was an eyewitness of some of the transactions of the Münster kingdom, and as a resident schoolmaster during a considerable part of the succeeding generation he had free access to the documentary materials preserved in the city and was able by painstaking inquiry to elicit much information from eyewitnesses. As a Roman Catholic he was deeply prejudiced against the Anabaptists in general, and he could hardly be expected to deal fairly with the fanatics of Münster who, in so many ways, outraged religion and morality; but his laboriously written history is by far the most important of the contemporary writings. Strange to say, it brought him no credit, but, on the other hand, its publication was prohibited by the city authorities, and he was deprived of his position and compelled to leave the city. The trouble seems to have been that so many influential families of the next generation, when the work was ready for publication, were scandalized by the exhibition of the participation of their ancestors and other relatives in the Münster revolution. The introduction by Detmer consists of 462 pages (in German), and the text of Kerssenbroch's work (in Latin) covers 997 pages. It seems doubtful whether the details of Kerssenbroch's life, including everything that can be learned regarding his literary and research work, his pedagogical activity, and his sufferings at the hands of the authorities, are of sufficient importance to justify so lengthy a treatment. Kerssenbroch's work has been freely used by nearly all the later writers on the history of the Münster kingdom, notably by Cornelius and Keller, and considerable portions have been published from time to time; but it is a great satisfaction to the student of Anabaptist history that the entire work has now been made available in a critical edition. Detmer, who is chief librarian in the Royal Pauline Library of Münster, was already widely known for his contributions to Anabaptist history, and ranks high among the masters of research in this realm.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

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Du Bois: Cardinal et premier ministre (1656-1723). Par P. Bliard. 2 vols. Paris: Lethielleux, 1901. Pp. vi+428; 488. Fr. 12.

Du Bois was one of the most calumniated men of his own day, and has been one of the most maligned persons of history ever since. This work is in a sense a rehabilitation. Yet it is not a special plea—it is history. The author gives us an insight into his method:

In order to disengage the true character of the minister of the regency, I have examined the accusations made against him in the light of the most authentic documents; I have admitted all of these to witness, and attempted to make a minute inquiry. Some witnesses are entirely disinterested, some are strong opponents, and some are friends. Often I have given ear to the confidences which he multiplied in personal and secret letters; I have read his voluminous correspondence with care, hoping to find in these pages, written without preparation, from day to day, in haste, often under the influence of emotion, the faithful echo of his thoughts and his sentiments. . . . It is neither a panegyric nor a rehabilitation which I offer to the public; it is purely and simply some pages of history written without prejudice and without pretension.

Du Bois was born in 1656 near Tulle; was tonsured in 1669; came to Paris in 1672, where he studied in the classics, philosophy, and theology at the Maisondieu for seven years. He lived a life of hard study and penury; his habits, far from being dissolute, as his traducers love to say, were "*parfaitement irréprochable*." The future cardinal-minister's first step upward came in 1687, when he was appointed tutor to the Duke of Chartres, Louis XIV.'s nephew.

Du Bois's relation with the young Duke of Chartres was destined to have far-reaching influence. Father Bliard finds that his opprobrious reputation originated at this time, but declares that it is historic injustice to assert that the preceptor betrayed his trust. As the young Duke of Chartres grew to manhood, his character unfolded like a poisonous flower. This viciousness and profligacy, however, is clearly demonstrated to have been due to the influence of the immorality of French high-life at this time upon a weak nature, and may not be ascribed to the malign influence of Du Bois, proofs of whose innocence the author shows (Vol. I, pp. 27-41). It is interesting, in this connection, to note that an American author, Mr. James Breck Perkins, in *France under the Regency*, was the first historian to point out this fact, as also the notable nature of Cardinal Fleury's reforms. The depravation of the Duke of Chartres's character began when he faced the temptations of camp life with the army in Flanders in 1691. There is not

room to dwell upon the proofs thereof, but every thorough reader of French history owes it to himself to become acquainted with the pages which cover this demonstration (Vol. I, pp. 34, 40-42, 47, 48, 57-60).

Having demolished the tradition which ascribes the ruining of the Duke of Chartres to Du Bois, our author seeks to dispose of the tale of the relation of Du Bois with the celebrated Ninon, one of the most famous courtesans of France in the seventeenth century. This fabric of scandal, built by low-minded courtiers in the time of the regency, falls to the ground when it is made plain that the lady was seventy-four years of age when Du Bois first met her!

The summation of this examination is, first, that Du Bois was made the scapegoat of the Duke of Orleans, who defamed him in order to excuse the waywardness of his son, and, second, that his enemies maligned him in the days of his power, reviving and amplifying old scandals.

Louis XIV. seems to have not believed, or to have ignored, the accusations made against him, for in 1698 the king sent Du Bois to London. The choice was not a happy one, for Du Bois was detested by the Huguenots who had found refuge in England, and by English Protestants, so that he was recalled at the end of two months. This calls attention to another source of hostility to Du Bois. Father Bliard classes with the scandal-mongers of the court "*chroniqueurs jansénistes et pamphlétaires impies*," who united to blacken his memory (Vol. I, p. 107).

Du Bois's failure in London eclipsed his career for a time. From political precaution, and owing to the powerful opposition of the Princess des Ursins, Louis XIV. kept him in Paris instead of sending him in some official capacity to the army of Italy. It lent color to the story of the gossips that the Duke of Chartres was also denied a place of command, "while all the bastards were continued in the service," a circumstance which occasioned a violent quarrel between the king and his brother, and indirectly induced the sudden death of the latter. Poor Du Bois, having already acquired a bad name, was now accused of having poisoned the Duke of Orleans! The writings of the time, both official dispatches and private memoirs, abound with statements of this monstrous suspicion. Aside from the practical impossibility of achieving such a result, the fact that Du Bois was never examined, but on the contrary preferred in honor, ought to dispose of these fables to the mind of an unprejudiced reader. Moreover, through all these trying times the good bishop of Cambrai believed in Du Bois and



supported him, and Fénelon is the purest and holiest man of God of the entire era, save St. Vincent de Paul, a man who had suffered official disgrace and exile from court because of his fearless utterances regarding the evils from which France was suffering (Vol. I, p. 110; II, pp. 271, 272).

With the death of Louis XIV. and the regent's *petit coup d'état* the days of Du Bois's obscurity were ended. From this point on the author treads a more familiar and more proved road. We are not quite so certain, though, of the writer's touch. It seems as if he magnified the English hatred of France, for England was willing to swallow pride and tradition for the sake of peace. The author shows that Du Bois vainly urged the regent to some positive policy in 1715; that he pointed out the necessity of an alliance of England, France, and Holland, to guarantee the peace of Utrecht, in order that Europe might have peace, and finally achieved that purpose in spite of the sloth of Orleans and "*la fièvre de rancure et de jalousie de plusieurs contre la France*." The Spanish documents written to the court of Philip V. and those of The Hague and in the British foreign office, now for the first time published, throw clear light upon the foreign policy of the French government in this epoch. Du Bois was the genius of the triple alliance of 1719 which guaranteed the peace of Europe. He received the cardinal's hat as his reward. But the honors of successful diplomacy and the prize of prelatial purple could not hide the sting of ill-epithet under which Du Bois lived—and died; and the breath of evil fame, grown ranker in the vile days of the regency, still unjustly dims the mirror of his life. It is this mist which Father Bliard has tried to wipe away.

The proofreading of the English quotations has not been careful, and the Whigs, both in text and notes, are almost invariably called "Wighs" (pp. 1, 121, 125, 126, 127, and *passim*); etc.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE MYSTIK IM AUFGANGE DES NEUZEITLICHEN GEISTESLEBENS  
UND IHR VERHÄLTNISS ZU MODERNEN WELTANSCHAUUNGEN.  
Von RUDOLPH STEINER. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901. Pp.  
vii + 118. M. 2.

It is a brusque statement that Harnack makes in his *Dogmengeschichte* (Vol. II, p. 378) when he says: "A mystic who does not become a Roman Catholic is a dilettante." In this case, Ritschl had spoken

before him in his *Pietismus* (Vol. II, p. 12): "There is really no normal mysticism, except in connection with a hermit life. The love for it, widely prevalent among evangelical Christians, is a *dilettantismus*." But this book of Steiner's takes the breath away. The author, who delivered it as a course of lectures in a Berlin parlor, has dedicated one of his previous writings to Haeckel. He says he is unconcerned even if he should be dumped among heretics (*verketzert*) with Haeckel. And lest there should be any doubt of his acquaintance with Haeckel's philosophy, he informs the reader that he has delivered thirty lectures on that teacher's *Welträthsel*. Steiner is a materialist, physicist, or what not, denying the personality of God. He tells us that, as Copernicus found out that the earth is only a star among stars, so modern physicists have proved that man is but one in an infinite throng of living creatures—worm, fish, beast—all of which are by blood his kin. Now, how can such a thinker be at one with Bruno and Paracelsus, and, forsooth, Eckart, Tauler, Ruysbroeck, and Angelus Silesius, whose teachings he essays to set forth? For he finds they are all in essential agreement with him, though some of these mystics did not know it.

This is the process by which Steiner arrives at this novel conclusion: These mystics from Eckart (died 1327 A. D.) to Silesius (died 1677 A. D.) were all in the last analysis concerned to expound the Greek motto, "Know thyself," which means nothing more than that all things in the universe come to their full meaning only as they enter the higher perceptions of man. The awakening of the self in man is the spiritual rebirth, regeneration, of all things in the world. Du Bois-Reymond was wrong when in his "*Ignorabimus*" address of 1876 he said that we are sensible of the manifestations of the ultimate essence, but we cannot penetrate to the essence itself. On the contrary, says our author, this essence we come to know fully through the inner self. Eckart proposed to be an orthodox Christian, but he missed it. He was concerned to perceive this final essence which has its image in man, and which he sometimes called God. Did he not say, "This little spark in us, *it* is God," and, "The eye with which I see is the same eye with which God sees"? These, and many of Eckart's other quoted sayings, prove that what is called God is the subjective realization of the "all-life," the "world-soul."

So Steiner says of Tauler that he did not intend to think of God, but to think after a God-like fashion ("will nicht Gott denken, sondern er will göttlich denken," p. 38). It is good company in which the

author places himself. His good taste is to be admired. But, if the dead were to rise up, they would be startled to find themselves walking with one who repudiates the Supreme One, whom it was their chief aim to become united with. Much of Eckart's language is pantheistic. That is the form. But he was no pantheist. Tauler offers far less ground for any such interpretation, and Ruysbroeck, again and again, distinctly disavows pantheistic conceptions. As for Angelus Silesius, the many expressions which Steiner quotes, if taken without the explanation of the poet's personality and his sweet hymns, may fairly be interpreted to teach pantheism, or modern physicism, if we choose. The language of these Christian mystics is tropical, often highly exaggerated, susceptible of misapprehension to the unwary. But to make them sharers in the philosophy of Haeckel and the author of this book is grotesque, even as it would be to say that the drop of water on which the sun shines is the same as the eye gleaming in the socket.

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
Cincinnati, O.

SKETCHES IN THE EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISM.  
*Carew* Lecture for 1900-1901. By ALEXANDER MACKENNAL.  
Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1901. Pp. viii + 253. \$1, net.

IN this volume of lectures, delivered at Hartford Theological Seminary, 1900-1901, the author has outlined what he conceives to have been the spiritual forces and conditions which have made English Congregationalism what it is today.

With a broad and loyal spirit, he has treated his subject under six heads: "The Problem of the English Reformation," "Congregationalism before Robert Browne," "Presbyterians and Independents," "Reactions and Revivals," "Congregationalists and Anglicans," "Seventeenth Century Independents and Twentieth Century Congregationalists."

The great problem felt alike by Separatist, Puritan, and Anglican was how to reconcile conscience and patriotism in the matter of ecclesiastical doctrine and worship. The part that Congregationalism took in the solution of this problem begins prior to Browne's day, and is seen, in germ, in the teaching and conduct of Wiclif and his "poor priests." Starting there, and advanced in Frankfurt, Congregational independency slowly asserted itself by both

internal controversy and fidelity under persecution. Modified and developed by the various contemporary ecclesiastical movements and by adverse political legislation, English Congregationalism passed through the eras of separation, toleration, religious equality, and now "has ended in fellowship," a reunion, not by uniformity, but by federation.

In its scholarship, lucidity, and generous treatment the book is a valuable addition to the literature of English church history, while the author's evident fairness in acknowledging the debt Congregationalism owes to others is most refreshing. Note his closing words:

There has been no church in the land from which it has not learned something; no great religious awakening which has not brought it light and impulse. The church system is to be estimated not less by its readiness to receive instruction from all quarters than by its own simple, sufficient testimony.

W. P. BEHAN.

CHRISTMAS EVANS, *THE PREACHER OF WILD WALES*. His Country, His Times, and His Contemporaries. By PAXTON HOOD. New York: American Tract Society, 1901. Pp. xi + 420. \$0.75.

NOWHERE, outside of this volume, can be found in the English tongue so faithful and vivid a portrayal of the life, character, and work of Christmas Evans. As we peruse these pages we see him struggling with poverty, into which he was born, strenuously striving against almost insurmountable obstacles to acquire the bare rudiments of an education, beginning to preach with diffidence and trembling, but encouraged and helped by his devoted wife until at last he becomes conscious of his power, and vast audiences, eagerly flocking to hear him, are touched, swayed, and melted by the might of his eloquence. He had but one eye, yet, when fairly under way in his sermon, it so gleamed and flashed that Robert Hall said: "That's a piercer; an eye, sir, that could light an army through a wilderness in a dark night." For his great services his compensation was very meager. He served all the churches of his denomination on the island of Anglesea, for twenty years, for £17 a year. Yet he was always giving to others. Like his Master, he forgot himself that he might bless even the penurious and the unthankful.

In the last of the volume the author has given us some of Evans's characteristic sermons, and, while it is impossible to transfer to English

the peculiar charm and power of Welsh diction, still in this translation we are made to feel something of the eloquence of this masterful preacher.

Like all great preachers, he was a hard worker. He had also unwavering faith in Jesus Christ. He walked in fellowship with God. It seemed to be natural for him to say, with his dying breath, to some who stood near him: "Preach Christ to the people, brethren. Look at me: in myself I am nothing but ruin, but in Christ I am heaven and salvation." Then, repeating a verse of a favorite Welsh hymn, he waved his hand, and exclaimed, "Good-bye! Drive on," and fell asleep.

The author has also given us some charming sketches of a large group of Evans's contemporaries. His book is an important historical contribution to homiletical literature, and introduces us in a fascinating way to Welsh preachers and Welsh preaching.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LE CLERGÉ DE FRANCE PENDANT LA RÉVOLUTION (1789-1799).  
Par EDMOND BIRÉ. Lyon: Vitte, 1901. Pp. 369.

M. BIRÉ has united in this volume fourteen book reviews, written at different times from 1893 to 1899. These studies form an interesting introduction to the latest historical works upon the French church during the Revolution. The title of the book reviewed supplies the title to the chapter. But M. Biré does something more than simply analyze these fourteen works; he frequently supplies valuable critical or supplementary material, the result of his own studies on the Revolution.

The works reviewed were written almost wholly by abbés. Almost without exception the subject chosen was a limited one, as *Les évêques pendant la Révolution*, *Le diocèse de Nantes pendant la Révolution*, *Un évêque constitutionnel*, or *Un curé d'autrefois*; and, as a result, valuable material was collected that in the future will make possible a comprehensive and reliable history of the church during these ten years.

Although M. Biré is evidently hostile to the Revolution, although the writers of the works reviewed are Catholic priests, and the volume is published by a Catholic publishing house, there is very little polemic in these chapters, and a very evident desire to describe things as they were. Many of the local studies of curé, of bishop, or of diocese are

typical, and present vivid pictures of the suffering and the heroism of the clergy such as will be sought for in vain even in the larger histories of the Revolution. It should not be forgotten, however, by those who read this volume, that it does not tell the whole history of the clergy during the Revolution. There is a political side to that history, suggested in the dying cry of more than one poor soul, *Vive Dieu! Vive le roi!* but not found in the volumes reviewed by M. Biré.

FRED MORROW FLING.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,  
Lincoln, Neb.

THE REFORMATION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Historical Sketches Dealing with the Rise and Progress of the Religious Movement Inaugurated by Thomas and Alexander Campbell. By J. H. GARRISON. St. Louis: The Christian Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 514. \$2.

THE marked growth of the Church of the Disciples during the past decade challenges the attention of all persons interested in the religious developments of our time; and this book presents in admirable form just the information one seeks in acquainting himself with the details of the history and progress of this body of our fellow-Christians. The movement in behalf of a church which shall unite all believers on the principle that makes Jesus Christ the supreme object of faith, and loyalty to him the supreme test of fellowship, cannot have many obstacles in the way, for, if we mistake not, the vast majority of Evangelical Christians are already building on that foundation. It must be frankly admitted that denominationalism is not a popular -ism today. The name which is above every name is honored alike by us all, and we are a unit now in what are commonly recognized as the essentials of faith.

The difficulty in the position of those who claim to take the Bible as the expression of their faith, without formulating that faith in some definite expression, is candidly conceded; and the inevitable result has been, in connection with this movement of the Church of the Disciples, that all kinds of doctrine have been preached by all kinds of men. This result has been overcome more and more, as the narrative in these chapters makes it clear, by the increasing stress laid upon the exaltation of the Lord Jesus as immanent in the church and transcendent over the church.

The character sketch of Alexander Campbell is of marked interest

to any Christian of whatever name, and acquaintance with such a devoted follower of the Master cannot fail to inspire one with desires for a closer walk with his Savior. Of real spiritual value is the record herein presented of men whose yearning is for a church cleansed of all carnality and built upon the one foundation of Christ. Among such, in all denominations, there exists today a unity of heart-life which leads to co-operation and to fellowship of the most genuine sort. The visions of such men as the Campbells are finding realization as the number increases of those who are keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

FRANK M. CARSON.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS PROBLEMS, ITS PEOPLES, CUSTOMS, RELIGIONS AND PROGRESS. By HENRY OTIS DWIGHT. Illustrated. Chicago: Revell, 1901. Pp. 298. \$1.25.

IN this collection of seven loosely related essays upon "Constantinople and its Problems" Dr. Dwight adds another volume to the large and rapidly increasing collection of books which contain the results of the observation and experience of men who have spent many years in missionary service. It is distinctly better than many of these "missionary books," however—less "preachy," freer from pious but trivial incident and comment, wider in its outlook, more tolerant and sympathetic in its judgments. The Turk, as Dr. Dwight depicts him, is by no means without his attractive qualities. He respects what he calls learning. He is not complacently insensible to his deficiencies and needs, or altogether reluctant to accept the offered gifts of western civilization. He is reading the newspapers which Christians own and publish; he relinquishes to Christians the keeping of his accounts, the control of his banks, and the building of his mosques. He is making recognizable, if slow, progress in provision for popular education. Christian missions in Turkey gain few Moslem converts, but one closes Dr. Dwight's book convinced that the leaven of Christianity is working nevertheless. The women who now form a majority of the missionary force of the American board at Constantinople are gathering the little children into kindergartens and visiting Greek and Armenian mothers in their wretched homes with the Bible in their hands. A weekly family newspaper and a monthly illustrated paper for children in two or three languages are carried into all parts of the empire. Books published by "an uncontroversial but thoroughly Christian press" are hawked about

the streets of Constantinople and bought to be read in far-distant regions. Skilled Christian workers are always going about among the journeyman laborers who have come up to the city from country homes, with friendly offers of service, helping them to write letters and to send their wages to their families, and calling them together in the evening for Bible teaching. This is not a work which furnishes much material for imposing missionary statistics. But none the less it is the proclamation of the good news of the kingdom of Christ.

A. K. PARKER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH. A Handbook of Christian Archæology. (= "Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities.") By WALTER LOWRIE. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xxii + 432. \$1.75.

THIS work is an introduction to the study of the monuments of the early Christian church, covering the period from the second to the sixth century inclusive, marking the decline of classic art, and revealing the new artistic impulse of the art of the Middle Ages. The work comprises a discussion of (1) "Christian Cemeteries," (2) "Christian Architecture," (3) "Pictorial Art," (4) "Minor Arts," (5) "Civil and Ecclesiastical Dress." The author presents in a systematic way the results arrived at by scholars and gives to the work a distinctly creative stamp of his own. The book contains nearly two hundred illustrations and a detailed exposition of the more important monuments.

Christian art as a phase of the classic is seen especially in Christian architecture, in the author's discussion of the Christian basilica. The appropriateness of this style of building for Christian worship suggests that it did not come suddenly into existence, but that it must have had a development through the centuries of persecution. Technically speaking, the preparatory development of the Christian basilica is a part of the history of Roman architecture. The individual elements that enter into the basilica are for the most part of Greek origin. Roman architecture bridges the gap between Greek and Christian architecture and perfected itself in the elaboration of the principle of the arch, which developed the idea of the dome, the most characteristic feature of the Christian basilica. The adaptation of the dome to a quadrilateral base, *i. e.*, the domed basilica, represents "the crowning and unsurpassed achievement of the early Christian period.



No Christian monument is more venerable, none more inseparably associated with the history of the church."

At the end of the first century we find the Christians worshipping in private houses. Early in the fourth century they are using the fully developed basilica. Monuments are silent in regard to this history. The author traces the origin of the church, the Christian basilica, to the "Roman private house (under the concurrent influence of the various types of public architecture) and to the simple cult of the disciples who gathered there during the age of persecution." The Lord's Supper, which was held originally in conjunction with the agapé, in a private house, has been one of the chief factors regulative of Christian architecture, and nowhere more obviously than in the case of the basilica. The names *domus dei*, *domus columbae*, *ecclesia* (i. e., houses consecrated exclusively to Christian worship), which we find in use at the time of the separation of the eucharist from the agapé, about the middle of the second century, favor this interpretation.

Our notice is confined to architecture, but detailed information is also given concerning the catacombs, painting, sculpture, mosaics, miniatures, and ecclesiastical utensils, dress, etc. In an appendix a carefully selected bibliography appears.

This book, in throwing new light, from monumental sources, upon the life of the early Christian church, shows the character of the work which is being accomplished at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, where the author was for some time fellow in Christian archæology.

T. W. NOON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

WEIHNACHTEN IN KIRCHE, KUNST UND VOLKSLEBEN. Von GEORG RIETSCHEL. Mit 4 Kunstbeilagen und 152 Abbildungen. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1902. Pp. 160. M. 4.

THIS is the fifth in a series of illustrated monographs on various subjects. The volumes do not seem to be connected in any way, and the titles pertain to many different fields of study, from "Tobacco" to "The Renaissance," and from "The Chase" to "Christmas." Judging from the volume now before me, the illustrations of the series are from good artistic sources and are reproduced with artistic skill. One does not take up a book thus profusely illustrated expecting to find the literary material of a very high order. But one is happily dis-

appointed in this volume, for Professor Rietschel writes with much learning of almost every aspect of Christmas, from its origin to the most recent features of its observance in Germany and other countries. The topics under which he arranges the literature which he has used present a good view of his entire work: (1) "The Christmas Festival of the Church;" (2) "Christmas and Art;" (3) "The Christmas Manger;" (4) "Christmas Hymns;" (5) "Christmas Plays;" (6) "Christmas Customs;" (7) "Christmas Fairs;" and (8) "The Christmas Tree." The treatise—for the book deserves to be called a treatise—is well arranged and written in an attractive style. It deserves a place in the library of the scholar, and its beauty will make it a favorite Christmas present in German families.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

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TYPICAL MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF GOD; or, The Absolute of German Romantic Idealism and of English Evolutionary Agnosticism. With a Constructive Essay. By JOSEPH ALEXANDER LEIGHTON. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. xii + 190. \$1.10.

THE conceptions of God that are here subjected to explication and criticism are those of Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Spencer. These four thinkers were chosen for a comparative study, the writer says, "because of the typical and partially complementary character of their respective treatments of the problem of the Absolute." Professor Leighton is an absolute monist, approximating closely to that type of neo-Hegelianism represented by Professor Royce, and the critical as well as the constructive part of the book is written, of course, from that point of view. The exposition, which is based on an honest study of the sources, is painstaking and faithful to the original thought; and many of the criticisms, especially those on Spencer's doctrine of the unknowable, are just and discriminating.

The constructive essay presents the doctrine of the Absolute in its relations to the implications of finite experience, to the genesis and growth of the individual, to the time-process, and as the immediately experienced unity of will and thought. The author tries to preserve the conscious personality of God and of man, and the validity of moral distinctions, but expresses himself ambiguously on the question of human immortality. Many things said in favor of the positions taken are well said, but some of the difficulties, in our judgment invincible,

are skimmed instead of being grappled with. The positive treatment is too concise for much illuminating work, but it is probably as clear as the space limits would permit.

BENJAMIN LEWIS HOBSON.

THE MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THROUGH SCIENCE TO FAITH. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Scribner, 1902. Pp. x + 282. \$1.25, *net*.

NATURAL theology finds a new voice and a new method in a book like this. Teleology of the Paley type had fallen into disrepute, because it rested upon a mechanical conception of the world, and its doctrine of design was too narrowly conceived. Its "ends" were somewhat arbitrarily selected. It was a philosophy which, it has been said, "looked on the stars themselves as set in the sky that we might see our way across the street." But a real teleology was not to be permanently abandoned because of a false method and a wrong point of view; for there is "an end toward which the whole creation moves."

Dr. Smyth's book is a contribution toward what may not improperly be called a renaissance of teleology. "The fact of direction in nature" is the keynote of the book. Two things are apparent on almost every page: the author's sympathy with the method and the general conclusions of biological science; and his invincible conviction that these facts may be so interpreted as to disclose both intelligent and moral direction; in other words, a real teleology, when the universe is taken impartially and as a whole.

In a most refreshing manner, this volume discloses the hospitality of Dr. Smyth's mind toward the truth. The apologetic and defensive attitude is conspicuously absent. Science is not used to bolster up the received conclusions of faith. The motive is obviously candid and the method inductive. At each step the first question asked is, What are the facts? and the second, What is the interpretation of the facts? The interpretation in terms of "direction in nature," is of course a new and larger doctrine of "design," a conviction that things, when seen widely enough, can be interpreted "*sub specie aeternitatis*." The only radical objection to the spirit and temper of the book will come, either from those who are content with perpetual analysis without making any attempt toward synthesis, or from those who wish to maintain some traditional synthesis, and who object to any examination of its content. But to an increasing number this discussion will be welcome, nor will

the discovery of tentative processes, or even of mistaken judgments, vitiate the large aim and spirit of the writer. Even if every detail had to suffer revision in the light of fuller knowledge, the author's words would still remain true, quite as true and valid as any postulate of thought, that the world "is intelligible only as a process of thought. We only make a needless riddle of natural law if we say evolution moves evidently toward an end, and with increasing determination; yet it has no end-result as a goal. Nature going on always without reason would be forever something inexplicable to reason. We have acquired reason; we turn and look back, and evolution seems rational. 'I know'—so man's self-consciousness finds its supreme expression in the absolute certainty of the Son of man—'whence I came and whither I go.'"

FREDERIC E. DEWHURST.

CHICAGO, ILL.

EATING THE BREAD OF LIFE: A Study of John vi. 30 ff., and its Relation to the Lord's Supper. By WERNER H. K. SOAMES. London: Stock, 1901. Pp. viii + 197. 2s. 6d., *net*.

THE AGAPÉ AND THE EUCHARIST, IN THE EARLY CHURCH: Studies in the History of the Christian Love-Feasts. By J. F. KEATING. London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. xx + 201. 3s. 6d.

MR. SOAMES resurveys those passages of the New Testament commonly supposed to refer to the Lord's Supper, as well as the words of institution themselves, his object being to restate the doctrine in such form that all Christians may unite upon it. Part I is a minute exegesis and interpretation of John 6: 32-58. It concludes that the passage is a harmonious whole, and its language is largely figurative; that "to eat the bread of life" is an entirely figurative expression meaning only to have faith in the living Christ. So also "eating the flesh of the Son of man and drinking his blood" must be understood figuratively and spiritually, not literally nor materially. Such eating and drinking is not to put something into the belly, but to get everlasting life. In Part II the words of institution are examined. Bread, body, fruit of the vine, blood, are declared to be used here in a strictly material sense. The copula is found to be an expression neither of identity nor of definition, but rather of "exact equivalence" (as a shilling is—is the exact equivalent of—twelve pence). This exegesis will be unsatisfactory to all Roman Catholics and to most Protestants, and indeed the work is not likely to please either those who hold sacerdotal views

or those who find no mistakes in the theology of the Reformation, though it is receiving favorable comment in several English religious periodicals.

The author appears quite unconscious of the critical problems of the fourth gospel, and of the probability that John 6:32-58 is but a spiritual recast of the liturgical formula of the eucharist already in use in the church for years before that gospel was written.

Dr. Keating recognizes the agapé as "the eternal enigma of history," but endeavors to bring together, in his introduction, such illustrative sources as are available in heathen and Jewish literature as to the conditions out of which agapé and eucharist emerge; to pass under review, in chap. 1, the references and allusions to the agapé in the New Testament; and, in the remaining chapters, to deal with the practices of the second and succeeding centuries, with references to the Fathers and comparison of the extant ordinances on the subject, especially the church order, or Egyptian canons, and the canons of Hippolytus.

C. P. COFFIN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION. Christ and Recent Criticism,  
By W. ROBERTSON NICOLL. New York: Armstrong, 1901.  
Pp. 227. \$1.25.

DR. ROBERTSON NICOLL, editor of that most influential of British religious papers, the *British Weekly*, has gathered in this little volume ten articles originally appearing as editorials in that journal. They have all the excellences and defects of newspaper writing—hard hitting at the center of the question, minor issues being brushed aside, clear, vigorous presentation of the argument, not infrequent overstatement of positions taken, and an absence of balance and precision. The book is intended to reassure the somewhat alarmed Christian in view of recent critical investigations into the New Testament and the presentation of these results in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Confidence is restored in two ways: by a positive argument for the supernatural and the miraculous, and by a negative polemic against "critics," "critical" methods, and the results of "criticism" in the New Testament field. The latter endeavor, which has received and, doubtless, will receive the most attention and commendation from many, is inconclusive and unwise. It is inconclusive, because it bases its rejection of critical results on something else than their examination and refutation in the

light of scientific investigation. No demanding of a "credo" before accepting or rejecting a scholar's work will avail in this day or age. It is unwise, because it creates a prejudice against all new investigation and discussion of fundamental biblical questions. No subject is settled until it is settled correctly, and, if anybody, by patient and serious study, has something to offer in deepening, broadening, or correcting existing and long-standing opinions, let him be impartially heard and his contributions weighed with candor and judicial consideration, no matter how widely he may depart from present standards.

Much more satisfactory and helpful is the positive part of the book. Here two important considerations are urged with clearness and persuasive force: (1) the character of Jesus dominates the New Testament with the attractive and impressive convincingness of reality; (2) the experience of the Christian is the self-evidencing test of the living and present power of Christ. Neither of these facts can "criticism" touch, nor can it impair their validity. Indeed, we may add (and would that the author had said it plainly!), sound "critical" method does not desire to interfere with them. So far as it runs amuck against them, it is out of its sphere and bound to come to grief. In these days of uncertainty and fear in many quarters, it will be comforting and reassuring to many to listen to this sane and sure note of reasonable confidence. Christ Jesus will remain the church's one foundation after "criticism" has done its work; nay, more firm and glorious than ever, because of what it has contributed.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND CHRISTIAN SERVICE. By J. D. ROBERTSON.  
New York: American Tract Society, 1901. Pp. 288. \$1.

THIS work belongs to a literature that has a history too full of triumph to pass it by with slighting neglect; and yet with all that is good and sweet and even inspiring in Dr. Robertson's message, the modern reader must feel that the forms in which the message is given are not the forms best adapted for today's need, and that the Christian workers who listened to these lectures went forth but ill prepared for the real struggles for Christianity today. There is a mischievous habit now abroad of speaking of the Holy Spirit much as Roman theology sometimes speaks of Jesus Christ, as if an indifferent Father were to be won over by the blandishments we may bestow on either the Son or the Spirit. There is nothing of this consciously in these lectures, but

much that is unconsciously expressive of this attitude. The seventh chapter, for instance, would have been much better entitled "God's Method." The Holy Spirit has no "method" in any way separate from God's. The tone of the lectures is broad, catholic, and rational. The piety is quite evident, and the effect upon thoughtful, receptive readers can only be sweet and wholesome. Yet even the ideal of service that dominates the book is mystical and individual. In the chapter on "The Holy Spirit's Rewards" a splendid chance is missed to point out some of the rewards which may be claimed in a coming social redemption, quite apart from selfish individual interest therein. In the same way "Sanctification" is treated of as individual. The prophetic dream of a state in which the meanest vessels in the household will be inscribed "Holy, Holy, Holy," just as the altar vessels were, is a dream that is ignored in the range of thought represented here. We are thankful for such clear notes, but wish a more symphonic poem; we rejoice in the sweet vision, but wish the range were wider and the insight clearer. To many this book will be a refreshing cup of water; to many more, and those the more modern ones, it will be a direction given in an unknown tongue.

T. C. HALL.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
New York, N. Y.

UEBER DIE ENTWICKELUNG DES KATHOLISCHEN KIRCHENRECHTS  
IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. VON FRITZ FLEINER. Tübingen:  
Mohr, 1902. Pp. 31. M. 0.60.

DR. FLEINER offers in these pages some philosophico-juridical considerations on the evolution of the canon law of the Roman church in the nineteenth century. Its original *point d'appui*, he considers, is the attitude urged by Napoleon on Pius VII. toward the recalcitrant bishops of France on the occasion of the concordat of 1801. Since then the Roman See has persistently increased its authority, partly owing to the contemptuous negligence of the civil authorities, partly owing to the destruction of traditional barriers. In the matter of episcopal elections, particularly, it has drawn to itself the final decision, whatever the formal concessions made to the state. While tolerating "nationalism" among the Greeks, it opposes "national" councils in Germany and France, and only permits "plenary" councils in mission lands like the United States. The entire missionary work is but one department of Roman activity—the propaganda. The modern

teaching of absolute religious freedom has left the consciences of all Catholics at the mercy of the Roman See without any political protection. The canon law has become at once international, mediæval-conservative, and self-executing. Niebuhr and the Berlin foreign office were grossly deceived when in 1819 they talked of its *Harmlosigkeit*. Even the loss of the temporal power has increased incredibly the spiritual fascination of the papacy. With the skill of a finished artist the Roman See has met the civil legislation at every dangerous turn by appeals, now to the incompetency of the legislator, now to the nature of the legislation, now to the milder "subsidia" of dispensation, toleration, or *Ignorirung*. Everything has conspired in the nineteenth century to bring back the canon law of the high Middle Ages; for that reason the papacy avoids carefully the often-demanded and often-planned codification of the canon law; it would be compelled to take a final position with regard to certain principles and contentions.

These seem to be the main lines of the discourse of Dr. Fleiner, which in general is objective and calm in its exposition, and leans steadily on facts and documents. Some of its assumptions and positions are true: orthodox Catholics must always look on the Roman See as a real living center of authority, and not merely a symbol of unity. Again, most Catholic scholars look on the restraints and controls created by the state-absolutism of Germany, France, and Spain between the Reformation and the French Revolution as usurpations or unwarranted interferences, and the pregnant source of all the inner weaknesses of the church in Europe, through which she fell a prey to the anti-Christian and anti-religious forces of the eighteenth century. Authority, by its nature, can never be confined, in its exercise, to immovable forms and institutions. All living elements move and change, and their directing forces must keep in touch with them, wherefore a certain freedom of adaptation is needed. What Dr. Fleiner says of "national" councils in France and Germany may be true; but there are several grave considerations other than those he refers to. When he says (p. 23) that in the excogitation of certain self-helps against the impact of civil legislation "*bewährt sich die volle Virtuosität des beweglichen römischen Geistes*," it is well to remember that, in dealing with the Roman See, civil authorities during the nineteenth century, and beginning with Napoleon, have been guilty of a long line of acts of deceit, crafty violence, double dealing, circumvention, and the like, of which the Vatican and Congregation Archives can tell some



day the true documentary history. Dr. Fleiner seems to regret (p. 31) the absence in the modern state of a power of civil supervision over the exercise by Roman Catholicism of a peculiar influence on its members through means of purely spiritual compulsion ("*rein geistlichen Zwanges*"). This is the fundamental temper of the "May laws" and the "Old Catholic" movement in Germany and Switzerland, and springs naturally from the desire to make of Roman Catholic Christianity a department of the state, supporting tamely and ordinarily the infallible regulations and ordinances of the school-bred legists who from time immemorial have been its chief opponents.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

SUNDAY AND THE SABBATH. The Golden Lectures for 1900-1901. By H. R. GAMBLE. New York: Dutton, 1901. Pp. 157. \$1, net.

"The hypothesis of a primitive sabbath will not bear examination." There is no evidence that "the sabbath was an ordinance instituted by God at the creation of the world." "The sabbath is a Mosaic institution." It does not appear that in the earlier times it was "associated with any special sacrifice or worship." The one requirement was that "in it thou shalt do no manner of work." In the Christian church at first the necessity for any holy days was not felt. In the beginning the disciples met daily. A little later the custom of assembling on the first day of the week arose. Why the first day was chosen we are not told, probably because that day commemorated the Lord's resurrection. "There is no evidence that the practice was based on any command of our Lord." "At some time between A. D. 57 and A. D. 96 the term 'Lord's Day' arose." "The Lord's Day emerged simply as a day convenient for public worship, recommended for that purpose by the memory that Christ had risen 'on the first day of the week.'" Between the sabbath and the Lord's Day there is no connection. No passage in the New Testament supports the belief that the sabbath was changed from the seventh day to the first. No early Christian ever supposed that in observing the Lord's Day he was "keeping the sabbath." There is not a single writer in the first three centuries who confounds Sunday with the sabbath. "Up to the end of the fifth century there is no clearly genuine passage in any writer, or in any public document, ecclesiastical or civil, in which the fourth commandment is referred to as the ground of obligation to observe the Lord's Day."

At the beginning and through the first three centuries "Sunday was simply a special day of worship, entirely unfettered as to the manner in which it should otherwise be employed." In the early church there is no evidence that Sunday was observed as "a day of rest from toil." "The Christians went to their work on the first, as on other days." Sunday "for the first time came to be formally recognized as a day of rest" in the decree issued by Constantine in 321 A. D. Among Christians in New Testament times "there is not the smallest reason to suppose that there was any cessation from work." "It was a day on which Christians met of their own free will to worship God, but they were not careful to separate it in other respects from other days." "From the sixth century 'sabbatarianism' became more and more strongly marked." Not until the twelfth century did the expression "Christian sabbath" come into use. In the Middle Ages the church taught that the Jewish sabbath was changed to the Lord's Day, and work was sternly forbidden, though "recreations of various kinds were freely allowed." The church of the Reformation returned to the primitive idea and custom. The reformers denied that "the Lord's Day rested on a divine command." They protested against "its being regarded as having any inherent sanctity of its own." To Luther its compulsory observance was abhorrent. He consented to recognize Sunday only because "some special day of worship was a practical necessity." The Augsburg Confession says: "Those who judge that in the place of the sabbath the Lord's Day was instituted are greatly mistaken." Bucer, Calvin, Tyndale, Cranmer, and the reformers generally voiced similar opinions. It was left to the Puritans to bequeath to us our modern "Christian sabbath" ideas. They found a great deal in their Bibles about "keeping the sabbath," and "they boldly identified the Jewish sabbath with the Christian Sunday," and were "equally severe on work and recreation." On the Lord's Day no one shall "cook victuals," or "walk in his garden," or "make beds." "If any man shall kiss his wife, or wife kiss her husband, on the Lord's Day, the party in fault shall be punished as the discretion of the court of magistrates."

Vicar Gamble sets forth the above positions in detail and at length, and then ends his discussion with "certain broad principles" on which "a reasonable and healthy Sunday" must be based. If any reader of this notice doubts the correctness of these teachings, we recommend a careful reading of the book itself.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

*Inter Amicos.* Letters between James Martineau and William Knight, 1869-1872. (London: John Murray, 1901; pp. xiii + 152; 5s.) These letters, which are published by Mr. Knight, are mostly occupied with a friendly argument between himself and Dr. Martineau on the subject of the divinity of Christ. The last letter from Dr. Martineau gives the latter's attitude on the subject of "The Ethics of Creed-Subscription," a paper upon which, reproduced in the appendix of the present volume, had been published by Mr. Knight. The volume also contains a copy of the address presented to Dr. Martineau upon his eighty-third birthday, with the list of signatures.—WARNER FITE.

*God's Revelation of Himself to Men.* By Samuel J. Andrews. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Putnam, 1901; pp. xv + 421; \$2.) The present edition of this book is an exact reprint of the first edition, published in 1886, enlarged by an additional preface, four brief notes on specific points where biblical criticism denies the author's presuppositions in dealing with the history of Israel, and an appendix of twenty-five pages discussing the nature of higher criticism. The republication of the book reveals the great distance which American biblical scholarship has traveled in the last fifteen years. The traditional and objective point of view here represented has given way to a historical and psychological method. The following sentence illustrates the author's attitude toward critical scholarship: "It is not His [Jehovah's] dealings with His people of which we are told [by modern scholars], but of the progressive development of their ideas of Him" (p. 387). Such a growing apprehension of God seems to the author inconsistent with the conception of unique and special revelation which he holds.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Momenta of Life.* By James Lindsay. (London: Stock, 1901; pp. 146; 5s.) The book under review is a collection of seven essays, all of which had already appeared in various magazines before their collection in this volume. The titles of these essays are: "The Development of Ethical Philosophy;" "The Development of Christian Ethics;" "Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher;" "Modern Lights on the Reformation;" "The Theology and Ethics of Origen;" "Man and the Cosmos;" "Mysticism—True and False." The first of these seven papers is the most complete. It is an admirable epitome of the history of ethical progress from the time of Socrates to the present day. The author believes that the progress of morality

has been made possible through religion "as its invincible ally." The central power of this ethical development in the human race is conscience, which he calls "a kind of ideal will." The essay on Schleiermacher is discriminating and just. The other five, while very brief, contain much that is suggestive. The author is evidently at home in the speculative thought of both Germany and England.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Life: Its Mysteries Now and after Death.* By Alexander Wright. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901; pp. 230; 3s. 6d., net.) The author of this little book, for twenty-five years minister of the United Free High Church at Musselburgh, passed away while his work was still in the printer's hands. As a memorial of a faithful minister's life-work, and an expression of his views "regarding some of the difficult problems touching our life now, and that which is to come," it will doubtless find sympathetic readers in the circle of his parishioners and friends. It would be unfair to the author to judge his book by the serious standard applied to those who are workers at first hand in the field of theology. The reader will be sufficiently informed of its character when we say that within a brief 230 pages room is found for chapters on themes as varied and difficult as "The Silence of God," "The Problem of Evil in the World," "The Providence of God," "Man and His Destiny," "Prayer and its Paradoxes," "Pain, Its Mystery and Meaning," "Death: What Is It?" "The Immortality of the Soul," "Spiritualism," "The State of the Blessed Dead," "The Intermediate State of Souls," "The Resurrection," "The Final Judgment," "The Consummation of All Things," and "The Inauguration of the Eternal Kingdom of God."—WM. ADAMS BROWN.

*Die Verwandschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie.* Von Ernst Böklen. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902; pp. 150; M. 4.) The subject of the book is one much discussed of late. The works of Stave (1898) and Söderblom (1901), the articles of Kohut (*ZDMG*) and Cheyne (*Exp. Times*), and the references of the latter to the subject in his *Bampton and American Lectures*, are evidences of recent interest. Söderblom stands at one extreme in denying the dependence of Judaism on Parsism; Cheyne and Kohut represent the opposite extreme. The book of Böklen is mediating. Its primary design is to collect the materials, and its array of parallels is large and instructive. It has demonstrated that, in the

field of eschatology at least, Judaism and Parsism have striking likenesses. But the author declines to assign the priority of possession to either religion, holding that two considerations stand in the way of a decision: (1) the uncertainty as to the date of the Avesta, (2) the possibility that the likenesses in question are common also to other religions, are part of the primitive stock of religious ideas and images. He cites illustrative material from many other religions on some of the points. The author's industry in gathering materials and his conservatism in passing judgment on the difficult problem are most commendable. This monograph is a noteworthy contribution to the subject. It could have been made more useful by furnishing indexes of passages cited.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Martineau's Religionsphilosophie.* By Orlo Josiah Price. (Leipzig, 1902; pp. 104.) This monograph is the doctor's dissertation presented by the author to the faculty of the university of Leipzig. In the first part of his work Dr. Price sets forth very clearly and distinctly the relation of Martineau to the predominant tendencies of the nineteenth century, the main propositions of his philosophical convictions, the urgency of his essentially moral temperament. Dr. Price has done well to impress upon his readers the many-sidedness of Martineau's interests, his appreciation of the fact that every field of experience must be permitted to speak for itself, his earnest endeavor justly to evaluate and intelligently to organize these different fields. Perhaps we may say that Martineau's significance for present-day thought lies in the spirit and the method of his work, rather than in the actual results obtained. That the tools used by Martineau, in the fabrication of his intellectual structure, are not of essential value today when judged by recent scientific and philosophic criteria, Dr. Price has very well indicated in the second part of his work. And yet it must be said that Martineau's conceptions, outdated though they may be, are recent when compared with many of the conceptions of the average contemporary apologist. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the author's necessarily brief outline of Martineau's system may lead the theologically minded to a more complete appreciation of this singularly sincere, broad-minded, and acute thinker.—S. F. MACLENNAN.

*Evolution and its Bearing on Religions.* By A. J. Dadson. (New York: Dutton, 1901; pp. 268; \$1.25, net.) This is a popular reproduction of the views of Haeckel and Draper. We are not competent to

criticise its exposition of the scientific evolutionary hypothesis, but its review of the course of human history and of the Christian church is crude, imperfect, and misleading. How the name of E. P. Dutton & Co. should appear on the title-page of so uncompromising and unfair an attack upon religion is incomprehensible.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Le sentiment religieux.* Par Henri Bois. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902; pp. 64.) This pamphlet contains the opening address delivered before the faculty and students of the Protestant school at Montauban in November, 1901. The discourse has as its topic religious psychology. The speaker distinguishes the religious sentiment or feeling from the moral and social sentiments by pointing out that religion is in essence, from its very beginning, individual. The religious feeling unfolds itself in the personal relations between man and a personal God. Religion, however, cannot be reduced to a religious feeling, since the intellect also plays an important part. The address is well worth a careful reading.—W. R. SCHOEMAKER.

*Babylonia and Assyria. A Sketch of Their History.* By Ross G. Murison. "Bible Class Primers," edited by Principal Salmond. (New York: Scribner, imported, 1901; pp. 115; \$0.20, *net.*) This is a compact and accurate manual full of illuminating knowledge. As a side-light on Old Testament history and life it will be found most useful. It contains, besides the historical sketch, brief but lucid accounts of Babylonian literature, science, religion, and industry.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*The Evolution of Bible Study; and Temptation: A Psychological Study.* By Henry Drummond. (New York: Gorham, 1901; pp. 52; \$0.50.) This little book consists of two essays by Professor Drummond, apparently now for the first time published. The first, which was given as an address to an audience of ministers and students, is, in substance, a history of the way in which advancing scientific knowledge has led the students of the Bible to new views about the character and meaning of the account of creation in the book of Genesis. The second is written to show that the way to overcome sin is to fill the soul with new desires. The title, in each case, by whomever chosen, seems singularly inappropriate.—*Elisha, the Prophet of Vision.* By F. S. Webster. (London: Morgan & Scott, 1901; pp. 95; 1s.) We have, in this book, a series of addresses given at the Friday morning services at All

Souls' Church. They present an excellent illustration of the way in which the historical narratives of the Old Testament may be used for the purposes of religious instruction and inspiration to holy living. While here and there a somewhat too forceful or allegorical use is made of the historical material, in the main the treatment of this material is sound and sober. On the other hand, the author shows himself possessed of a remarkable power to discern the true spiritual significance of life and history.—S. BURNHAM.

*Einleitung in die Bibel.* 3te Auflage. Von R. Schlatter. (Calw: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1901; pp. 551; M. 4.) This book does not discuss questions of authorship or of the time of composition of the various books of the Bible, as one might infer from its comprehensive title. The author addresses himself not so much to the student of biblical literature as to the average Christian, to whom historical and critical questions are of minor importance. The book desires to show, in a popular way, what the Bible, taken as a whole, teaches. Each book of the Bible is, therefore, taken up separately, and a short analysis of its contents is given. There is no attempt at a minute exegesis of any passage. When a question of authorship must be raised, the author usually states the traditional view. The book is exceedingly helpful for the class of readers for which it is written.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Heilige Geschichte.* Die Geschichte des Reiches Gottes in historischer Darstellung auf Grund der Quellen. 2 Bde. Von M. Werbatus. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1900; pp. 388, 266; M. 9.) This "Sacred History" takes the Bible in the traditional order of its historical books, and retells the biblical story as it stands, inserting psalms, prophecies, and epistles where they seem to belong. The chronology is made up from calculations based on biblical data, a procedure which leads to such conclusions as the year 713 B. C. for the invasion of Sennacherib. No use is made of non-Hebrew data in the Old Testament portion. The value of such a treatment of Old Testament history is easily estimated.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Class Readings in the Bible.* From the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism. By Walter L. Sheldon. (Chicago: Unity Publishing Co., 1901; pp. 236; \$0.50.) A manual for teachers of classes whose knowledge of Scripture is limited. Part I deals with "Prophecy;" Part II with

"The Historical Books;" Part III with "The New Testament." Only twenty-six pages are given to Jesus, five to the Psalms, and none to the wisdom books. The book gives evidence of a very imperfect assimilation of the results of modern criticism. Its *dicta* are quite unreliable, and at times amusing. Whatever there may be of value is spoiled by a persistent use of incorrect English.—C. D. GRAY.

*The Great Symbols.* By W. J. Townsend. (London: Kelly, 1901; pp. 200; 2s. 6d.) The starting-point of the author's thought is that the various parts and aspects of the Old Testament ritual are significant. This was also the principle upon which the older typologists based their interpretations, not only of the ritual, but of the whole Old Testament history. Dr. Townsend, however, discards the fanciful and arbitrary typology of the older writers on the subject. But when we come to his own views we fail to see that he substitutes a sounder principle of interpretation. The difference between his explanations of the great symbols and the typology which he sets aside as fantastic, is one not of class, but of variety within the class. If his results are not as grotesque as those of the older typologists, it is because he has brought to his task a generally healthier view of the Bible and its inspiration. The book may, therefore, be regarded as more satisfactory than similar books published fifty years ago, but by no means a true and final interpretation of the profoundly significant emblems of the old ritual.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Grammatica Linguae Hebraicae, cum exercitiis et glossario.* Studiis academicis accommodata a Vinc. Zapletal: (Paderbornae: Schoeningh, 1902; pp. viii + 138; M. 2.80.) This is a grammar intended primarily for the use of the author's own classes in their first study of the language, and is therefore written in Latin, since the constituency of the University of Freiburg (Switzerland) includes students of various nationalities, many of whom are but slightly acquainted with German. The treatment is concise and clear, and well calculated to bring before the student the more important facts of Hebrew grammar. However, the author is concerned with mere phenomena, almost to the exclusion of all consideration of the fundamental laws of the language. He is content to enumerate facts for the most part, without making any attempt to explain them. This is hardly the most attractive, or the most effective, method, even for beginners. The discussion of noun-formations, as well as the whole treatment of the vowels, is very inade-



quate and superficial. The biliteral theory of the ע"ע and ע"ץ verbs is accepted, but, nevertheless, they are treated in the traditional way as triliterals. The following corrections may be noted: הַפְּנֵפֶה (p. 33); in the glossary, אֲנֹשׁ (and p. 11, l. 2), דָּבָר, הָלָם, מְחַנְּמִים, פָּלַל.—JOHN M. P. SMITH.

*Messages of the Old Testament: Genesis to Chronicles and Joel.* By George H. C. MacGregor. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901; pp. xii + 178; 3s. 6d.) Does a person wish a volume of homilies on the historical books of the Old Testament? Here are twelve homilies on the historical books and one on the book of Joel. The author customarily begins by presenting the general literary significance of a book, and then with a few distinct strokes he gives the larger teaching of the book which he calls its "message." In Genesis he calls attention to the composite character of the book and then expounds its messages: "*Genesis emphasizes the divine sovereignty and supremacy;*" "*Genesis emphasizes the divine grace and love;*" "*Genesis emphasizes the divine holiness.*" In the homily on Chronicles he makes clear the difference in aim and method from the books of Samuel and Kings, affirms the historical value of Chronicles, and draws his lesson from the spirit of the chronicler, saying: "The book of Chronicles is occupied from beginning to end *with magnifying God, and giving him his right place in Israel.*" The author sees messages of a typical sort; for instance, the third message of the book of Ruth is "*that redemption is achieved by and only by a Kinsman-Redeemer.*" It is evident that the spiritual teaching of the books far outweighs other consideration, as after noting the possible dates of the book of Joel, giving reasons for various opinions, and expressing the opinion that a late date is the true one, he dismisses the subject as of minor importance and proceeds to give the religious message of the books. This volume is worthy of study of the method of simple and clear exposition. It would be of service to a preacher in mastering the method which will interest people in the Bible and lead them to study it.—F. B. DENIO.

*Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes untersucht.* Von Friedrich Giesebrecht. (Königsberg: Thomas & Oppermann, 1900; pp. 65; M. 1.20.) This is a fruitful discussion of a vital problem in Hebrew religion. Is the covenant at Sinai history, or the product of the devout imagination of later Hebrew prophecy? The answer to the question leads this learned scholar through some of the most important fields

of Old Testament theology. A leading school of critics who deny the covenant a historical character because it reveals the handiwork of prophecy finds itself unable to account for the monotheism of Amos. But Giesebrecht argues for a pre-prophetic monotheistic inclination, seen for example in Elijah; this demands in its turn a preparation most reasonably found in the work of Moses. In the Mosaic work appears the fundamental differentiation of Hebrew religion from other Semitic faiths—a differentiation best explained by the Sinaitic covenant. Moreover, careful analysis of the documentary evidence reveals nothing in the way of the historicity of the fact on which the narratives of the occurrences at Sinai are based. Thus the argument is twofold. A variety of special investigations and of penetrating observations makes this pamphlet a most instructive contribution to Old Testament study.—*Der Gottesglaube im alten Israel und die religionsgeschichtliche Kritik*. Ein Vortrag von J. W. Rothstein. (Halle: C. E. Müller, 1900; pp. 49; M. 1.20.) Rothstein's pamphlet follows the same line of argument as that of Giesebrecht, with a somewhat wider sweep and a more dogmatic utterance. To him the spirit of the newer criticism is pantheistic and materialistic. It shuts out a personal God and hence stands at the antipodes of the biblical view of history. The main contentions of the paper are that the religion of old Israel (*i. e.* pre-prophetic Israel) is not only to be found in the popular worship, a semi-heathenish nationalistic cult, but also is represented in a line of higher thinkers by a kind of esoteric doctrine of true supernaturalism. In proof of this he, like Giesebrecht, begins with Amos and follows back step by step through the Jahwist, through 2 Sam., chaps. 9–20, etc., to Moses, and from him back to the patriarchal period. With much that is valid, stimulating, and worthy of consideration is mingled not a little that is open to serious question. The discussion, however, is one that must be reckoned with and shows that a mediating school of criticism in Germany is making itself heard over against the hitherto prevailing school represented by Wellhausen and his followers.—*Les espérances messianiques d'Israel*. III Esaie et les prophètes de son époque. Par J. Gindraux. (Lausanne: Bridel & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1901; pp. 239; fr. 3.) M. Gindraux's earlier volumes treated the messianic hopes of the early period and of the poets and former prophets. A willingness to allow that, possibly, the work of modern "criticism" may have something of permanent value appears in his discussion, but his exposition shows no traces of its influence upon him. He recognizes, indeed, the demand that the prophet's word be interpreted in the light

of his own times ; yet the attempts to combine this principle with the firm conviction that the prophet has in mind the Messiah Jesus of the New Testament, produce a strange and incongruous result. The messianic passages of the Old Testament may be legitimately interpreted on either basis, but not on both at the same time. The author's "critical" position finds in Isaiah of Jerusalem the author of all the prophecies of the book of Isaiah. Hence prophecy is primarily prediction.—*Semitische Kriegeraltümer*. Von Dr. Friedrich Schwally. Erstes Heft: "Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel." (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1901; pp. viii + 111; M. 3.) Schwally has made an interesting and important contribution to Hebrew archæology and religion in this monograph. Starting from the perfectly legitimate position that war in Israel was a matter of religion, he has studied all the Old Testament military data from this point of view. The investigation has led him over a very wide field and brought out some exceedingly fresh interpretations of the biblical material. There is scarcely a vital element of Hebrew religion and social life that is not at least touched upon. Yahweh, the priest, the prophet, the Nazirite, the Rechabite, the ark, magic and ritual, the ban, the curse, marriage, fasting, music—these and other subjects come within the circle of his discussion. Ethnological parallels from the primitive customs of all peoples are effectively employed for illustration and comparison. Now and then the German infallible insight into the meaning of an institution or the interpretation of a passage is substituted for valid argument, and therefore the book must be read with discrimination. The discussion, besides being of real value in itself, suggests that many other subjects of Hebrew archæology might receive a similar thorough handling with great advantage.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Joshua and the Land of Promise*, by F. B. Meyer (London: Morgan & Scott; pp. 188; 2s. 6d.), is a sermonic treatment of the book of Joshua. There are great moral principles underlying the historical books, which stimulate students of the Old Testament. Such discussions as bring out those basal facts are always helpful, and they appeal to the most thoughtful. Such spiritualizing, however, as we find in this volume might easily prove, in the hands of a less skilful writer, a dangerous rejuvenation of the pernicious allegorical methods of Origen. Too great care cannot be exercised in using the historical, not as typical, but as illustrative only, of gospel truth.—*Der besondere Wert des Alten Testaments für den Arbeiter im Reiche Gottes der Gegen-*

*wart*, von G. Diettrich (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 15; M. 0.40), is a practical address of a German pastor. He finds the Old Testament to be of especial value (1) in this pessimistic age by being a compendium of hope; (2) in this day when right and wrong, good and evil, are forgotten or confused, it is a compendium of righteousness; (3) when abstract thinking is set aside, it is a text-book of simple perceptions of truth. The pastor who enters the Old Testament with these fundamental ideas will find in it a mine of spiritual riches.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Histoire des Israélites depuis la ruine de leur indépendance nationale jusqu'à nos jours.* Par Théodore Reinach. 2<sup>e</sup> édition. (Paris: Hachette, 1901; pp. xix + 415; fr. 4.) This book is intended as a popular introduction to the history of the Jews from the time of their ultimate subjection under Hadrian. It is written in a clear, attractive manner; but the view-point taken throughout is one-sided, with the result that the picture drawn of the Jews from the point of time mentioned up to the present is a greatly idealized one. Thus the aim and the *raison d'être* of the legal system which, from the Maccabæan period on, was the predominant factor in Judaism, and which culminated in the production of the Talmud, was, according to Reinach, to adjust the Mosaic law "to the needs of practical life;" the task of the traditional law consisted in removing the obscurities and contradictions, and in supplying the gaps in the Mosaic law (p. 20). The study and interpretation of the law are held up as the sole and exclusive inspiration of the Jews from the time they lost their national independence (pp. 22 ff.). As if the center and essence of all their aspirations, as well as of their zealous study and punctilious observance of the law, were not the messianic hope. But the messianic hope and the copious apocalyptic literature to which it gave rise do not receive any consideration in the book; are merely alluded to casually in the description of the sectarian and pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi of the seventeenth century and of his successors of the eighteenth century (pp. 240 ff.).—MOSES BUTTENWIESER.

*Évangile de Jean et Actes des Apôtres.* Par Alfred Schroeder. (Lausanne: Bridel & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1899; pp. 558; fr. 10.) The author states, in a brief preface, that this second edition—the first was published in 1885—of his commentary on John and Acts was made necessary by the recent contributions to the history of the apostolic period. A

cursory glance at the generous introductory matter to both John and Acts in this second edition shows that the author has not spared any pains to bring that part of his commentary up to date. The recent contributions of Harnack, Beyschlag, Zahn, and other German historians have obtained a fair and ample treatment. In discussing the still unsettled "Johannine question," Schroeder holds to the traditional view. In Acts he likewise prefers the later date of Paul's conversion. The exegetical comments in both books are very full, critical, thoroughly evangelical in tone, and very profitable as elucidations of the text.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Rabbi Jesus, Sage and Saviour.* By Wm. Macintosh. (London: Wm. Blackwood, 1901; pp. x + 274; 3s. 6d., net.) One would readily discover on reading this book, even if the preface did not say so, that its various chapters were originally given as popular addresses. After this fashion the author treats, in the first two chapters, the condition of finding the truth and of knowing God. In the next he shows that the Bible is differentiated from all other "sacred books" in that it declares the love of God. Then follows a very good chapter on the sinlessness of Jesus. As to Christ's teachings, he shows that they were directed to the inherent but undeveloped instinct of human nature for truth and right. Citing a few of the characteristic sayings of Jesus, he undertakes to show that his doctrines, according to contemporary criticism, are scientifically verifiable. His chapter on "The Teaching of the Incarnation" is good as far as it goes, but it does not go very deep. He quotes the main theories concerning Christ, and declares the inadequacy of all except that which holds that he is very God manifest in the flesh. He quotes with approval Ruskin's statement as found in *Præterita*, ii, 208. For a book covering such a range of topics the title seems a bit strange, not to say inappropriate. However, the book will be helpful to those who, though having slight knowledge of some of the religious problems of the day, have neither time, training, nor scholarship for more thorough study.—GROSS ALEXANDER.

*Jesu Gottheit und das Kreuz.* Von A. Schlatter. ["Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," V (1901), 5. Heft.] (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 90; M. 1.20.) Starting with the contention of Konrad Grass that the deity of Jesus is manifested solely in his overcoming of the *Gottverlassenheit* in which he was placed on the cross and in his restoration to communion with God, and finding that

the theory touches only the value of the cross for Jesus himself, not its value for God and for man, and that consequently it does not do justice either to the statements of the apostles or to the church formulas (even when interpreted according to their essential basis), Schlatter proceeds to subject these statements to a cursory examination, and concludes that, although each of the fathers (Origen, Athanasius, Anselm) emphasizes but one central thought, the several elements of truth in each are to be found united in the various thoughts of the New Testament writers. For example: The will of Jesus to die is one with his love to the Father; in resisting the temptation to avoid death, he overcomes the evil; in his resurrection, he changes mortality into immortality; the necessity and saving power of the cross consist in the fact that Jesus, through the cross, entered himself into communion with God. Schlatter assumes (p. 24) that on other grounds the deity of Christ can be made out, and so does not discuss the process through which he comes from the unity of will to the unity of being with God. He has, however, made good his case against the contention of Grass with which he started out.—J. EVERETT FRAME.

*Ruling Ideas of Our Lord.* By Charles F. D'Arcy. (New York: Armstrong, 1901; pp. xix+139; \$0.60.) This little volume is one of a series of "Christian Study Manuals" edited by R. E. Welsh. It puts very simply the principal ideas of the teaching of Jesus, dividing them into two classes, "moral ideas" and "religious ideas." In the first class are included those that relate to the social aspects of the kingdom of God, grouped about such themes as "The Pure Heart," "The Great Example," "Life and Growth." The religious ideas, which furnish basis and inspiration for the moral ideas, are "The Father," "The Son," "The Paraclete," and "The Fulness of Christ." —*Manual of the Four Gospels.* By T. H. Stokoe. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Frowde, 1901; Part I, "The Gospel Narrative," pp. xii+200; Part II, "The Gospel Teaching," pp. viii+175; \$0.50 each.) These two volumes are intended to be "more than a mere abstract," but less elaborate than the principal "lives" of Christ. They are designed for students in schools and colleges, and also for the use of general readers. The first volume presents the biographical matter of the gospels, paragraph by paragraph, in the form of a condensed narrative containing explanations of the salient points needing comment, while less important points are discussed in footnotes. In the second volume the teaching is taken up section by section in a condensed

paraphrase. In both volumes a good deal of information and comment is compactly presented.—*The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to Timothy and Titus*. By R. Martin Pope. (London : Kelly, 1901 ; pp. vii + 248 ; 1s. 6d.) The author describes his work as "expository notes" prepared originally for a class of young students reading the pastoral epistles in the original, and he has published them for the use of "students, lay preachers, and Christian workers," in the hope of interesting them in some of the fine distinctions apparent to a Greek scholar. This purpose, of course, determines his method of treatment, and he has certainly attained a large measure of success. His clear, concise expository notes will be of great value to the class of readers for which they have been prepared. It may seem to some that "lay preachers" are entitled to a more thorough introduction to the critical questions connected with the study of these epistles than is to be found in this volume. The work does not give evidence that the author has entered so thoroughly into the situation presented in the epistles as to be able to contribute anything new to their interpretation. He has, however, registered in concise form what seems to him to be the best explanation of each passage, which is a service to many readers. He regards the epistles as wholly Pauline in their present form, and believes them to have been written after the termination of the imprisonment mentioned in Acts. The heresies mentioned in the epistles are a "species of Gnosticism grafted on to the common belief of Judaism," somewhat more highly developed than that against which the epistle to the Colossians is directed. In an appendix the author argues that Paul possessed a collection of the logia of Jesus.—*The Pastoral Epistles* : A New Translation, with Introduction, Commentary, and Appendix. By Rev. J. P. Lilley. (New York : imported by Scribner, 1901 ; pp. vi + 255 ; \$0.75, net.) This commentary is an exceedingly rich addition to the series of which it is the latest number ("Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students"). It is thoroughly adapted to the needs of all Bible students, both ministers and educated laymen. It gives a fair and reasonably complete outline of the history of the criticism of the pastoral epistles, so that the reader finds himself put in touch with the best modern scholarship. The author handles the data with scholarly independence, and his clear, fresh way of putting things is everywhere in evidence. The arrangement of the subject-matter is unusual. Pp. 1-51 are devoted to an introduction to all three epistles ; pp. 55-66 contain the author's own translation of the Greek ; pp. 69-216 contain the commentary proper ; and pp. 223-55

constitute an appendix, in which certain critical questions are discussed at greater length than seemed desirable in the introduction. The character of the topics discussed in this appendix indicates the lines along which the commentary is laid out: the style and vocabulary of the epistles; the theory of composite authorship; the chronological order and place of the pastoral epistles; the evolution of the teaching elder; Paul's doctrine of inspiration; and the ethics of the pastoral epistles. The author regards the epistles as Pauline in their present form, and assigns them to a period subsequent to that covered by the narrative in Acts. His view of the heresies opposed in the epistles is that they were "the last effort of Judaistic traditionalism to overthrow the religion of Christ."—EDWARD I. BOSWORTH.

*Moderne Meinungsverschiedenheiten über Methode, Aufgaben und Ziele der Kirchengeschichte.* Von Adolf Jülicher. (Marburg: Elwert, 1901; pp. 24; M. 0.50.) This is No. 5 of the Marburg academic addresses. It was delivered on the occasion of the author's induction to the rectorate of the university. It seems to have been especially called out by Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*. The author reconsiders the whole subject of methods, problems, and ends in church history. He seeks, and upon the whole keeps pretty well to, the *via media*. He insists that church history has a very distinct field of its own, and that it will render the best service by limiting itself within that field, and not by running off after new problems and ends. In a word, church history should attend strictly to its own business. This is an excellent principle—when properly qualified.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Sokrates und die alte Kirche.* Von Adolf Harnack. (Giessen: Ricker, 1901; pp. 24; M. 0.50.) Taking Socrates as the representative of Greek philosophy, and Jesus as the representative of the Christian religion, Harnack traces the mingling and confusing in the minds of the early Christians of the two realms of philosophy and religion, as illustrated in the comparison of the death of Jesus to the death of Socrates. The comparison is first made by Justin, is approved by Clement and Origen, and by most of the apologists, until Tertullian draws a distinction in favor of Jesus' death. Following him, Augustine robs Socrates' death of all value by branding all heathen virtues as glorious vices. This bold assertion of the supremacy of the revelation in Jesus is confirmed today, and we no longer look to Socrates for Christianity nor to Jesus for philosophy.—A. E. HOLT.



*Doctrine spirituelle de Saint Augustin.* Par J. Martin. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1901; pp. viii + 282; fr. 2.50.) Augustine was so many-sided that it is impossible to give a complete picture of his work. This book presents a phase of his teaching which finds little place in most historical treatises—Augustine's practical exposition of the religious life. The author, therefore, draws chiefly from sources like the Confessions, Soliloquies, and Sermons. Manifestly the line between the religious and the speculative writings must be somewhat arbitrarily drawn; and a Catholic would include some which a Protestant might omit. Father Martin thus throws the material into the framework of the typical monastic ideal. The obligations of vows, obedience, poverty and humility, and the mystic love and adoration of God are brought to the front. The bulk of the book consists of quotations from Augustine. The author has done little more than select and arrange these. He has thus brought out in strong relief the Augustine who so powerfully impressed himself on the Catholic church. The book is the product of painstaking and careful scholarship, although giving necessarily only a partial view of the great teacher of the church.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*Petite introduction aux inventaires des Archives du Vatican.* Par Louis Guérard. (Paris: Picard, 1901; pp. 39.) This work is intended primarily for those who are making a historical investigation of the thirteenth century, and who purpose to continue their work in the Vatican library. The author makes the following classification for this study in presenting the material in the library: (1) lists of bulls, briefs, and petitions; (2) catalogues of (a) De Pretis, (b) Garampi; (3) miscellaneous. The period reviewed is sufficiently long to commend the work to the attention of scholars.—T. W. NOON.

*Luthers Auffassung der Gottheit Christi.* Von Constantin von Kügelgen. (Leipzig: Wöpkke; pp. 66; M. 1.60.) Luther adhered to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity and of the pre-existence of Christ, and used the inherited scholastic methods to defend them, but there are occasional attempts at an ethical treatment of the doctrine of the pre-existence. To him Christ was the only way to a knowledge of God; he not only rejected, but opposed, the effort to know him from nature and by speculation. He laid less stress on the dogma of the divine nature and the virgin birth than on the true humanity and the ethical development of Jesus, and on his office as the Savior of men. In his

post-existence the humanity of Christ was united with his divine nature and freed from the conditions of time and space. On this point Luther's later views were deeply influenced by the exigencies of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The monograph is compactly written. The quotations from Luther are especially interesting. But Luther was a very practical man, and consequently changed his emphasis as the occasion that happened to engage him demanded. Quotations are, therefore, a less stable quantity with him than with a systematic theologian, and the real importance of a thought in his mind would have to be gauged by something more than the vigor of a passing expression. This fact and the evident interest of the author in establishing points of similarity between Luther and Ritschl leave the reader a little uncertain about some of the most interesting conclusions of the book.—*Die Anschauung der Reformatoren vom geistlichen Amte*. Von Wilhelm Thomas. (Leipzig: Hofmann, 1901; pp. 45; M. 1.) The pamphlet covers only a part of the subject. It deals only with the views of Melancthon, and the author reserves the larger subject for future investigations. Melancthon remained closer to the Roman church than Luther. Luther put his trust in the truth; Melancthon trusted largely in ecclesiastical order and institutions. With him the idea of the universal priesthood of believers receded even farther than with Luther. His conception of the church is more aristocratic. The ministry act; the people receive. He thought highly of the episcopate, and considered personal confession and absolution quite essential to the welfare of the church. One of the most interesting sections of the pamphlet is a quotation from a letter written by Melancthon, in 1530, to Cardinal Campegius, in which he offers the submission of the Protestants if only the pope is willing to concede a few things, like the cup for the laity and marriage for the priests; or, if the pope cannot concede these, perhaps he might connive at them for a time. Osiander wrote about this time that Philip was so exhausted by labor and lack of sleep that he was quite despondent and had to be watched lest he concede things that all might rue. It was a good thing that Luther had a rotunder body and more red blood corpuscles.—WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH.

*L'œuvre de Calvin*. Réponse à la Conférence prononcée par M. Brunetière, le 17 Déc. 1901, au Victoria Hall à Genève, par Ernest Strœhlin. (Genève: Kündig, 1902; pp. 53; fr. 1.) The author of this response to a cogent attack on Calvin is not a Calvinist in theol-

ogy, and hence not able to take the strongest positions or to wield the stoutest weapons. He is like one who defends a stranger rather than a member of his own family, thrusting and parrying skilfully, but not with the whole soul. But his reply is adroit and shrewd, though it does not give us very profound views or teach us anything new.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Hand of God in American History.* A Study of National Politics. By Robert Ellis Thompson. (New York: Crowell & Co., 1902; pp. 235; \$1, net.) The reader who takes up this book expecting to see God's hand in a few momentous events on which the nation's destiny turned will lay it down in disappointment. Instead, he will be treated to a well-nigh endless enumeration of the changes through which the republic has passed in its political, religious, social, and industrial development. In this multiplicity of details he will find no recognition of relative values, and he will look in vain for a few master-strokes, yielding a bold outline and impressively revealing the divine presence and control. The author is a patriot and an optimist, and he takes a Christian view of the operation of secondary causes; but his argument would have been more convincing had he wisely chosen a few of the decisive issues in which the hand of God is most strikingly manifest, and then bent his energies to showing their providential significance.—*A Short History of Methodism.* By John W. Boswell. (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the M. E. Church South, 1901; pp. vii + 167; \$0.60.) This is a brief popular account of the origin, organization, creed, ministry, ecclesiastical machinery, missionary and educational work, and branches of Methodism in the United States. It will serve as a useful compendium.—*Breviarium Bothanum sive Portiforium secundum Usus Ecclesiae Cujusdem in Scotia.* Printed from a MS. of the fifteenth century in the possession of John, Marquess of Bute, K. T. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900; pp. viii + 722.) About the middle of the fifteenth century some scribe covered 347 vellum leaves with a writing "small, very close, and full of contractions." He wrote his text "consecutively, without any breaks or divisions, or marks of the commencement or conclusion of sentences." The hymns and poetry were written "in consecutive prose form." This old manuscript, in oaken boards, with leather thongs, gnawed by mice, is a surviving relic of one of the ancient Scottish service books. It doubtless belonged originally to some cathedral. Its text generally follows the Use of Sarum, but there are numerous variations. The

English Book of Common Prayer covers much the same ground. The reformed church in Scotland broke more radically with the past, and its Book of Common Order shows few traces of the earlier uses. The editor has reproduced, in printed form, covering 700 double-column pages, this old Latin manuscript. In the printed volume the typography follows the modern usage. Italics take the place of the manuscript's colored titles and directions, the matter is thrown into paragraphs, and the form in general is modernized, while otherwise adhering faithfully to the original copy.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*Das Lutherische Einigungswerk.* Beleuchtet von Alfred Resch Zweite Auflage. (Gotha: Schlossmann, 1902; pp. 30; M. 1.) Dr. Resch is known in this country chiefly by his *Agrapha: Aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente*. In this pamphlet he appears in the field of practical ecclesiastical affairs. He is an ardent advocate of the "General Lutheran Conference," and of its purpose to secure the organic union of all Lutheran bodies in one world-wide church. Much has been done already, it seems, to prepare the way. Dr. Resch writes with enthusiasm.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Islam and Christianity: or, The Quran and the Bible.* By a Missionary. (New York: American Tract Society, 1901; pp. 225; \$1.) This is a polemical treatise in the form of a letter written by the author to a Muslim friend who has been his teacher. In an earnest and charitable spirit it compares the doctrines and ethics of Islām with those of Christianity, invariably reaching, as we should expect, a conclusion adverse to the Mohammedan system. Such a book serves a good purpose in furnishing missionaries with popular and easily available arguments when forced into controversy with Muslims. To neither scholarly Christians nor scholarly Mohammedans will it appear as the work of one qualified to undertake a scientific comparison of their respective religions. Its usefulness will be found in the practical emergencies of the mission field.—WALTER M. PATTON.

*The Task of the Theologian of Today.* By E. Y. Mullins. (Address delivered at the opening of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, October 1, 1901, Louisville, Ky. Second edition; pp. 24.) The theologian is not to tear down the historic structure to make way for a reconstruction, but, rather, to build further on the historic foundations. Imperfections in theology are to be corrected by a closer conformity

to the teachings of the Bible. The testimony of Christian experience is changing and uncertain, hence cannot serve as the prime source of theology. While Dr. Mullins discusses higher criticism, the theory of evolution, and the nature of Christian experience courteously, we feel that he minimizes the difficulties which these create for a theologian who attempts to conform to the above program.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*A Primer of the Christian Religion.* Based on the Teachings of Jesus, its Founder and Living Lord. By George Holley Gilbert. (New York: Macmillan; pp. 76; \$1.) This little volume is beautifully published. It is also a welcome addition to the establishment of fundamental religious truth in the light of intellectual change. The teachings are thoroughly evangelical, but the religious is emphasized rather than the metaphysical. The writer errs, if at all, on the side of caution and of traditional opinion. The only discussion in which, perhaps, a sense of disappointment may be felt, is that of the kingdom of God. Perhaps, also, a sense of disproportion is felt when we find "Sunday" forming one of the eight divisions into which the treatment is divided. Yet no such work can be undertaken without exciting the reviewer's feeling that it might have been done differently. Of course it might, but we are profoundly grateful that it has been done so well.—THOS. C. HALL.

*Weltfrömmigkeit und Christentum.* Von Gertrud Prellwitz. (Freiburg i. Br.: Fehsenfeld, 1901; pp. vi + 73; M. 0.80.) This essay is an attempt to show that what is sought in the traditional Christian conception of a world beyond (*Jenseits*) is to be found in the world of life and experience (*Diesseits*). The traditional theology makes a distinction between God and the world, and places God and the goal of human aspirations beyond the world of here and now. This is the result of an attempt to grasp the world in abstract thought instead of in living experience. The conceptions in which we formulate our experience are always an inadequate expression of the experience they represent. In the full reality of our experience we find the unity of God and the world. The limitations of the world are, then, only the limitations of the finite individual self. When we transcend these limitations and realize our self in its complete meaning, we find ourselves in harmony with the life about us, and at the same time find God in the world.—WARNER FITE.

*Zur undogmatischen Glaubenslehre.* Vorträge und Abhandlungen. Von Otto Dreyer. (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901; pp. 156; M. 2.) This volume consists of six brief treatises published as articles in German periodicals between 1874 and 1892. Though widely separated in writing and publication, they discuss closely related subjects and constitute a whole. The author holds, with Schleiermacher, that religion is feeling. This feeling depends, not upon conceptions, but upon one's relation to God. The same essential relation gives always the same feeling in kind, whatever the nature of one's conception. The conceptions of God and of his relations to the world are widely variant and ever changing, depending upon the degree of culture and the extent of knowledge, as also upon much else; but faith, which is the principle of Christian life, and that love of God as the heavenly Father which, through Jesus Christ, is begotten and sustained in us, is the Christian life. Whatever is changeable and variant in creed statements cannot be in strictness a religious element, because religion in its own nature is unchangeable; cannot be a strictly Christian element, because the love of God in Jesus Christ is always and in all the same. Nothing can be a genuine doctrine of faith save the affirmation (in whatever form) of the realities on which depends the Christian love which is Christian life. The scientific investigation of these fundamental facts is proper, and the expression of the results in systematic form will follow. These results will unite in intellectual fellowship those who agree to them; but they are not a bond of religious union, and must not be made tests of Christian or church fellowship. To make of them ecclesiastical dogmas is a mischief due to a confusion.—G. D. B. PEPPER.

*The Idea of God in Relation to Theology.* By Eliphalet Allison Read. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1900; pp. 67; \$1.) In discussing the arguments for the existence of God, the author takes pains to point out their weakness as proofs to the intellect, but at the same time he points out their value to religious faith. He maintains that belief in God is a natural instinct rather than a result of the reasoning process. He considers the contribution which Jesus made to the idea of God, when he designated him as Father, as of the highest significance for theology. It ought to be made the norm from which theology starts. However, this has not been the case in the past, as the writer very well shows by tracing the history of theology from Clement of Alexandria to Albrecht Ritschl.—W. R. SCHOEMAKER.

*The Immortality of the Soul: A Protest.* By Joseph Agar Beet. (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1901; pp. vi + 115; \$0.75.) The purpose of this little book, as the author plainly says, is to enter a protest against the doctrine of the essential immortality of all human beings, a doctrine which for centuries has been accepted and preached as divine truth taught in the Bible. Dr. Beet believes that the doctrine is alien both to the phrase and thought of the Bible, and derived from Greek philosophy. His argument consists of the citation and analysis of the principal Bible passages that bear upon the subject, together with the teachings of Plato and the ancient Christian writers and of modern theologians. His conclusion is that the doctrine is not taught explicitly in any part of the Scriptures; further, that the doctrine of eternal punishment which is taught in the New Testament does not necessarily involve endless torment, because it is quite consistent with cessation of existence. His position is thus the middle ground between the traditional one, on the one side, and that occupied by believers in conditional immortality, on the other. But while, according to Dr. Beet, the Bible does not explicitly teach the essential immortality of all men, and while it leaves the subject of the destiny of the wicked a mystery, the New Testament does teach that eternal life is the gift of God through Christ, and that ruin complete and final awaits those who reject the salvation He offers and persist in sin. Our space will not permit of our discussing the subject-matter of the book, but we may characterize it as a commendable effort at clear and precise definition.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Orations and Addresses.* By Richard Salter Storrs. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1901; pp. 593; \$3, net.) Dr. Storrs was undoubtedly one of the leading preachers of the last century, and those who knew him personally, or through his writings, will be glad to have this collection of his selected orations and addresses. Of course, in the oration of a true orator much is lost to the reader, because he can only imperfectly enter into its setting, and most of all he misses the touch of the great personality. But notwithstanding such defects these orations read very well, and the reader feels in them the "manliness" on which Dr. Storrs discourses so eloquently in the addresses on "Manliness in the Scholar." Other orations are: "Abraham Lincoln"—probably the best of them all; "The Early American Spirit;" "The Declaration of Independence;" "The Puritan Spirit;" "Sources and Guarantees of Progress;" and "Commerce an Educator of Nations."

The orations were all delivered on important occasions, and the fact that Dr. Storrs was invited to deliver them shows his firm hold on widely different classes of men. And this makes him an ideal for all young men who are entering the ministry. True, not many can reach his altitude; but is it too much to expect that the minister in a small town should stand relatively as high in the estimation of the general public as Dr. Storrs stood in the great metropolis?—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Ordination Addresses.* By William Stubbs. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901; pp. xvi + 327; \$2.25.) One does not need to be an Anglican churchman or an American Episcopalian to know who Bishop Stubbs was. The author of the *Constitutional History of England* is known far and wide beyond the limits of his own communion. These addresses reveal him in his character as a Christian minister, and are well worth the careful reading of any preacher, or anyone intending to be a preacher. English bishops are in the habit of gathering together the young men whom they are to ordain, for a few days before ordination, at their palaces, and giving them a series of practical talks. These addresses were given to such assemblages of candidates for ordination. The English of the book is beautiful, the sentences full of deep thought mingled with great tenderness. Stimulating as they are, the words seem to drop from a father's lips. The bishop does not shirk difficult problems, nor salve over any burning questions, but he never loses sight of the direct application of the subject to those before him. How true these words are: "We are all ignorant, workmen with disproportional eye focus as regards truth, seeing in part and prophesying in part, and yet bound to strain after a futurity of revelation in which that which is in part shall be done away; and are we not all in positions that make us liable to countless questions that we cannot answer, and called upon for peremptory decisions which we cannot enforce and absolute conclusions that we should find it impossible to authenticate?" Here are some words on the Bible which are full of meaning: "We do not imagine that every detail of the sacred writings was so inspired as to keep them from all error, or that everything they wrote was equally matter of revelation. Far otherwise. We cannot but believe that their language, even at the highest grade of inspiration, was and must be intelligible to those who wrote and read, and therefore limited and conditioned by their intelligence, and the story which they told such as would be possible to carry tradition from generation to generation with—as in all his-



tory—variations and aggregations and inconsistencies of detail which may amount, in non-essential things, to contradictions." The volume is full of similar pregnant thoughts.—CLINTON LOCKE.

*Scenes and Studies in the Ministry of Our Lord, with Thoughts on Preaching.* By James H. Rigg. (London: Kelly, 1901; pp. vii + 261; 5s.) This volume contains fourteen essays that are thorough expositions of some of the most interesting and fruitful passages of the gospels. The genesis of these essays is exceedingly interesting. The author of them has preached for more than half a century; usually without notes, but sometimes with a bare outline, he has often in popular discourse expounded to the people the passages of Scripture that are here unfolded. And now, when more than eighty years of age, he has wrought the substance of these well-digested extemporaneous sermons into these excellent essays. His expositions, while popular, are scholarly. He writes with full appreciation of the best results of modern exegesis, while he evidently regards some of its more radical conclusions as untrustworthy. For example, he forcibly contends that no one but an eyewitness could have depicted the scenes presented to us in the gospel so long ascribed to John. In the last fifty-six pages of the volume the author rapidly sketches the history of preaching, and also judiciously discusses the three methods of pulpit delivery—reading, memorizing, and extemporizing—and clearly shows the superiority of the last.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Old Gospel for the New Age.* By H. C. G. Moule. (Chicago: Revell, 1902; pp. 239; \$1, net.) "The Old Gospel for the New Age." Shall it be the model life, or the sacrificial atonement? In this series of sermons, Dr. Moule gives his answer in the first chapter—the sermon from which the title of the book is taken. He does not underestimate the model life, but he places in the forefront of the teaching needed today—in his opinion—the atoning death of Jesus Christ. It is a sermon of rare simplicity and power. Here is the matter in a nutshell: "But for us sinners, these truths all roll their golden circles round the sun of the Atonement. The 'innumerable benefits' are all grouped within the blood-besprinkled precinct of the Passion. Without Christ, who died for our sins, and having risen again, faith has no foothold, and conscience no rest, and hope no eastern window, and man knows neither himself nor God." The other sermons vary in character, but all are in the strong vein of a truly great preacher.—WILLIAM H. GEISTWEIT.

*Christianisme et socialisme.* Par Frank Thomas. (Genève: Jeheber, 1902; pp. 119; fr. 1.50.) This booklet is a series of lectures given before a mixed assembly with the purpose of conciliating socialists and awakening the conscience of the church to its social duties. It makes no contribution to the subject, but is interesting as a sign of the times.

—*Social Institutions.* By Denton J. Snider. (St. Louis: Sigma Publishing Co., 1901; pp. 615; \$1.50.) If one looks to find, under the title "Social Institutions," a treatise on social science, he will be disappointed; and yet there are interesting discussions of the psychology of social movements scattered through the volume. The influence of Hegel is seen in every chapter, and is acknowledged by the author (p. 42); but he is not slavishly followed. The movement of the institutional world is described as unfolding itself in three forms, the secular institution, the religious institution, and the educative institution. Each institution is treated in three directions: its positive element, its negative element, and its evolution. The family is regarded as the embryonic form of all later institutions; and the author's treatment of the subject, in quaint, rare, partly obsolete, and only partly intelligible Hegelian terminology, presents a noble, spiritual, and sane ideal (pp. 59-168). To most students of sociology the author's identification of "society" with the "economic body, the industrial order, the commercial world," will appear to be very objectionable; and his list of human "wants"—food, raiment, and shelter—is decidedly brief, and not at all characteristically "human." It is curious, sometimes amusing, to discover modern economic conceptions masked under the unusual phrases of the philosopher (pp. 164-335). The method of oracular assertion, so natural to a seer who disdains controversy, even with fellow-scholars, is conspicuous and frequent. For example, it is calmly declared (p. 359): "If God is the Father, then the son, who is man, is absolutely necessary to make him Father. Man is not better than his God, nor is God better than his man" (*cf.* pp. 463, 469). Criticism of such dogmas belongs to theology, not to sociology. The learning, the wide reading, the long meditation, and the serene temper of the scholar are everywhere apparent.—*Praktisches Christentum.* Vorträge aus der Inneren Mission. Von Theodor Schäfer. Vierte Folge. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 203. M. 2.40.) The "Inner Mission" is a title so happily chosen and so associated with the Christlike works which are the most convincing evidences of Christianity in our skeptical age, that we are fortunate in being able to adopt it almost literally into English speech. Already the scientific treat-

ment of the subject has found its way into the universities of Germany. The little collection of lectures in the volume now before us represents rather the plea of a technical expert than the systematic treatise of the academic hall. It is the fourth in a series published from the pen and heart of the gifted author of *Leitfaden der Innern Mission*, editor of the chief organ of the movement and director of the training institute for deaconesses at Altona. In the two lectures entitled "Halbe und ganze Innere Mission" and "Ein halbes Jahrhundert Innerer Mission," one may study from the inside the progress of this form of philanthropy and the criticism of its most intelligent leaders. The biographical sketches are good examples of the method of using life-histories to illustrate a work and arouse interest in service.—C. R. HENDERSON.

*Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes, and of Their Social Treatment.* By Charles Richmond Henderson. (Second edition, enlarged and rewritten. Boston: Heath, 1901; pp. 404; \$1.50.) This new edition of what was a pioneer work is greatly enlarged and improved. It is the work of a diligent student, a well-known teacher, and a man of practical experience with his subjects. Professor Henderson is careful in statement, and his opinions are the result of a study of facts. They would, however, carry still more weight if he had taken the reader a little more through the processes by which he himself has reached his conclusions. His "preaching" is good, but teaching might often be better. An alliterative title in popular use gives the author his working category, and he proceeds to adjust his work to his title, with the inevitable result of cramping, distorting, or omitting essential material, and leading to disregard of the demands of an inductive order of treatment. Inebriates get a very few pages; licentiousness even less; and the divorced no mention at all. But the unemployed, the homeless, the poor, the blind, the deaf-mutes, the insane, the epileptic, and others are generally fully considered. And yet he says: "We are studying a science." A good book in the field of philanthropy might easily have been made still better for that place, and also have become a first-rate text-book, had it been more scientifically arranged.—SAMUEL W. DIKE.

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## THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION.

By FRANK BYRON JEVONS,  
Durham, England.

DR. J. G. FRAZER, in his new edition of the *Golden Bough*, has vastly added to the debt of obligation which all students of the science of religion already owed to him. Not only has he, out of his unparalleled stores of knowledge, doubled the size of his work, but he has also taken up a decided attitude, or perhaps rather has definitely made known his attitude, to the fundamental principles of the science of religion. Obviously, in any discussion, the first question we have to settle is what it is that we are discussing; ambiguity or misunderstanding on that point can only end in mutual dissatisfaction or mystification. The mere use of the same term for the subject of the discussion is fatal, if the two parties to the discussion use it in different senses, and neither is aware that the other means something different from what he does. If by one party a certain function of the mind is assumed to be a normal function of the mind, while by the other it is assumed to be abnormal, and neither is aware of the difference between them, confusion is bound to ensue. They are bound to look for different causes and to expect different results; and each, so far as he adheres consistently to his original assumption, will reach a different conclusion from the other, and marvel at the difference between them.

The first and fundamental principle is that we should know what we are talking about, whether it is a normal or an abnormal function, whether we are to class it among the truths or the illusions of human nature. On the answer to that question depends the whole of our subsequent treatment of the subject; it determines the object and the goal which we shall be striving to reach, the direction in which we shall move, and the parallels which we shall adduce. If our subject is a mental illusion, then we must study it in the light of other acknowledged illusions and bring it under the laws which regulate them. But, having done so, we cannot expect our conclusions to be accepted by the man who, starting from the assumption that it is true, has been seeking to exhibit it in its development as a growing realization of truth. If, then, students of the science of religion are to pull together, they must begin by settling the direction in which they are going to pull. As long as they pull in opposite directions, the outsider may be excused for doubting whether there is any such science and what it is.

Now, these arguments assume that there is such a thing as metaphysics, and that the question whether there is any truth in religion is a metaphysical question. It is, indeed, a question which not everybody is bound to answer by metaphysics; a man may answer it in the affirmative by faith, and may find faith the best way of getting other people to answer it in the affirmative. Nor, even if metaphysics be appealed to, is the answer sure to be in the affirmative; skepticism is a recurrent phase in the history of metaphysics. But if the question is to be argued, it is only on metaphysical grounds that it can be argued. When it is so argued, the history of metaphysics shows plainly enough that religious skepticism is but one form of general skepticism, is but one shape taken by the doubt whether truth of any kind whatever can be reached by man. If there are no sufficient grounds for believing that truth of any kind can ever be reached, and if faith be rejected as repugnant, then not only does religion go, but science also goes. The theories of science, then, as Dr. Frazer says at the end of the new edition of the *Golden Bough*, "are only parts of that unsubstantial world which thought has conjured up out of the void," and "the phantoms which the

subtle enchantress has evoked today she may ban tomorrow." And tomorrow's phantoms will be as false as those of today. If man can never reach the truth, if the truth is not in him, then the science of religion is as idle as religion itself is assumed to be by the skeptic. Now, practically speaking, we may say that no man who consistently held that truth was unattainable, even by science, would write or publish, as Dr. Frazer has done, a work of over a thousand closely printed pages on "the science of religion." The inference which the onlooker must draw is that the writer believed there was some truth in science, if there was none in religion. The amount of truth need not be supposed to be great. It is the principle alone for which we are concerned: some truth can be attained by man. Science, as Dr. Frazer says, "may hereafter be itself superseded by some more perfect hypothesis," but the use of the comparative "more perfect" obviously implies that Dr. Frazer thinks there is some truth in science. But when once we have admitted some truth into our scheme of things, there is no end to the prospect: "the advance of knowledge is an infinite progression toward a goal that forever recedes," Dr. Frazer says. The infinite alone is capable of holding all truth and all knowledge.

But when we have advanced so far in metaphysics as to contemplate the infinite as eventually the ultimate depository of all truth and all knowledge, and the goal toward which all knowing beings are progressing, we may perhaps begin to wonder whether Dr. Frazer is right in saying, "religion, regarded as an explanation of nature, is displaced by science." The grain of truth, no larger than a mustard seed, has developed, even in Dr. Frazer's garden and under his cultivation, into the greatest of the trees of the earth, into the infinite. All that we want for the history or the science of religion is to know man's attitude of mind toward the infinite.

"The advance of knowledge" may then be admitted to be an infinite progress "toward a goal that forever recedes": the goal will never be reached by any finite, mortal being. Regarded as being in time, the goal must always be infinitely distant from any chosen instant in time. Regarded as eternity, it is ever present to the infinite. But if we admit that by the advance of knowledge we

mean progress toward a goal that yet never can be reached by finite beings, are we bound to admit that knowledge does advance and progress? The proposition is evidently hypothetical: if knowledge exists, and if it advances, then it advances toward a goal that ever recedes, *i. e.*, toward the infinite. Dr. Frazer has assumed that knowledge exists, that truth can (to some, however infinitesimal, extent) be attained; and he has made the assumption without producing any attempt to prove it, or to reconcile it with the skeptical attitude which he assumes even in the same paragraph. Indeed, it seems to us that he departs still farther from the skeptical position and assumes, again without proof or attempt at proof, and without recognizing his departure from skepticism, that knowledge does inevitably progress and necessarily advance in an infinite progression. The advantage of denying the existence and validity of metaphysics is precisely the fact that it enables you to make suppositions without proving them and without considering whether they clash with other suppositions you have made. It enables you first to take, as Dr. Frazer does, the attitude of philosophical skepticism; then to assume, in contradiction to skepticism, that truth exists and is to some extent attainable; and then that progress not only is sometimes made, but is necessarily, inevitably, and automatically made; in fine, that evolution is progress. According to Dr. Frazer, man has progressed and advanced from a period in which religion was unknown, and which he calls the period of magic, through the period of religion, into our present stage, in which religion has been exploded and science reigns instead.

The question, then, is whether progress is automatic and inevitable — whether, for instance, religion in some instances may evolve and yet not progress. If we accept the theory of evolution, and regard every event that takes place as a step forward in evolution, then the answer seems clear: the "progressive nations" have hitherto been in a minority, though all have been subject to the laws of evolution and have been evolving. The Australian black fellows have presumably been evolved as much as other people, but they have not progressed much; they are still, according to Dr. Frazer, in the pre-religious stage. The inequality of progress is as obvious to the

ethnologist as it is to the schoolmaster in charge of a form. Progress is neither automatic nor inevitable, as most of us can testify on the evidence of our own failures, moral and others. If we look at the question of progress from this, the individual, point of view, and consider our failures—they are more readily available than our successes—we can see that they imply something attempted and not done, something which arrested our attention and was subsequently dismissed, from which we turned aside before the actions necessary to attain it were set going. We dismissed it in the only way in which we can ever dismiss anything from attention—by attending to something else instead, by dwelling on the pleasures or advantages of doing what we ought not, and so dismissing from attention the thing that we ought and the fact that we ought. Now, to progress is a thing that we ought to do, and which, to use a meiosis, we have not always and invariably done. And the remark applies to any collection of individuals, a nation or mankind, as much as it does to any single individual: to progress may be a thing which all nations ought equally to do, but as a matter of fact they don't.

The moment, however, that we turn from the individual to the nation, this fact strikes us: what the individual discovers by concentration of attention he can communicate to others. They may accept what he has discovered, without themselves going through the process, as most of us accept the discoveries of science; or they may concentrate their own attention on the point and see for themselves. Of course, the average man never does concentrate his attention on nature to the same extent as the poet or the scientific genius. Hence Shakespeare and Newton remain not only above their predecessors, but above all subsequent generations of men also. The power of concentrating attention on the right facts, and of not letting it be drawn off to wrong ones, is the characteristic process of great minds. What is at such moments disclosed to them may be called a revelation, inspiration, or what you will; the result is a disclosure of what was not known before, and of what in the greatest examples remains thereafter, as a discovery, unrivaled. Why individuals, with such power, should appear in this place or at that time, what is the law of the distribution of genius, no writer has



attempted to explain; attention is a power of the will, and its exercise depends upon the individual. Its exercise to the extent in the cases alluded to is, by universal consent, exceptional and individual. It is so far as there is similarity among phenomena that general "laws" hold; it is when the individuality is so marked as to be obvious to all that no "law" will account for it. If then the distribution of genius has no law, it may be because the power of attention has none, but is strictly an individual affair in every case of its exercise.

Be this as it may, it is patent that progress is dependent upon the extent to which the members of the tribe, or the people, live up to the disclosures made to them by individual discoverers; and it is reasonable to hold that, where peoples are unprogressive, it is because no individual among them has made any such disclosures for them to live up to.

If we now consider that any science, the science of religion for instance, is concerned with the discovery and application of laws, it should be clear that there are restrictions within which the science moves. So far as there is similarity among the phenomena with which it deals, there may be laws. So far as the followers of a religion are similar, laws about them may be formulated. But the founder of a religion is admittedly individual in his thoughts and actions; it is because he is different, so widely different, from the ordinary run of men, that he has the capacity to make and to reveal the disclosures which are adopted by his followers. And it is because those disclosures are adopted and acted on by a multitude of men that any laws are discoverable in the actions of the multitude. If general laws are predicable about the followers of the religion, it is because ideas that in their origin were peculiar to the individual founder have been adopted by the multitude who have come to follow him. In fine, the science of religion may detect and formulate the laws according to which the followers act, and on which they react; but the founder, because of his individuality, falls under no law. In the same way, if there were a science of comparative literature, it might explain the effects produced upon the course and form of the drama by the appearance of Shakespeare; the genius of Shakespeare it would have to

take simply as given, as a *datum*. The materials he had to work upon might be traced, but not the source of his power. We can only say that the same world was presented to him as to his contemporaries, and that he chose the right things to attend to.

In this attempt to argue that progress is always due to some individual, we have naturally selected as illustrations men whose individuality is so marked that none can be compared with them. But we may descend from the great reformers to men of genius, and from them to men of talent, and from them again to men who have made but one slight invention or discovery—but have made it because they chose to attend to that particular class of facts—and we shall find in every case that each rivulet, rill, and drop which contributes to the stream of progress is individual; that in his, it may be, one discovery, the discoverer is individual and unique. As unique he comes under no law and cannot be brought into any generalization. So far as his discovery or views are adopted, he becomes the source of uniformities of action which may be formulated in more or less general terms and be taken into science. But his discovery was, at the first moment when he achieved it, his—his alone. Out of the infinite to him alone was it revealed—but not without effort on his part.

Generalization is possible only so far as the instances brought together under the general law are similar to one another. So far as any instance is unique, is really different from all other instances, is itself, it cannot be brought under any law. And it is just in this point, in the fact he discovers, or the invention which he makes, that the inventor does differ from all the world, and is individual. But it is precisely on these discoveries, inventions, inspirations, revelations—call them what you will—that progress depends. Where they are made, progress is made; and where they are wanting, progress is absent. It is just because these discoveries are unique and truly individual that they cannot be brought under a law, and that no law can be laid down to account for the appearance of the greatest men, when and where they did appear. No science of history can predict the appearance of genius, or shall say when the prophet shall come or what line he shall take. And what is conspicuously true, in this respect, of the greatest men is also true of those

minor furtherers of progress who make but one small discovery; small though it be, it is individual, unique; and, though it may become a law, it is subject to no law. The attention which we pay to any object presented to our notice we pay of our own choice and freely.

Progress, then, depends on the discoveries made by individuals, that is to say, on unique and individual acts of attention and exercise of will, and not upon general laws. The source of every rill which contributes to the stream of progress is unique. Evolution, then, may be universal, but progress is neither universal nor uniform, as the slightest acquaintance with the facts of history is sufficient to indicate. Still less are we in a position to affirm that progress must come, that it is necessary and inevitable. To be in such a position we should have to be able to demonstrate, not only that a great lawgiver will be hereafter forthcoming, but why he must. But science deals only with general laws, and with particular cases only so far as they are not individual, but have features in common with the other particulars grouped under the law. And every discoverer is in respect of his discovery unique, not under law, but the source of a law, or the channel through which a law becomes known. The individual, so far as he is individual, *i. e.*, different from all other individuals, cannot be predicted, is not the outcome of general causes. We are all individuals in this sense, that we have points of uniqueness, even though in other points we are all instances of general laws which can be predicated about us.

It is then for this reason that science cannot exhibit progress as necessary, inevitable, or automatic. The appearance or manifestation of individual genius is not the outcome of general causes, or the exemplification of a general law, for the simple reason that it is individual, *i. e.*, different from all other individuals, and, from its very definition, not a particular case of a general law, but something unique and unparalleled. Everyone of the discoveries made by individuals is an irruption of the individual into the area with which science deals. With the effects of those irruptions science can deal, so far as they propagate themselves and become general, and therefore subject to general laws. But the irruption itself, the source of the uni-

formity in the actions of those who accept the discovery or revelation as the law to which they will conform, is individual in the strict sense; it is the outcome of the attention which the individual chose to pay to certain presentations rather than others.

There is, therefore, a certain discontinuity in science; and in the science of religion it manifests itself in such a way that it cannot be burked or long denied. That discontinuity lies in the sudden appearance of founders of religion. It is their individuality, in the strict sense of the word, carried to the highest pitch of uniqueness, which produces religions that, as practiced by their followers, remain for ever distinct from one another. When the beliefs, doctrines, revelations of the one discoverer become common to the many followers, they have the aspect of generality which science requires of its subject-matter. But the very possibility of science depends on the production of these widely extending undulations and consists in their generalization. It studies them, scientifically, when produced; but the study, however scientifically pursued, however thoroughly it may account for the undulations, for the ripples on the pool, will never explain why the stone which produced them was thrown into the pond. For the explanation of that we must go back to the will of him who threw it. And every act of will, though it has its general aspects, and in virtue of them may be classed with similar acts, has also its individuality, in virtue of which it is different from all other and from all similar acts. The amount of individuality, so to speak, may vary indefinitely; it may be so small that for certain purposes no great error arises, if it is classed along with other similar acts and its difference from them is overlooked; or it may be so great that it would be a serious error to class it along with other acts, which have indeed points of likeness with it, *e. g.*, in so much as they are acts of will and attention, but are also so different from it that they cannot be classed with it. It is in the rise and appearance of minds so utterly different from anything which preceded or followed them that is manifested the discontinuity of any historical science.

Progress, then, requires as its first condition the man of "originality," the man who for the first time in the history of

the human race sees, or chooses to attend to, some aspect of the infinite by which man is surrounded. But, though this is the first, it is not the only condition which must be realized, if progress is to be effected. Unless others, besides the discoverer or revealer of a new truth, choose to attend to it and make it their own, there can be no progress. But it is for them to attend to it or not; on them depends the choice. Whether progress shall be made or not depends for every man on his will; no man improves against his will. There is no fatalistic current of evolution carrying us on, like logs upon a stream, knowing nothing and doing nothing. We may hereafter do better or do worse than hitherto we have done; but in neither case is the issue independent of our will. And who can predict what his will shall be in the face of temptation, or what temptations he shall be subject to? He who can prophesy on this point may be able to prove that the course of the world will be one of continual progress. Failing the gift of prophecy, we may regard it as an open question. But two considerations should not be overlooked, one afforded by science and one by metaphysics. This earth must one day cease to be habitable for man; the cooling of the sun and the extinction of life upon the earth are among the prospects predicted by science. A continual progress, even if it were demonstrated to have taken place thus far, on the part of the human race, constitutes therefore no presumption that the process will be infinite; science testifies that the human race will cease to be. The waves of the sea may be lashed to great heights, but they fall again; the curve of human progress may be parabolic. The other consideration is that, even if the progress of the human race were to be conceived as infinite and infinitely great, no light is cast upon the progress of the individual; nor can the possibility of the continual progress of the individual be contemplated without the assumption of immortality—nor guaranteed with it. Progress depends on the will of the man who decides whether to do or not to do what he ought. So far as the will is free, neither optimistic nor pessimistic conclusions can be exhibited as necessary.

We may then now disengage from the above argument some

of the principles which seem fundamental for the science of religion.

The first is that the science of religion, like every other science, seeks to establish general laws, if not universal propositions. The uniformities which it seeks to detect are uniformities of action: that all men, or all men of a certain class, act, or tend to act, in a certain manner. In the case of any particular uniformity, the acts and the agents are many, but the principle is one.

But, in the next place, the many are a multiplication of the one; and, in the case of human actions, the many are imitations of the one. The importance of imitation in sociology is recognized and emphasized by writers like M. Tarde. Thus if, in the field of religion, we seek for the one which by imitation is multiplied into the many, we are led back at once, in the case of religions having a founder known to history, to some individual, who has become the founder of a religion and the source of those laws or uniformities which are studied by the science of religion, because his individual example has become the model for many to strive to follow. The science of religion, then, unlike some sciences, cannot rest content with the mere fact that certain things always occur or tend to occur, that bodies always do gravitate, or that moving bodies tend to move forever in the same straight line. It is not content with the mere fact that the many tend to behave in the manner noted to occur in certain cases; it is not content with a mere general proposition. It does not rest until it has found the one, the individual, whose life and teaching are multiplied by the imitation of the many into general laws. It is then a second fundamental principle of the science of religion not to rest content with its general laws, when it has discovered them, but to trace them back to the individual, to whom the facts in question were originally revealed and through whom they were made known, and became general laws.

In the course of history it happens that at the present moment the physical sciences occupy a dominant position in thought. They do not get farther than propositions to the effect that the many, *e. g.*, gravitating or moving bodies tend to behave

in certain uniform ways. The farthest point to which these sciences have been carried is naturally regarded, at the present moment, as the farthest point to which any science has been or can be carried. The logical consequence of making this assumption is to infer that sciences which, like the science of religion, do not eventuate in such propositions, are incomplete, imperfect sciences; and that they must be carried to the same point as the physical sciences before they can be recognized as real sciences. We must be content here to admit for the moment and parenthetically that the course followed by a historical science is the opposite to that followed by the physical sciences—that it seeks to find the explanation of the behavior of the many in the revelation or the actions of the one, whereas the physical sciences explain the particular case by reference to a general law—but we must also call attention to the fact that it is yet open to argument which of the two types of explanation is really final.

The science of religion, then, as a science is concerned with general laws of thought and behavior; and as a historical science is concerned with tracing these laws to their historical source, *i. e.*, with exhibiting the behavior of the many as imitations of the one, the individual who first manifested or revealed the thought which was to become a principle of action for the many. From this point of view it is evident that we cannot take it as a principle of the science of religion that religious progress is bound to take place in any nation or in any quarter of the globe. Progress is limited or conditioned by the individual, and that doubly. It depends partly on the will of the individual to imitate the highest model set before him, *i. e.*, the pattern given to him by the founder of the religion to which he belongs. Thus, progress depends partly on the extent to which the followers of a religion choose to live up to it. Partly also progress depends upon the occurrence of the founders of new and higher religions. Here, too, progress is entirely dependent on the will of the individual, and *ipso facto, i. e.*, in that it is dependent on individual will, is not the outcome of any general law. The new revelation, if and when it is made, is made because the individual

of his own free will chooses to attend to facts hitherto ignored, but now made patent to all.

This *a priori* argument to show that religious progress is not a thing automatically bound to take place, as a matter of necessity and as the outcome of general laws, is amply confirmed by the actual facts. Popular thought distinguishes between the progressive and the unprogressive peoples, and recognizes that the former are a minority, that progress is the exception and not the rule among the nations of the earth. Missionary societies, at any rate, are fully conscious of the fact that religious progress does not take place of itself, and that, if the great Exemplar is to be imitated by the heathen, his life must be made known to them. They are aware that there is no law that religious development is bound to take place whether we help or do not. Their position is that it depends to some extent on our wills, and on what we choose to do.

But when we have got to this point, when we have come to recognize that there is no inexorable force compelling us to progress, but that for each one of us progress depends upon his own will, we must also admit that deterioration is no impossibility. It is no impossibility for the individual, for a nation, or for all mankind. Every church has to contemplate the possibility and provide for the case of backsliding members. Every civilized society has at least its prisons. Even nations decay. These are tolerably obvious facts, but they have been somewhat shelved by the science of religion hitherto. It has been assumed, practically without question, that the most degraded tribes must be the most truly primitive, that the lowest point which mankind has reached must be man's earliest starting-point. Mr. Andrew Lang is almost the only writer who has consistently called attention to the fact that this is an assumption. It is a natural consequence of the idea that evolution is progress. Starting from that argument, we are bound to take the lowest of mankind as the earliest of men. If we discard that argument, if we accept the view that progress and deterioration depend in part upon the individual's will, we shall be prepared to consider the facts at any rate without prejudice. We shall recognize it as a scientific



possibility that an individual, a tribe, or a nation may not live up to its highest ideals, and may even abandon them altogether. To live up to them implies attending to them; and diversion of attention from them, if persisted in, amounts first to obliviscence, and perhaps eventually to oblivion. If we accept as the basis of a definition of religion what the work of Tiele, Max Müller, and Royce points to, viz., that it is concerned with man's conscious relation to the infinite, we shall be in a position to recognize that, at whatever point in the scale it may have started, it may subsequently have fluctuated indefinitely, sometimes above and elsewhere even below the original point. In individuals within the range of our own observation we may note both progress and regress; and what is observed fact in the individual can hardly be a thing impossible in the tribe or nation. The regress, indeed, may continue *ad infinitum*; but even so it can only attain to the infinitely little. Infinite divisibility still leaves a something divisible, however far it is carried, never an indivisible nought.

We are, therefore, bound on this showing to dismiss the idea that we must or can imagine a pre-religious stage in the history of man. In the earliest stages of his history as in the latest, man is in the presence of the infinite; and, as infinity has its center everywhere, is the center of the infinite. Man's conception of the infinite, everywhere inadequate, was at the least and lowest a conception of something greater and beyond himself. How much greater, how far beyond, was never defined; it was indefinitely, and therefore potentially, infinitely greater. It is so still.

It may perhaps be imagined that on *a priori* grounds we are compelled to assume that man's starting-point in religion must have been lower than any point now occupied by men. But on examination it will be seen that these *a priori* grounds are really nothing more than the untenable assumption that evolution is progress. On that assumption, indeed, it follows that, as all races of men have gone through a process of evolution, all must have made progress; and, therefore, that those which at the present day are lowest in religion must have progressed since their start-

ing-point. But this conclusion breaks down, if it is recognized that progress is not synonymous with evolution; that regress, as a matter of fact and observation, takes place as well as progress, and that both regress and progress are comprised within the process of evolution. If, then, the *a priori* argument breaks down, we have no ground for assuming that the lowest point now occupied in religious development is higher than that from which man originally started. Neither have we any *a priori* ground for assuming that it is not. Whether it is or is not, is a question which, so far as it can be decided at all, must be decided by facts. Thus, in examining the religious beliefs of the lowest races, we must approach the facts without prejudice. Those beliefs may represent a progress or a regress from a prior stage of belief. The idea that they *must* of necessity exhibit progress is just as unscientific as the idea that they *must* exhibit a decline from a primitive revelation. There is no *must* about it, except on the assumption that human actions are in no case a matter of human choice, but always of necessity. That assumption we set aside. We are consequently left to an impartial and unprejudiced consideration of the facts; the beliefs of the lowest races may be a progress or regress from prior beliefs, or simply a continuation of them. Is there anything in the facts to indicate the nature of the prior beliefs? Mr. Andrew Lang, in *The Making of Religion*, and *Magic and Religion*, has appealed to the facts simply, and produces them in evidence to show that in various low races there survives a belief in high gods. We use the word "survives" advisedly, because the beliefs have not been so prominent as to force themselves on the notice of all explorers or of all students. But of their existence it is impossible to doubt, since Mr. Lang has collected and published the evidence for it.

At the present moment, then, in the light of the facts before us, we are in a position to say that there is evidence to show that the tribes which occupy the lowest place in the religious scale have descended to that grade from a higher one. How they had reached that higher point, whether by descent or ascent, is beyond our knowledge. If by ascent—which there is nothing

to show—then, however low in the scale of infinite divisibility we place their starting-point, we can never reach a point from which the infinite was totally invisible to man.

It is the boast of science that it bases itself on facts. It is to facts that the science of religion must confine itself, if it is to be recognized as a science. And if it is to confine itself to facts, it must dissociate itself from the assumption that evolution is progress. It must recognize evolution wherever it occurs, even if the course of evolution has not been in the direction of progress. The cooling of the sun and the extinction of human life may be fatal to human progress and yet be part of the process of evolution. In the same way the evolution of religion may not always or in all places have been a process of progress; and where progress has conspicuously taken place, the science of religion, as a historical science, will find that it is initiated by the prophets of religion. Denunciation is part of the prophet's work. It is essential to reform. But reform is never simple return to the past. The past never returns. It is a new era which the prophet inaugurates. The initial impulse is given by him, but the subsequent direction is determined largely by those who come after. Both the impulse and the subsequent direction are, when they have occurred, matters of history and material for historical science. They are matters of history so far as they are unique, individual, and, in their essential features, unparalleled occurrences. They are material for science in so far as the impulse and direction are communicated to the many, and the particular differences between the individuals of whom the many is constituted are regarded as relatively unimportant. In every voluntary association of men—and at the beginning, at least, every church is essentially a voluntary association—a process of generalization takes place: principles are accepted as "binding," as common to all members. Men join of their own free will, recognizing the principles as their own principles. Thus, what was originally a revelation to an individual may become general to the members of a religious body, association, or church. And, having thus become general, it then becomes subject to general laws and matter for science. The doctrine

indeed, or the mode of life, becomes general property, as a musical composition may. But the mind through which the principle or the sonata was first disclosed remains unique and individual. The works of genius may be communicated; the genius itself is incommunicable. It is a fact the occurrence of which may be recorded in history, and of which the general effects may be matter for the general laws of science. The science of religion is a historical science, because it is bound to take the individual, as and when he occurs, as a given fact. It is scientific because the effects produced by the individual are general.

Those effects are general in the sense that many individuals hold the doctrine, and that their differences with regard to it are either too small to attract anyone's attention, or are recognized as points on which difference of opinion is lawful — and negligible. The position of science with regard to individual facts which it generalizes and brings under some law is precisely the same attitude. Every fact, in that it is individual, is in some respect or other both distinguishable and distinct from every other similar fact. But for the purposes of science it is necessary to abstract attention from this indefeasible difference and concentrate attention on the likeness of this fact to others, which also have their own indefeasible individuality. When attention has been diverted from the points of difference to the points of likeness, facts individually distinct from one another may be brought under one generalization. But they can only be brought under it, in any abstract science, so far as their individuality and their individual differences are ignored. Every scientific abstraction, therefore, is subject to this deduction, viz., that it is not actually true of any individual fact: no body does forever move in the same straight line at a uniform rate, and nothing does ever fall to the earth at the rate of sixteen feet in the first second, etc. It is only by getting sufficiently away, by the process of scientific abstraction, from the actual facts, as they occur in individual cases, that you can cease to see the actual differences. It may be very desirable, for certain purposes, to pay no attention to the differences. It cannot further the attainment of truth to deny that the differences exist. Yet this denial is implicit in every attempt to

explain the universe as we know it from the abstract laws of matter and motion. The case is "like the flowing of a river: it is always different water, but you do not see the difference." If, in addition to not seeing it, you deny its existence, you are then in a position to explain what remains by abstract science. But what does remain to a world of individuals when you have denied the individuality of each and have asserted the non-existence of those very differences in which their individuality consists?

Obviously, what is left in the world, when the existence of the individual is ignored or denied, is the general. And what is left for the science of religion is the discovery of general laws. With the banishment of the individual from the world, history disappears. The science of religion, therefore, ceases to be a historical science. It is not concerned with individuals, any more than the science of mechanics is. In individual cases it can only recognize general laws at work, not unique, exceptional, and individual forces. Such forces cannot be recognized in a world in which only general causes are allowed to operate. From this point of view, you might as well maintain that the individual lightning-conductor originated the current which passes down it, as say that the individual mind ever originated or discovered anything. The fact is that the discoveries, changes, or reforms were bound to come; they were in the air, it was charged with them, and the fact that they happened to pass down this rod rather than that is no proof that the rod generates the lightning out of its own internal resources, or that it was essentially different in materials or construction from any other. If the lightning had not traveled down that conductor, it would have found another. If the plays of Shakespeare, or the music of Mozart, or the work of Newton, had not come through those particular minds, they would have come through somebody else's; they were in the air — those particular minds did not generate them. There could have been nothing individual about those minds, because nothing is individual; for abstract science the general alone exists.

If this line of argument does not seem satisfactory, and yet we do not like to give up the position that science alone gives us

the truth, we have an alternative course open to us. We may imagine the world's population, at any time, arranged in order of mental ability, either in a line starting from idiocy and terminating in genius; or on the principle that "thin partitions" divide genius from madness, in a circle, if you like. And we may imagine that the scale is the same from generation to generation, but that circumstances touch now this key, now that. Thus the reason why a Dante is heard at one place and time, and not at another, is not that he was individual and unique; on the contrary, there are potential Dantes in every generation; but that circumstances touched that particular key on that particular occasion. Or, if you like, an infinite number of "sports" are put forth in every generation, over and over again; but only that "sport" which circumstances favor develops into a "variety" and so into a species. Why circumstances should favor this "sport," touch this key, rather than that, we do not know and cannot tell. We only know, on this theory, two things, one positive—the fact that the key is touched—and one negative—that the key has no free will in the matter and does not press itself down. We have got a mechanical theory, and we have got it by denying all initiative to the individual; and we have been led to deny such initiative because we began by denying the existence of the individual, in deference to an abstract science which only admits the existence of general laws and general truths.

Now, the essence of the theory which has just been stated is that the keyboard is the same from generation to generation, and that the circumstances change, striking now this key, now another. If the same key is never struck twice, if we do not have a Goethe every generation, that is not because the key is not there all the time, but because circumstances do not happen to touch it and call its note forth. If the circumstances had been the same, the result would have been the same. But the result was not, therefore the circumstances were not. The keyboard is infinite and the circumstances infinitely various.

That is all we want. We have come around to an infinite variety of notes all individually distinct, and all operated on by circumstances which are never identically the same in any two

cases. The world is a world of individuals, and general laws are got only by ignoring or denying the individuality of the particulars from which they are drawn.

The science of religion, then, is a historical science. To abandon "historical" is to postulate in the science of religion the same uniformity as we find in mechanical science. But the moment we postulate this uniformity, we are confronted with the variety in the facts; and, to account for that variety, we ascribe it to circumstances, and are then bound to assume them to be different in every case. Thus we preserve the mechanical conception of cause and effect, but we lose the uniformity; no cause ever identically recurs, because the effects, we see, are different. However similar two cases of the action of the "same" cause may be, they differ at least in this, that they happen at different moments of time and therefore in a different context. They may be performed with different materials; you can't fire the same cartridge twice. Two freshly minted coins are not the same coin, however similar. But to admit these facts is to recognize that no two individual cases are the same. And that takes the sting out of the law of causation; its uniformity is not absolute, its denial of individuality is not complete. Its compulsory force disappears; we need not fear the threat that in the same circumstances we must do the same thing, if the circumstances never are the same in any two cases—and they never are. The fact that the individual is individual and unique, himself and all his actions, is the charter of his freedom. It is also the reason why no two religions ever follow the same line of evolution: the individuals who founded them are not the same, neither are the individuals who follow them. The science which studies them must, if it is to trace their evolution, be historical. Indeed, apart from all theory as to the reason why, the fact that every religion follows its own line is manifest. At the same time, it is also evident that there are resemblances between the individuals who practice different religions, and also between the different religions which are practiced. And it is in virtue of these resemblances that the study of religions must, if properly pursued, be a science.

Among the resemblances, then, there must be something of fundamental importance. But so, too, must there be among the differences. For certain purposes it is proper, indeed necessary, to insist upon the resemblances. But to go farther and say that the resemblance is the only thing of fundamental importance is a mistake fertile in fallacies for the science of religion, but frequently committed. Thus, it necessarily requires us to set the most rudimentary form of religion by the side of the most developed, and to declare that the points in which they are similar are the essence of religion. If this is a correct mode of argument, it follows that essentially there is no difference between the religion of the lowest and most degraded savages and that of the highest and most developed minds. The latter may have been evolved from the former, but there can have been no progress in religion, if in its most evolved form religion is not essentially different from what it was in its lowest stage. This line of argument naturally lends itself to those who regard religion as a form of fallacy into which the race of man might naturally fall in its helpless infancy, and from which man will deliver himself, when he discovers that in the most evolved forms of religion there is really nothing more than a fallacy into which the savage in his ignorance naturally fell. This seems to us to be the argument implicit in the *Golden Bough*. It seems also, to us, to be the logical consequence of the erroneous assumption that the only essential feature in religion is that which is common to the lowest and to the highest forms of religion. This assumption, as we have endeavored to show, is characteristic of the view that the science of religion is not a historical science, does not deal with individuals and their fundamental differences from one another, but with their resemblances, and the generalizations built upon those resemblances, alone.

It is possible, indeed, to go to the other extreme, to ignore or deny the resemblances altogether. This is the line adopted by those for whom there is only one true religion; all other forms are false religions, are not religion at all; there is no real resemblance whatever between their religion, the true one, and others falsely so called. From this point of view there may be a



history of religions; there can be no science, because there is no real resemblance.

This line of argument has at least one good result: it brings out the fact that the term "religion" is an ambiguous term. It makes it evident that no science of religion—historical or not—can begin without a definition of religion. The first and fundamental principle, as we said at the beginning of this article, is that we should know what we are talking about. The two extreme arguments, or assertions, are, on the one hand, that all religions but one are essentially false; on the other, that all religions without exception are false. We have pointed out that the latter view is but the application to religion of a philosophical skepticism which holds that the truth—if there be such a thing as truth—is never in any direction or in any matter whatever attainable by man. It is a view which is fatal, not merely to the science of religion, but to all science of whatever kind. As put forward by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*, it seems to be an exaggeration and misinterpretation of an undoubted fact. According to Dr. Frazer, "the advance of knowledge is an infinite progression toward a goal that forever recedes." Our knowledge, therefore, is at all times infinitesimally small. If Dr. Frazer limited himself to that statement, his position would be unassailable. But he seems to us to glide unconsciously, not merely from the infinitesimally small to the infinitesimally smaller, but to the absolute nought of metaphysical skepticism. Now, this is inconsistent with his assumption that man has some knowledge, and that that knowledge increases. That knowledge, however much it increases, will still be infinitesimally small compared with the infinite; but, so far as it goes, so far as it is really knowledge, it is fatal to skepticism. It admits that man is in relation to the infinite, that he has some knowledge of the infinite, and that that knowledge may increase.

The other extreme position—that all religions but my religion are essentially false—is tenable only if we close our eyes to the resemblance between religions. It amounts to maintaining that nothing which is general to all religions, or common to any two, can be true; or that nothing which is common to two

or more "so-called" religions can be religious in the true sense of the term. The assertion is patently false, but it demonstrates the necessity of defining our terms.

As we have said, the definition must be not merely wide enough to include all the resemblances between the different forms of religion; it must be broad enough to embrace all the differences which the different forms, so far as they are really religions, display. It must find room, not merely for my form of religion, so far as it is true for me, but for the religions of others, so far as they are true for them. Indeed, it must go farther, and must recognize the possibility of advance from truth to truth—and also the possibility of relapse. The religious attitude must be one which it is possible for man freely to grow into, and freely to grow out of. We cannot, therefore, define it merely as man's relation to the infinite, for, though man may dismiss that relation from his attention, it still exists, even if in a different form. The fact that man is in some relation to the infinite by which he is surrounded is not one which is dependent on his will or on his awareness of the fact, whereas the religious relation is in part dependent on man's will; it is voluntary, it is an attitude which man can take up if he will. It is a conscious relation and a voluntary attitude toward the infinite, conceived as a person. Any and every conception of the infinite is, *ex vi termini*, inadequate; but one thing essential is that the conception should be of something above and beyond the worshiper. The attitude, therefore, must be not merely conscious and voluntary, it must also be emotional, from the necessities of the case; and it must involve emotions such as naturally accompany the consciousness of the presence of what is beyond and above the worshiper. But the emotions evoked by the presence of a superior power depend upon the position which the person appearing in the presence imagines himself to occupy; they may be dread, hatred, terror, or what not. Such emotions are or may be natural in a man who is dragged or forced into the presence; less so in a man whose will and movements are free, who enters not the presence unless he chooses so to do. The fact, therefore, that the religious relation is one which is voluntarily

assumed, though it does not exclude fear—the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom—does imply the beginning of confidence and trust which, as they develop, cast out fear. The communion which thus exists between the worshiper and his God is not, indeed, thus established or begun. Man is from the beginning part of the infinite. To say, as Professor Tiele does, that “man has the infinite within him,” is to cast unnecessary difficulties in the way of recognizing the fact. He is, from the beginning, part of the infinite and is in relation to it. He is in some sense, from the beginning, in communion with it, and conscious of it. But the development of that conscious communion is at all times a matter for his will. It may be reduced to the infinitesimally small, but never to absolute zero. It may be raised, but not without man’s will.

It is the recognition of the part played by man’s will which compels us to recognize the science of religion as a historical science, as one which is concerned with what, as a matter of fact, have been the expressions of that will, and not the outcome of any “necessity.” A recognition of this fact debars us from asserting or believing that there is any predetermined course of evolution in religion through which all men must pass. A historical science must take the facts as it finds them, as they are given. There is no compulsion on man to pass from the stage in which he is to any further stage. Still less is there any “necessity” driving all men on through exactly the same passing-points. The actual facts which the science of religion has to contemplate are plain and incontrovertible evidence on the point. The Australian black man simply has not made progress in religion to the same extent as other peoples. The course of religious progress has not been the same in China and Peru. If the history of every nation has been peculiar to itself, so has the history of every religious community. And the differences are due in part to the fact that the history in each case is made by the action and will of individuals who are essentially distinct from one another because they are individual. The difference between individual and individual, though fundamental and essential, as is the fact that two coins, fresh from the same mint,

are not the same coin, however great their similarity, is yet compatible with likeness. The likeness may be great or it may be extremely small; and, where it is originally but small, it may be increased, if one individual imitates the other. This power of imitation, however, itself tends to increase the differences between one community and another. People imitate those with whom they come in contact; and a marked individuality is, or may be, imitated by those within his sphere of influence. He is not imitated by those who know not of him. A language is learned by imitation, and is common to those who come in contact with one another. One condition, and an indispensable condition, of the differences between the Indo-European languages was the separation of the peoples who were to develop the separate languages. Thus differences, which in their origin were the work of individuals, developed by imitation into dialects, and from dialects into languages. They became dialects and languages because they were imitated and adopted by the community.

It is with religion as it is with language. All men have religion as all men have speech. The religion, like the speech, of one community is not that of another community. The differences between the various forms of religion, like the differences between the various dialects of one speech, go back for their source to the individual or individuals in whom they first manifested themselves. They were perpetuated by the many's imitation of the one; and they were perpetuated each in one community alone, because the various communities were isolated from one another. Yet the differences in language simply veil the meaning that lies behind them and is expressed through them. To say that no meaning lies behind the different forms of religion, or is expressed through them, is to disqualify oneself as an interpreter and to deny the possibility of a science of religion.

## IS THERE A SELF-CONSISTENT NEW TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY?

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IN order to answer this question, it will be necessary briefly to review the various New Testament references to the future world, or age. For this purpose it will be convenient to distribute the material to be examined under a number of distinct topics. The first of these, on account of its prominence in the New Testament, will naturally be:

### THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

It is well known that the expectation of a speedy return of Christ to earth was practically universal in the early church. In almost every New Testament book the confident hope of this glorious event is expressed. We will first observe the prophecies of his speedy return to earth which, in the synoptic gospels, are attributed to Jesus himself. According to Matthew, after Jesus had instructed his disciples concerning the work for which he was sending them out, he added: "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come" (Matt. 10:23). All the synoptists record, in connection with Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi, a prediction of Jesus in which he declares that he will come back to earth in glory, attended by angels, and adds (according to Matthew): "Verily, I say unto you, there be some of them that stand here which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. 16:28). The language in Mark and Luke is less definite: "till they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark 9:1); "till they see the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:27). That these more general phrases, however, were understood to refer to the personal, visible advent of Christ is quite certain from the fact that the previous verses speak of his "coming in the glory of his Father

with the holy angels" (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26). The parallelism of the two terms "coming of his kingdom" and "coming in glory with the angels" shows that, for the minds of the synoptists, they were synonymous.

In the great eschatological discourse, common, in substance, to all the synoptists, it is, again, Matthew who is most explicit in reporting Jesus as teaching that he would return to earth in glory in the near future. As the discourse stands, after Jesus had described the destruction of Jerusalem and its various attendant evils and sufferings, he added that *immediately* after these events the signs of his coming would appear and men should "see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Matt. 24:29, 30). Mark is less explicit in connecting this coming immediately with Jerusalem's overthrow. In his rendering of the discourse it is "in those days, after that tribulation" that the advent will occur (13:24). Luke has: "And then shall they see the Son of man coming," etc. (21:27). All the synoptists are equally explicit in describing a visible, glorious, personal return of Jesus on the clouds.

Once more, during Jesus' trial, when the high-priest demanded whether he was the Christ, he replied (according to Matthew): "Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven" (Matt. 26:64). Mark is not less clear and emphatic: "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (14:62). Luke has: "But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God" (22:69).

There are several other scattered passages in which the suddenness, nearness, and outward splendor of the *parousia* are asserted (Matt. 24:37-39; Luke 17:24, 26; 18:8). The parables which make use of the figure of a *lord returning* to his servants are, quite uniformly, applied to the second advent. Matthew so construes the parable of the Talents (25:31). Luke gives a similar turn to the parable of the Unjust Judge (18:8), and to other parabolic sayings (12:35, 38, 40).

The synoptists thus represent Jesus as explicitly declaring that he would return to earth, in power and glory, during the lifetime of many to whom he spoke; more particularly that he would come on the clouds immediately after Jerusalem's fall; and even that from the very time of his trial—the phrases are: ἀπ' ἄρτι (Matthew) and : ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (Luke)—he would be seen coming on the clouds of heaven. What doctrine of the Lord's *parousia* can be derived from these data? Can any view of it be framed which will be harmonious with itself or accordant with the facts?

Only three hypotheses seem possible. The first is that Jesus himself shared the popular, Jewish, apocalyptic view as to the coming and triumph of his kingdom. He believed that he should soon return to earth to consummate his work, and the early church built its hopes on his assurances. The gospels have correctly reported him. He said what they attribute to him, but he was mistaken. A second view would be that his language about his coming "on the clouds," "with the angels," etc., is to be taken figuratively. He did not really mean to teach that he would return, personally and visibly, in the near future. Some reach a similar conclusion on the theory of the "perspective of prophecy"—that certain events may appear to be near because the future is seen in one view and chronological relations are overlooked. Many have sought to show that Christ did come, in the sense meant by him, during the generation then living, and, especially, after the fall of Jerusalem. Others deduce from these considerations the idea of various "comings" of Christ, or even that of a progressive, continuous coming. A third view holds that exegesis can assign no meaning to the synoptic passages except that of a visible, personal return, and that, since this did not occur, we must suppose that the first Christians misunderstood Jesus and attributed to his language about the progress of his kingdom or crises in its advance the apocalyptic and catastrophic notions of the kingdom's triumph which were current in Judaism.

That the early church in general expected just what the synoptists *appear* to describe—a personal, visible advent—admits of no doubt. The disciples gazed after their ascended

Lord into heaven in the assurance that he would soon return (Acts 1:11). Paul described the Lord's coming as a "descent from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God" (1 Thess. 4:16), and expressed the confident hope of surviving the event (vs. 15). The church of a later time was not less emphatic in asserting both the nearness and the catastrophic character of Christ's advent. It was to be accompanied by a great noise and a world-consuming conflagration (2 Pet. 3:10). Even more lurid, if possible, is the picture of Messiah's coming to judgment in the Apocalypse (14:14-20; 19:15).

In the gospel of John, however, we scarcely meet a trace of this apocalyptic coming. There Christ "comes" to the believer in the gift of the Spirit (14:18; 16:7), or, possibly, at his death (14:3), and the beholding of him in his glory which his disciples shall experience is spiritual (16:16, 22).

The question now arises: Can a consistent doctrine of Christ's coming be deduced from these scriptural data? No doubt it can be done, if one looks persistently enough at some of the facts and disregards others with equal persistency. Who has not heard Adventist preachers argue thus: The New Testament repeatedly teaches, in the plainest terms, that Christ is coming *soon*; therefore, if you believe the Bible, you must believe that he *is* coming soon. The circumstance that the New Testament statements were uttered and recorded *centuries ago* is passed over in silence. Numerous plausible books have been written to show that the New Testament predictions have been fulfilled; that Christ did come within the period of the first Christian generation; but by what exegesis, defying grammar and lexicon, is this case made out! Others tell us that the synoptic passages do not mean that Jesus' coming was to occur in the near future; "immediately" means "suddenly" and "generation" means "race": "this Jewish race, or, even, this human race, shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished." The dictionary must not impede the good work of harmonizing.

Only historical criticism can contribute anything of value to the problem to which the passages cited give rise. Exegesis can only conclude: The language is explicit; the passages, as



they stand, affirm that Jesus repeatedly declared that he would return to earth in glory during the lifetime of many of his contemporaries. The whole New Testament shows that the early church cherished this belief and put it in the forefront of its teaching. Now, if Jesus taught as he is represented, he must not only have prophesied events which did not happen, but he must have entertained a view of his kingdom like that current in Jewish messianism, and, moreover, a self-contradictory view, since his general teaching concerning the kingdom's nature is quite irreconcilable with the catastrophic, apocalyptic conception attributed to him. Theology can derive no view of Christ's coming from the letter of the New Testament which is either self-consistent or accordant with fact. The consistency and accuracy of the New Testament representations on this subject have always been demonstrated by means of torturing the text and defying the laws of language. It is impossible to see how this procedure could have escaped the charge of disingenuousness but for the apologetic uses which it was intended to serve, and one can only wonder whether it could ever have obtained the consent and advocacy of candid men in any other realm than that of theology. If the teaching of Jesus on this subject is to be defended as self-consistent and true to fact, it must be done by going behind the sayings attributed to him by the evangelists, and showing by critical methods how these alleged sayings must be judged by his general teaching concerning his kingdom, and how easy and natural it was that the apocalyptic ideas current in Judaism should have been attributed to him. The facts absolutely disprove the baseless *a priori* theory of an inerrant report of Jesus' words, and the higher criticism is proving itself the best and only successful defender of the truth and consistency of his teaching.

#### THE RESURRECTION.

There is but one passage in the synoptic gospels in which the resurrection is spoken of at length (Mark 12:18-27; Matt. 22:23-33; Luke 20:27-40). The Sadducees, who disbelieved in a resurrection of the dead, sought to show the absurdity of

the doctrine by asking: If a woman is married, successively, to seven brothers, to which of them will she belong in the resurrection? Jesus replied that the objection proceeded in ignorance of their own Scriptures and in forgetfulness of the power of God. In the Pentateuch—the sacred Scripture of the sect—God is described as the God of the patriarchs. They must, therefore, still exist. The resurrection which Jesus here asserts, as against the Sadducees, is the triumph of life over death. Nothing is said of the mode or conditions of the resurrection, except that they who rise from the dead “neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven” (Mark 12:25). The teaching is: There is a future life; death does not terminate human existence. The other incidental allusions to the subject in the synoptists are not more definite.

Paul's teaching lays chief stress upon the corporeal aspect of the resurrection, because the Corinthian objectors could not conceive of the soul as dwelling in a body in the spirit-world (1 Cor. 15:35). The apostle's argument is directed to prove the reasonableness of believing that in the future life the soul will possess an embodiment as well suited to that sphere as the present body is adapted to this. But neither in the synoptists nor in Paul is the resurrection conceived as the resuscitation of the *body*. Both sources speak of the resurrection of *persons* and of their rising “from among the dead” (ἐκ νεκρῶν). It is the person that rises, and he rises from the abode or state of the dead. The doctrine is conceived under a form which is determined by the Jewish conception of Sheol, or underworld. This realm of death shall not hold man captive; he shall rise from it into a sphere of light and life. When this resurrection occurs, he shall (according to Paul) receive his “heavenly house,” the “spiritual body.” But this “clothing” of the soul with a body is only an aspect, or accompaniment, of resurrection. The resurrection proper is the rising of the person or spirit from the realm of death. Though in connection with the resurrection of Christ great stress is laid upon the fact that his reanimated body came forth from the grave, even this is not that in which his resurrection primarily consisted. It consisted in the fact that

death did not retain dominion over him, that his soul was not left in Hades, and his *bodily* resurrection was the tangible proof of this *personal* resurrection from the state of death.

This rising of the dead from the underworld is usually represented in the New Testament as a future, eschatological event. But in the fourth gospel another conception meets us, though the resurrection of the last day is also recognized. In this gospel eternal life is regarded as a present possession and resurrection as an aspect of the bestowment and realization of that life: "The hour cometh, and *now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live" (John 5:25). When Martha said that she knew her brother would rise "in the resurrection at the last day," Jesus answered: "I am the resurrection and the life"—that is, the power of a present resurrection (11:24, 25). Yet, elsewhere, the common view of a future day of resurrection is recognized (5:28, 29).

Whether all men, or only the righteous, are to be raised from the dead was a disputed point in Jewish eschatology. A strong argument can be made, from the New Testament, on either side of the question. According to Luke, Jesus spoke of the "resurrection of the just" (14:14) and of those who should be "accounted worthy to attain" to the resurrection, because they are sons of God and, therefore, sons of the resurrection (20:35, 36). These expressions certainly suggest a resurrection for the righteous only; yet Luke, and he alone, reports Jesus as saying: "Now he is not the God of the dead, but of the living: *for all live unto him*" (20:38)—evidently an assertion of a general resurrection. In like manner Luke reports Paul as teaching "that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust" (Acts 24:15), and yet in Paul's epistles there is no intimation of a resurrection of the wicked. Indeed, Paul's arguments for the resurrection in 1 Cor., chap. 15, and elsewhere, are wholly based on the believer's relation to Christ. Because he lives we shall live. This argument is entirely inapplicable to unbelievers. If he held to a resurrection of all men, he must have held it on other grounds than those presented in his arguments. In the fourth gospel a general resurrection is recognized in 5:29, but the con-

nection of the doctrine of resurrection with that of eternal life, which is secured only by union with Christ, furnishes a strong consideration in favor of the other view.<sup>1</sup> Some suppose that a double resurrection, probably separated by a millennial period, is favored by 1 Thess. 4 : 16, 17, and 1 Cor. 15 : 23, 24 ; but without sufficient reason. This theory of a double resurrection and an intervening millennium, a survival of Judaism, is represented in the New Testament only in Rev. 20 : 1-10.

The kernel of Jesus' doctrine of resurrection is : the victory of life over death. No mention is made of the corporeal aspect of resurrection, save in the exceptional passage, John 5 : 28, already noticed. If the fourth gospel is a trustworthy tradition, he represented this triumph as possible here and now. With this idea we can harmonize the common conception of a future resurrection day, subsequent to Christ's coming, only by regarding the latter as some crisis or consummation. Whether Jesus asserted the resurrection of all men it is impossible to determine with certainty. Paul's arguments and the prevalent Johannine conceptions leave it doubtful if they contemplated the resurrection of all men. We can only say that *if* all men are to be raised, the conditions and accompaniments of their resurrection must be very different from those which Paul has described ; that is, Paul's arguments for resurrection can have no application to the wicked.

Is the resurrection a present and continuous process or a future event ? Is it for the good only, or for good and bad alike ? Is it a resurrection of the person from the world of the dead, or of the body from the grave (as in John 5 : 28 and Rev. 20 : 13) ? Are all men to be raised at once, or does the resurrection of the just precede that of others ? These are some of the questions to which the New Testament passages give rise. Both views, on either side of each of these questions, have been widely held and defended from the New Testament — and, in no

<sup>1</sup>The variations of this (5 : 28, 29) and other passages (*e.g.*, 6 : 39, 40, 44, 54 ; 12 : 48) from the usual Johannine view of the coming and resurrection have occasioned suspicions of their genuineness on the part of many scholars, as Holtzmann and Wendt. They are regarded as accommodations to the popular eschatology. See CHARLES, *Eschatology*, p. 371, who expresses a similar opinion.

case, without some show of evidence. The truth is that there was a considerable variety of views respecting these points in the early church, as there had been in Judaism, and these various views have left their traces in the New Testament. So far as our sources enable us to judge, the least specific and most comprehensive teaching on the subject was that of Jesus. He asserted the truth of a future life, since God is the living God and the God of the living; but it is improbable that he dwelt on times and seasons or on the external aspects of the life to come. That life shall vanquish death is the message of Jesus concerning the future and the content of Christian hope. In the thought and life of the believing community this hope was apprehended and expressed in various ways which are quite incapable of being brought into formal agreement. And why should the thoughts of men agree then any more than now? Why may not Paul have views and arguments that are his own? Who would not expect that the apocalyptist should present some ideas peculiar to the type of literature and thought in whose atmosphere he lived?

#### THE JUDGMENT.

The prevailing New Testament representation concerning the judgment is that it is to occur on a certain day at the end of the present world-period. This was the Jewish view, with the difference that the Jews believed that the judgment would occur in connection with what *we* call Christ's first advent; the Christians, of course, associated it with his return, or second coming. The almost uniform order of events is: the *parousia*, the resurrection, the judgment. Each of these is a definite future event, and together they mark the end or consummation of the present age. By the apostolic church they were regarded as near. The time before they should happen was short.

The judgment is dwelt upon at length in but one passage in the synoptics (Matt. 25: 31-46), and that is found in Matthew only. It is a pictorial description of the Son of man returning to earth in glory, attended by myriads of angels, and approving or condemning men according as they have or have not shown kindness toward his "brethren." It is not strange that inter-

preters should have been able to reach no agreement as to the intended import of this judgment scene. Some hold that it is a description of the judgment of professing Christians, the counterfeit being distinguished from the genuine by the tests of love and service. Many maintain, on the contrary, that it is a judgment of the heathen whereby they are approved or condemned according to their treatment of Christ's disciples. The more common opinion has been that the judgment of all men is intended to be depicted. When one carefully considers the arguments by which each of these views is supported, it is apparent that a plausible case can be made for them all, while each is beset with no little difficulty. The probability is that the evangelist contemplated the parable as a picture of a universal judgment, but that, originally, it related to non-Christians only. The passage appears to be a pictorial expansion of the words which Matthew makes a part of the charge to the disciples: "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward" (10:42). The same saying, in briefer form, is found in each of the other gospels, in different connections (see Mark 9:41; Luke 10:16; John 13:20). A statement of the test of approval or rejection which was applied to the unconverted to whom Jesus' disciples were sent, is thus expanded into a description of a universal assize. It should be added that Matthew connects a number of other sayings of Jesus with the "day of judgment" of which no such application is made by the other synoptists (*cf.* Matt. 7:21-23 with Luke 13:25-27; Matt. 12:33-37 with Luke 6:43-47).

But whatever may have been the origin and history of the conception of a simultaneous, future judgment of all men, there is no question of its practical universality in the apostolic church. It meets us, again and again, in the teaching of Paul (*e. g.*, Acts 17:31; Rom. 2:5). It appears even in the Johannean writings, as do also, subordinately, the future, personal "coming" of Christ and the resurrection "in the last day" (John 12:48; 1 John 2:28; 4:17). On the other hand, we meet here another conception of judgment analogous to the Johan-

nine view of the "coming" and the resurrection, already noticed. The prevailing representation in John is that the divine judgment is a present and continuous fact. The judgment of the world is *now* (John 12:31). "For judgment came I into this world," said Jesus (9:39); "As I hear, I judge: and my judgment is righteous" (5:30); "Yea, and if I judge, my judgment is true" (8:16). The evangelist himself thus sums up the doctrine of the judgment which Christ executes: "And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light; for their works were evil" (3:19).

Now, these two conceptions of the judgment are not, necessarily, contradictory; but they are very different. It is conceivable that the testing process which goes forward in the life of men by virtue of the light which comes to them should reach its culmination at some future crisis, and yet, after all allowance has been made for figurative language, the conception of a simultaneous judgment for all men is a very difficult one. The conception has a distinctly Jewish look. It is of a piece with the ideas of a physical return on the clouds and of the simultaneous coming forth of all the dead from their graves. Several considerations make us hesitate to think that Jesus himself cast his idea of his judicial function into this extremely apocalyptic form. They are such as these: (1) the impossibility of forming any consistent view of the scope of Matt. 25:31-46, as the passage now stands; (2) the precise correspondence of this passage, in idea and language, with sayings of Jesus which do not refer to an eschatological judgment; (3) the tendency observable in Matthew to refer any and all judicial sayings to the judgment day; (4) the fact that eschatological judgment is closely coupled, in the synoptic gospels, with the *parousia*, and is consequently involved in some of the difficulties which attend the references of the synoptic tradition to that subject; and, finally, (5) the presentation in John of a far more comprehensive conception of Christ's judgment (as of the *parousia* and resurrection).

Such, at any rate, are some of the phenomena which meet

us, in connection with the idea of judgment, on the pages of the New Testament. They give rise to a difficult historical and critical problem. That problem is a part of the general inquiry: How far did the views and ideals of Jesus coincide with the current popular Jewish ideas? It may seem an ungracious task to raise difficulties which one cannot solve, but I am merely adducing facts that bear upon the question which I have undertaken to discuss. I do not, however, regard it as a useless work to set before ourselves as plainly as possible the various elements of a problem and to point out in what region the chief difficulties lie. Too long have the problems of eschatology been settled as the Irish lawyer refuted his opponent, by "denying the facts," or, at least, such of them as were inconvenient. The judgment of the world was commonly conceived, in the early church, as a great general assize before the throne of God, attended by dread and startling phenomena; but there also survived another conception, that of a continued judgment of men by the power of Christ's light and truth. Which seems more germane to the teaching and work of Christ? How essential to the Christian principle of judgment is the determination of "times and seasons"? As the kernel of the teaching about the *parousia* is the assurance of the triumph of Christ's kingdom, and that of the teaching concerning resurrection is the certainty of immortality, so the teaching concerning judgment centers in the principle that human life and action bring forth fruit after their kind and that every man shall receive from God his just recompense of reward. Eschatological programs are products of Christianized Judaism—survivals in the apostolic time and in all subsequent times, including our own, of the age of apocalyptic.

#### THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

There could be no better proof of the impracticability of constructing from the New Testament a program of the future than is furnished by the discussion of the question of an intermediate state. Some interpreters are confident that the doctrine can be deduced from the New Testament; others are quite as certain that not a trace of it can be found there. There could



hardly be such a difference of opinion as this among critical interpreters, if the language of the New Testament were clear either for or against the doctrine. The early church, in general, held to a middle state in which righteous souls underwent purification and in which, according to some, the wicked might be recovered. Out of this idea was developed the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. The Reformers rejected the doctrine of a middle state between death and the final judgment altogether, so as to leave no place where purgatory or a possible recovery of any soul could be located. This became the orthodox Protestant view, as in the Westminster Confession, which allows but two places for souls, heaven and hell, and declares that the righteous "do immediately pass into glory," where they still await in heaven the resurrection and the judgment. The wicked go directly to hell. Dr. Shedd informs us that, until the judgment, the good exist in a disembodied state in heaven and the wicked in a similar condition in hell. Many modern theologians have revived the doctrine of an intermediate state; some in connection with the idea of progressive sanctification for the righteous; others as a basis of the theory of continued probation; and still others without advocating or, in some instances, even admitting either possibility.

But the New Testament proof! The rich man was "in Hades" (Luke 16:23). The penitent thief was to be with Christ "in Paradise" (Luke 23:43). Paul speaks of descending "into the abyss" to bring Christ up (Rom. 10:7), and of Christ's descent "into the lower parts of the earth" (Eph. 4:9); while Peter declares that Christ went and preached "to the spirits in prison," or "to the dead" (1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6). But, on the other hand, it is argued: The first passage is in a parable, and, besides, Lazarus is *not* said to have been in Hades. Paradise does not necessarily mean a middle state. Paul's reference to the "abyss" is in a rhetorical passage, the meaning of which is: Christ is not afar off, but near. As for "the lower parts of the earth," the phrase denotes only the earth itself, which is conceived as *lower* in contrast with heaven from which Christ descended. And since Augustine pointed out the dogmatic consequences of admitting that Christ made the offer

of salvation to the dead, it has been considered proper to hold that Christ preached *per alium* (Noah) to the antediluvians who are *now* dead. Moreover, does not Paul speak of the believer's entrance, at death, into the immediate presence of Christ (2 Cor. 5:6; Phil. 1:23)? What can this mean but heaven itself, the final state of blessedness? By analogy a similar conclusion is reached concerning the wicked. Sometimes the maxim "after death judgment" (Heb. 9:27) is appealed to as excluding an intermediate state; but, of course, the same application of it would equally exclude the idea of a final judgment at the end of the present world-age.

If, now, we inquire what view of the subject the general representations of the resurrection and the judgment in the New Testament require, this question would arise: On the traditional Protestant view that all souls, at death, go directly to their final place or state, and are immediately either "made perfect in holiness" or consigned to "eternal torments and utter darkness" (*Westm. Conf.*, xxxii), what room is left for a judgment at which the good and evil are "separated" (Matt. 25:32) and the two classes appointed to their appropriate destinies? If, from the moment of death, all souls are in their final place or state, either of happiness or woe, what is left for a judgment to decide? Obviously, nothing is left. Nor can the New Testament teaching concerning judgment or an actual determination of destiny be harmonized with the theory that souls which have been countless ages in heaven shall experience the resurrection and judgment. On this view, moreover, the resurrection is regarded solely in its corporeal aspect (as it is *not* in the New Testament), and the theory contradicts Paul's great contention that the resurrection is necessary to the perfection of the personal life in the world to come. The theory in question must either deny this or admit that the disembodied hosts of heaven are *not* perfect. This horn of the dilemma seems excluded, since it is held as axiomatic that the good are, at death, "made perfect." But, perhaps, it would be held (though I have not happened to meet this contention) that they are made perfect only "in holiness," not in other respects.

It ought to be added that the problem of a middle state, as

it presents itself to a modern mind, could hardly have been present to the New Testament writers, who looked for the end of the world in the near future. So far as the New Testament is concerned, our question is rather one of inference than of direct proof. Which view comports best with the New Testament eschatology as a whole? is our question. Another is: which is more accordant with the Christian concept of God and our knowledge of the methods of God in this world? The prevailing New Testament view of resurrection and judgment, as well as the passages in 1 Peter, strongly favor a middle state; but the supposed allusions to it by our Lord and by Paul are extremely doubtful. The Jewish idea of Sheol would furnish a certain presumption in favor of such a doctrine and might have been the basis of it, but it cannot be proved that the New Testament writers in general cherished the idea. At any rate, they have not made it clear that they did so.

What inferences, if any, concerning the nature and significance of an intermediate state does the New Testament require or suggest? I regard the eschatological beliefs of the first age as distinctly favorable to the doctrine; but no man can prove that most of the New Testament writers themselves so regarded the matter. How natural, therefore, that interpreters should have explained the passages in question in accord with the demands of their dogmatic systems! The Christian world has never been able to agree whether, according to the New Testament, there *is* or *is not* an intermediate state. What better proof could there be that, in this important point, the making of a clear and self-consistent eschatological program out of biblical materials is impossible?

#### CONTINUED "PROBATION."

On the theory which excludes an intermediate state, there can be no continued probation. In order to disprove the possibility of such a state, however, it would be necessary to show, not only that the New Testament is silent concerning it, but that it positively excludes it. If, now, the possibility of a middle state—a condition in which men have not yet reached their final destiny—is admitted, the question arises whether that state

would not also involve the possibility of moral improvement and even of moral recovery. The dogmatist does well to deny an intermediate state altogether as the surest means of excluding the possibility of any moral change for any soul after death. The only sure way to exclude moral probation from the coming age is to leave it no place to locate. Our inquiry is: Assuming that the New Testament permits the idea of a middle state, can it be proved that the day of moral opportunity does or does not, in all cases, end at death?

The arguments of theologians for and against the theory of continued moral opportunity in the future life illustrate the difficulty of framing, with New Testament materials, an eschatology which shall be *totus, teres atque rotundus*. The traditional argument is, first, *e silentio*, and then from such sayings as: "after death judgment" (not *the* judgment—there is no article); men shall "give account of the deeds done *in the body*," that is, the issues of the judgment are dependent upon the choices and deeds of men *in this present life only*. *Per contra*, it is said: The object of Christ must be to save the lost, whether inhabitants of earth or not; it is not said: He that *hears* not, but he that *believes* not, shall be condemned; death did not end the day of grace for those whom Christ raised from the dead; if the people of Tyre and Sidon *would have* repented, had they heard the gospel, then, if they are condemned, they are condemned for not hearing, that is, for lack of opportunity, which was not their fault; if only one sin shall not be forgiven either in this or in the coming age, then, probably, other sins *may be* forgiven. Moreover, it is argued: The passages in 1 Peter plainly state that Christ preached the gospel, that is, offered salvation, to the dead; neither the "antediluvian" nor the *predicatio damnatoria* interpretation can stand the tests of grammar and lexicon; and, finally, we are told that, according to the New Testament, men are to be judged by their relation to Christ, and, in this world millions of men have no such knowledge of him as would make such a test possible; hence we must suppose that they will have a "Christian judgment" in the world to come. Arguments, on the one side, to show that, if

final destiny is not in every case fixed at death the motives for living a good life and for converting and civilizing the heathen would be weakened or destroyed, and those, on the other, to prove that justice would require that those who have no opportunity to know and accept Christ here should have it hereafter, are of a more general character, and can scarcely be called exegetical. More germane to our inquiry is the dispute over the New Testament teaching that through Christ only can men be saved. This the future probationists take strictly: destiny is settled only by a conscious, personal acceptance or rejection of Christ. Their opponents who do not take the Calvinistic short-cut and declare that destiny is settled by an eternal decree of God, reply that "Christ" means also conscience and the light of nature; these are "the essential Christ."

All such points are interesting and proper subjects of discussion, but they are broadly suggestive on the question whether the New Testament writers had a definite view on the topic under discussion. If so, they have so veiled it in their writings that, with the best intentions, interpreters cannot determine, with any approach to unanimity, which side they took. If the New Testament plainly teaches: no moral opportunity ("probation") beyond death, it ought to be possible to show it in some clearer way than by the drawing of inferences from a few phrases. If, on the other hand, the opposite doctrine is the biblical one, it ought to be capable of proof. Our more conservative dogmatists and exegetes confidently take the former view; almost all German scholars (and many others), the latter. When, a few years ago, the discussion of this point was arousing so much excitement, and the very existence of motives to Christian life and work was thought to be at stake, it was common for the disputants to challenge their opponents to prove their positions by New Testament quotations. The controlling editor of one religious journal boldly demanded that the advocates of continued probation should cite the texts which stated that men might repent and be saved in the intermediate state; he wished to publish them in his columns. With what demonstrations of

triumph did he glory over his opponents' confessed defeat when the texts were not forthcoming!

Commonly such discussions as I have described take it for granted that the New Testament can be made to cover all questions of the sort, and that what cannot be proved by a citation of texts has no standing-ground. But when one really takes up the standpoint of the New Testament writers and considers them in a historic instead of a theoretic manner, how evident it is that their expressions cannot by any possibility be made to yield answers to our problems of eschalogical speculation! When one man proves that, since the resurrection and judgment are events which are to occur at the end of the world, there must be a state between death and judgment of relative incompleteness and, perhaps, of possible improvement and recovery, it is quite in order for another to remind him that for the men who wrote our New Testament the end was near at hand. They were looking for Christ's coming, the resurrection and judgment, within their own lifetime; therefore the question of the state of the dead in the interval could not have had any such significance for them as for us. But even if it had, what reason is there to suppose that they could have answered our queries? How should they have learned the mysteries of a world which they had never visited? The common assumption that the apostles and other teachers in the first age must have understood all the mysteries of the future is absolutely baseless. It is utterly improbable in itself and without any warrant in their writings. They expressed the content of Christian hope in varying forms and, on most topics, with much reserve. With even greater reserve had Jesus himself spoken of the nature and conditions of the future life. True, the apostolic church did magnify one point: Christ was coming soon; but in this it was mistaken. I believe it had misunderstood Jesus on the subject; in any case, its idea of the coming of the kingdom was the Jewish apocalyptic one, and was not realized.

As I have intimated, Christ's view of the future age covered three main points: (1) the certain triumph of his kingdom

(his "coming"); (2) the victory of life over death ("resurrection"); and (3) the principle of judgment—that every life shall reap its just fruitage of reward or punishment in the world to come. More than these three great and sufficient truths cannot be legitimately deduced from Jesus' words concerning the future. What the teachers of the early church (including the New Testament writers) have added to these is the product of their own inferences and reflections cast, for the most part, into the molds of Jewish eschatological beliefs.

## THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE EXCAVATIONS.

By KARL BUDDÉ,<sup>1</sup>  
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THE title of this paper, "The Old Testament and the Excavations," shows at once that I have nothing new or original to discuss. I am only modestly following a more illustrious example. How much more catching and impressive is the phrase "Babylon and the Bible" with which we have recently become so familiar!\* Still I may ask that my slight variation of the theme, by which we surrender the vigor of Delitzsch's expression, be not considered insignificant. I do not use the term "Bible," but "Old Testament," because both necessity and inclination limit me to this the field of my life-work. I do not use the term "Babylon," but "the excavations." This is not, indeed, because I intend to deal with all excavations equally, but because reports come to us, not only from the East, but likewise from the South and the West—and who knows how soon also from the North?—and whatever is scientifically carried out will have value. Again, I do not place the excavations, but the Old Testament, in the foreground, because for me, now as ever, it holds the first place whenever their mutual relations are to be considered. And it is my purpose to maintain this position in the proper spirit and with due limitations.

Only a few months have passed since the reports of Friedrich Delitzsch's paper "Babylon and the Bible" made the rounds through even the most trivial and insignificant of daily papers. Therefore I felt that this assembly had a right to expect from me today a word concerning this very subject. The task was

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Theological Conference at Giessen, May 29, 1902.

\* The reference is to the famous lecture by PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, entitled *Babel und Bibel*, delivered before the emperor of Germany, and published by the J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1902; pp. 52; M. 2. Translated into English by THOMAS J. McCORMACK, and published by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, under the title *Babel and Bible: A Lecture on the Significance of Assyriological Research for Religion*; pp. 62.



not at all alluring, but whenever I was tempted to shirk it I felt that this and nothing else was my duty. That these impulses were right is proved by the fact that just now two of my colleagues, in a wider and a narrower sense, have discussed this subject, Oettli in Berlin and Hommel at Eisenach, and two others, König<sup>3</sup> and Jensen,<sup>4</sup> have already expressed themselves at length upon it in print, as most of you cannot have failed to notice. Yet it was a gratification to me to discover that my paper, which was completed more than six weeks ago, after going only a short distance the same way, departs wholly from those of my scientific *confrères*. I have therefore abstained even from minor changes, and rejoice doubly that by following an unmistakable impulse, while permitted to speak here on a subject far too extensive for the brief space of an hour, I have conceived my task in just the way I did. And now to the thing in hand!

On the 13th day of January last Friedrich Delitzsch, professor of Assyriology and director of the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin, at the request of the German Oriental Society, read in the Academy of Music of that city a paper to which he gave the title "Babylon and the Bible." Probably we should have heard neither more nor less concerning it than in the case of countless other lectures, had not his majesty the emperor been present and become so interested that Professor Delitzsch was permitted to repeat his lecture on the 1st of February in the royal palace. To this circumstance, no doubt, we also owe, as early as the beginning of March, its appearance in print, embellished with fifty illustrations. In the meantime, Professor Delitzsch, with imperial leave of absence and supplied with imperial funds, has gone to Babylon to inspect and further there the German excavations. Let us hope that the worthy scholar will return in good health from the East; for, so far as we can judge from the nature of his publications, his work hitherto has been carried on in the study rather than in the swampy ditches

<sup>3</sup> EDWARD KÖNIG, *Bibel und Babel*, eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze. Berlin: Warneck, 1902; pp. 50; M. o.80.

<sup>4</sup> PETER JENSEN, "Babel und Bibel," in *Die christliche Welt*, No. XXI, May 22, 1902.

of oriental excavations. And if, in addition to this, he has succeeded in creating an interest that shall keep wide open the treasury of the German empire and stimulate to many voluntary gifts, for the good work begun, then the purpose of his lecture has been most agreeably accomplished.

But now, what have we in this paper and what demands does it make upon us? To the first question, supposing all have read it, we would of course not all give the same answer. So far as I am concerned, I came across a dozen new illustrations, but, aside from an occasional fresh interpretation, there was hardly a fact or theory mentioned that was new to me. Even the appearance of names having "Yahweh" as one of their elements, on clay tablets of the first Babylonian dynasty, about 2250 B. C., which Delitzsch, to give special emphasis, reserved for the close of his paper,<sup>5</sup> was made known to us by Sayce and Hommel in 1898.<sup>6</sup> And, though I, as an Old Testament scholar, might be expected to belong to the better informed in these matters, yet presumably in a theological conference like the present there are few who have not long since become familiar with most of what Delitzsch says. The paper, of course, both in form and material, was designed for the laity and could count upon so much deeper an impression upon Delitzsch's audience, the less they had known up to that time of the excavations on the Euphrates and Tigris. And certainly one should commend the candor with which certain truths are stated that have long since become commonplaces with us, but which in the leading ecclesiastical circles are often still treated as detestable heresies. I need mention only the composite structure of the Pentateuch "from a series of very various sources;"<sup>7</sup> the dependence of large portions of the primitive account of creation, the flood, and the table of the Sethites on Babylonian myths;<sup>8</sup> likewise the futility of all attempts to harmonize our biblical account of the creation of the world with the results of modern science.<sup>9</sup> It would seem

<sup>5</sup> P. 46. König strongly doubts (pp. 40 ff. of his brochure) this reading, but in the main there is perhaps no reason to do so.

<sup>6</sup> *The Expository Times*, 1897-98, p. 522; 1898-99, pp. 42, 48; cf. also 1899-1900, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> P. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 29 f., 32 f.

<sup>9</sup> P. 34.

even to be commendable that a representative of secular science should demand (I quote verbally) that "through the excision from our religious thought of these purely human conceptions [inclusive of the belief in demons and the devil], and through the liberation of our thinking from its many and tenacious prejudices, we should develop more perfectly and spiritually true religion, and the truly religious life as taught by the prophets and poets of the Old Testament, and especially by Jesus."<sup>10</sup>

What Delitzsch asks of us in return for all these contributions is, as already indicated in the last quotation, to recognize and utilize the results of the excavations for a better understanding and appreciation of the Holy Scriptures, especially the Old Testament. He himself promises, certainly somewhat boldly, as a result of the fulfilment of this desire of his—or, to speak more accurately, through the recognition of the fruitful work on the Old Testament rising out of the excavations—that a greater impress will be made upon mankind and a more significant advance secured for the "life of man and the nations than has come through all the modern discoveries in the natural sciences taken together."<sup>11</sup> Be that as it may, every unprejudiced person will be glad to do his part in bringing about such results. Still, we must be allowed to look a little more closely at what is included in the program. At first sight, Delitzsch's demands do not seem unreasonably great, but the farther one follows the subject, the more question marks one feels compelled to insert; if we pay some attention to the hints of wider connections, the proposition involves a great deal more than we at first thought. It is certainly an unwarranted use of facts to announce as incontestable that "in the last instance we owe all those blessings issuing from sabbath or Sunday rest to that ancient civilization on the Euphrates and Tigris."<sup>12</sup> That "the sacrificial and priestly element in the Old Testament is deeply affected by the Babylonian"<sup>13</sup> can, rightly understood, probably be acknowledged; but it looks as if Delitzsch meant to accept the far too great claims of Paul Haupt. Unmistakably he does accept at the end of his paper Winckler's theory of the Canaanitish origin of the

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 43 f.<sup>11</sup> P. 4.<sup>12</sup> P. 29.<sup>13</sup> P. 28.

first Babylonian dynasty in the latter half of the third millennium before Christ. And no less unmistakably does he there commit himself to Hommel's theory of the monotheism of these Canaanitish (or, according to Hommel, Arabian) conquerors.<sup>44</sup> They called God *El*, which is, according to the confidently accepted interpretation of Lagarde, "goal." This goal, concludes Delitzsch, can only be one, hence the beautiful proper names of the time, "God Has Given," "God With Me," "In the Help of My God I Walk," are a confession of belief in the *one* God. And this "*one* God" the Canaanitish tribes already call "Yahweh," *i. e.*, "The One Who Is," "The Abiding One," who not, like us men, will be tomorrow a thing of yesterday, but who dwells above the canopy of the stars that shine with ceaseless regularity, and who is active from eternity to eternity. "This 'Yahweh,' then, is a primitive inheritance of those Canaanitish tribes from which in later centuries the twelve tribes of Israel were to spring." It would be unreasonable to demand of such swelling and enthusiastic words translucent clearness; but that Delitzsch here accepts in the main Winckler's and Hommel's results can hardly be doubted, any more than that thereby the Old Testament completely loses its significance as religious history.

Our reference to the scholars mentioned makes it evident that the demands of Delitzsch are nothing new to Old Testament students. For more than thirty years we have endeavored to meet them. And today in this noble city we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the first book which was a real help in that direction. It was in 1872, here in Giessen, that the book *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* issued for the first time from the publishing house of J. Ricker. It was a very valuable work of the great master of German Assyriology, Eberhard Schrader, who was at the time professor of the Old Testament in the theological faculty of this university. How things have changed since that time may be most clearly measured by that book, for the third edition, having meanwhile changed its place of publication to Berlin, bears the date of the current year, 1902. To acquaint ourselves with the problems which the excavations

<sup>44</sup> P. 46.

today present to the Old Testament, let us first of all follow this book, which deals with the subject thoroughly and in detail, rather than delay upon the mere hints beyond which Delitzsch's paper naturally could not go. If what we find there cannot be directly generalized, yet it will not be difficult to make a practical application to other conditions.

Schrader unhappily was incapacitated for all scientific work through a stroke of paralysis. He had to leave his work to younger hands, and two distinguished Assyriologists, Heinrich Zimmern and Hugo Winckler, whom we have already mentioned so often, have taken his place. This has caused a complete change in the form of the work, which is now organized upon an altogether different plan. The addition which the title has received, viz., "including the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and the New Testament," will be welcomed by everybody, and need not affect in any way the characteristics of the book. However, from the first half of the work "History and Geography," by Hugo Winckler,<sup>15</sup> published toward the close of last year, it appears that the misgivings, which many others must have felt as well as myself, regarding a complete change of the commentary-like form of the original work, have been justified in such a way as no one would have expected. The preface promises that, as far as possible, only the really established results of the study of the cuneiform inscriptions will be presented, and that the difference between documentary evidence and only more or less probable inductions will always be made unmistakably apparent. But both promises are so little fulfilled that instead of the title, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, it would better be called "The Cuneiform Scholar and the Old Testament." Winckler lets every other nationality in ancient western Asia be swallowed up by Babylonian culture. Whatever they might have had of individuality they contributed to the great sun-hearth Babylon in order to receive it back transfigured with its glory. In the strong conviction that he cannot possibly meet with anything that is not at heart of Babylonian origin,

<sup>15</sup> *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902; pp. viii + 342, 8vo.

Winckler believes that he can dispense with proof in detail, and at once proceeds to work over the given tradition from the Babylonian point of view, as he understands it, until it becomes almost unrecognizable. This explains that he is not, like Schrader before him, silent about those Israelitish kings for whose connection with the land of the two rivers there is no documentary evidence, but has the most to say about them, and especially of Saul, David, and Solomon, and can thus furnish us a connected Israelitish history from his point of view.

That Canaan, and with it, to the northeast, that strip of civilized country which connects it in a semicircle with the land of the two rivers, was already in the second millennium B. C., before the immigration of the Israelites, saturated with Babylonian civilization — or, as Delitzsch expresses it in his paper, was "completely a domain of Babylonian culture"<sup>16</sup> — we have accustomed ourselves, since the discovery and decipherment of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, to consider as an axiom in no need of further proof. But still we comforted ourselves that Arabia, the mysterious cradle of the Semitic family of nations, remained tolerably unaffected by the leveling influence of this advanced civilization, and that it was able, till a late period, to produce purely Semitic tribes, indigenous and full of natural vitality. For Winckler this is only a scientific legend, which he sweeps away by the assertion and attempted proof that "Arabia was as open to the western Asiatic civilization in the remotest ages as in the time of Islam;"<sup>17</sup> that Babylonianism held sway there in the second and third millenniums B. C., as much as anywhere else in western Asia.<sup>18</sup> At the foundation of this civilization lies the Babylonian religion, which dominated completely the intellectual life, and especially its highest expression, the literature, of the people.

With these presuppositions Winckler approaches the Old Testament. Not only do they give him the explanation of the primitive history and patriarchal legends, but he also treats the

<sup>16</sup> P. 28.

<sup>17</sup> *Keilschriften und das Alte Testament (KAT.)*<sup>3</sup>, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> Compare here also *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch*, 1. Lieferung ("Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft," 1901, No. 4), a publication of Winckler's which has appeared since the writing of this paper.

period of the kings according to the same pre-established scheme of mythology, and at once with ease opens all its seals. Strangely enough, this procedure and point of view cease suddenly with Solomon, or, in another place,<sup>19</sup> with Rehoboam. From thence, excepting only an occasional mythological flash, we have plain political history. This cannot be due to lack of sufficient remoteness in time, for the oldest historical narrative, according to Winckler the source "E," dates, in his opinion, from the time of Ahaz, toward the close of the northern kingdom.<sup>20</sup> This would leave abundant time for the growth of myths. Nor can it be attributed to any increased clearness of the age, for in his view the history of the Persian empire and that of Alexander the Great, etc., are subject to the same mythological tendencies. Indeed, as he informs us,<sup>21</sup> "a glance at the oriental theory of the world shows that it *always* relates even historical fact in the form of mythology." Nor is it the fault of the brevity of the records or the lack of material, for at least for the time of Ahab and his dynasty we are especially fortunate in this matter. However, let us keep to the earlier periods. What is Winckler's law or formula of the mythological way of writing history?<sup>22</sup>

According to this law the ancient historian must prove that the periods of the kings, of the judges, and of the patriarchs form the counterpart of the heavenly cycle. For the periods of time and history are presented as the workings of the providence of the gods. As they reveal themselves in the movements of the heavenly bodies, and as the phenomena of nature make them manifest, so kings, as their representatives on earth, correspond to them, and their fortunes follow those of their respective gods. The scheme of the heavenly cycle, with which we have to do, is that of the superior gods: the moon (as father), the sun (as son), and the morning star (as daughter). Yet the cycle does not therefore consist of three units. For nature runs her course in two parts, summer and winter, and accordingly each of the three great divinities can divide itself into two persons. It is a peculiarity of the "Canaanitish" family of nations, to

<sup>19</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, p. 287.

<sup>20</sup> *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 222.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

which Israel belongs, that they let this division take place regularly with the third divinity, so that she is divided into the two sides of nature, summer and winter. In this way the cycle receives four units. Under this conception Saul appears in the tradition as the moon, Jonathan as the sun, David as the one and Solomon as the other half of the year; that is, their whole history is so interpreted and twisted in the accounts that a relation to the corresponding deity is made out. Since along with this theory Winckler insists emphatically upon the historicity of the kernel, it necessarily becomes the task of the historian to free this kernel from its mythological incasing. With such certainty about the aims of the latter this is an easy and delightful task. Historical reality must here have worked hand in hand with mythology—an unhappy coincidence which Winckler himself does not seem to fear. These are the broad outlines of the new key to ancient history which Winckler makes use of. The merit of its discovery does not belong to him, but, as he himself indicates,<sup>23</sup> to Ed. Stucken, who is publishing a great work, "Astral-Myths of the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Egyptians,"<sup>24</sup> of which the first volume, "Abraham," appeared in 1896, the second, "Lot," in 1897, the third, "Jacob," in 1899, and the fourth, "Esau," in 1901. We, who are interested in a right understanding of the Bible, shall not be able to accuse Winckler that he kept us waiting too long from profiting by this discovery.

Staggering discoveries of this sort, which repeat themselves at intervals everywhere, are generally difficult to combat directly, even when one is positively convinced that they are untenable. But what makes their refutation so difficult is the best indirect proof of their weakness. I mean the lack of logical consistency; the innumerable possibilities, liberties, and assumptions; in a word, the side doors of every kind, which have to be kept open to make the theory applicable to every case and to the most refractory material. This happens also to Winckler's theory, which he had already elaborated more in detail in the second volume of his *History of Israel*, published in 1900. Here only a

<sup>23</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, p. 276.

<sup>24</sup> *Astralmythen der Hebräer, Babylonier und Aegypter*. Leipzig: Pfeiffer.



few examples may be given. Where we first learn from Winckler that the earth is a reflection of heaven,<sup>25</sup> he tells us that each god has his *τέμενος* or "templum" in the heavens, and that there is on earth a district corresponding to it which is the land belonging to his temple. This is *his land* in which he rules as lord. This is not so bad and can perhaps be proven. For Marduk is unquestionably the lord of Babylon. The moon-god Sin is lord of Ur and Haran; Ba'al Melkart, of Tyre; Astarte, of Byblos; etc. Since kings are the representatives of cities and countries, one might conclude that in the dynasties of a country there would be reflected the fates and doings of its ruling gods. Instead, however, according to the above law, the local reign is interfered with by the temporal, as is shown later, so that in Babylon, the city of the sun, the moon and morning star meddle with the affairs of its lord. In Haran, the city of the moon, the sun and morning star, and in Byblos, the city of Venus, the sun and moon do the same. It almost seems as if Winckler originally meant to give preference to the scheme following countries and peoples, for the three patriarchs of Israel—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—are moon-heroes. The theory of a threefold beginning of the series is dragged in by the ears. Abraham represents the moon-god during the period of Gemini; his "image" Isaac represents him during Taurus, and Jacob when springtime comes in the constellation of the Ram. This latter is quite regular, because the eighth century B. C., in which the writer lived, already belongs to this period of time.<sup>26</sup> But what in all the world has the patriarch Jacob to do with the time of his biographer, and did not Abraham and Isaac play a mythical rôle at least as early as that? Nevertheless, in addition to this explanation and without concern about it, we are presented with still another. The moon-hero, Abraham, has at his side a brother-dioscuros, originally the sun, which must not be identified with him.<sup>27</sup> His sister and wife, Sarah, "according to her nature, is clearly the Istar of Babylonian mythology. Abraham in his rôle is here both her brother and husband Tammuz-Adonis." In this way, Abraham being counted twice, the four-

<sup>25</sup> *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, pp. 157 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, p. 284.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

fold cycle would happily be reached, and be closed already in the first patriarch, who thereby, of course, gets into immediate danger of becoming a sun-hero. But Winckler actually goes on to say: "As they [Abraham and Sarah] are brother and sister, they must have one father. This is the moon-god Sin among the Babylonians. We therefore conclude that the divinity, as whose representative this Abraham is to be esteemed, is essentially the moon-god."<sup>28</sup> This exposition makes it seem very possible that on this mythological soil one may be at the same time both himself and his own father. But still more license is taken. Every one of the three divinities "contains also its sexual counterpart, so that we also have a female moon- and sun-god and a male Venus divinity." Indeed, as we have already seen, this is the rule for the Old Testament, which belongs to the "Canaanitish" region. There, instead of the higher divinity, Istar-Venus, her male counterpart,<sup>29</sup> Tammuz, the two divisions of the year, takes her place. If, now, we remember that this same Tammuz, the Adonis of the Greeks, is the zodiac,<sup>30</sup> and that, in fact, the sun and Venus-Istar are presented in the relation of brother-husband,<sup>31</sup> we have further freedom granted that the sun-god, of the second rank, can in another form take also the third and even the third and fourth place.

With what ease all kinds of transitions and substitutions take place appears again in the continuation of the patriarchal legends. After the series has commenced for the third time with Jacob, who is the moon-hero, it continues next with Esau, the Geminus, who is the sun, notwithstanding the fact that he is not Jacob's son, but his brother; for, says Winckler, "the sun is given various positions in different systems." It is true, Jacob's son Joseph also bears the characteristics of the sun-god, but, since the sun-god has already found a place, Joseph takes the Tammuz myths and unites both forms in himself when he is cast into the *bôr* (the pit) and is again "exalted"<sup>32</sup> from it. But even this is not the end. Joseph, on the other hand, represents also

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> *KAT*, p. 223.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>32</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, p. 284.

Tammuz sunk into the netherworld, because he dies in Egypt, which corresponds to the southern region of the heavens occupied by the sun in winter, when Tammuz is dead. Moses, who only arrives at the border of the "land," is the sun in spring, *i. e.*, from the winter solstice to the vernal equinox. Joshua, the sun of Nûn, *i. e.*, "the fish," takes the next quarter to the summer solstice, because the ascending sun emerges from the sign Pisces. And lastly the summer sun is Caleb, whose name *keleb*, "dog," points to the dog star, Sirius, which reaches its culmination at the same time as the sun. This unfolding of the system is interesting, because the cycle is enlarged from four to six places, and still more so because Istar-Tammuz now appears in winter, beginning to rule from the autumnal equinox, instead of in summer, from the vernal equinox, as should have been the case according to Winckler's rule.<sup>33</sup> Did these exceptions later seem too far-reaching to Winckler himself? In the new book, two years since the latter scheme was proposed,<sup>34</sup> we read that Jacob-Israel is the moon, Joseph the sun, Moses the *Dôd*, *i. e.*, Tammuz in spring, Joshua Shalm-Nebo, *i. e.*, Tammuz in winter.<sup>35</sup> Esau has now been dropped altogether. It goes without saying that the life-history of these heroes, according to this law, corresponds completely to that of the gods whom they represent in the different schemes. These examples show sufficiently that Winckler's law does not lack elasticity. In fact, the whole thing makes the impression that the historians could have taken it much easier and might have left things as they happened to find them in the traditions at hand. They could always have defended the mythological orthodoxy of their accounts by the many possible variations of this inviolable law.

Of much greater importance, of course, are these discoveries or inventions in their application to the history of the time of the kings. Here we meet this fourfold cycle: moon, sun, Tammuz in summer, and Tammuz in winter, in Saul, Jonathan, David, and Solomon. Notwithstanding that these are historical personages, yet, we are informed, they were never known by these names. They bear divine names. Only of Solomon do we also

<sup>33</sup> *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, p. 223.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

know his real name, Daduja or Jedidja.<sup>36</sup> Time does not permit me to enter further upon this especially pathless thicket. But does not the complete substitution of earthly by heavenly names run counter to the method itself, for it was intended to portray the history of the earthly and not of the heavenly rulers? Moreover, one does not see why Jonathan should be put into the series of kings, nor why, by a curious exception, he is allowed to retain a purely human name. Otherwise also the half would frequently be more than the whole. And just as was the case with the patriarchs, so here also doubles appear. Istar, who has abdicated in favor of her husband, *i. e.*, David-Solomon, appears again in her own person in Bathsheba, the pretended mother of Jedidja-Solomon, who in reality is the son of Abigail. And with less disguise, under one of her own names even, does she appear in David's daughter Tamar, being forced by her brother Amnon. That is the myth of Istar's marriage with her brother, the sun-god. Her Istar-character appears plainly in the cake she bakes, which otherwise is "baked for Aštoret, queen of the heavens."<sup>37</sup> One would think that thereby Amnon would become Istar, for the cake was baked for him; but such inversions are not surprising in this kind of exposition.

In all that I have said I have not yet mentioned the most serious defect of the latest edition of the book *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. Up to this point (whether justly or not is another question) everything is derived from the inscriptions from Babylonian antiquity. But innumerable other hypotheses of Winckler, that have nothing to do with the inscriptions, are woven together with those inferences into a finished historical portrait. They are mere generalizations from the biblical texts after Winckler's peculiar method. The book in question is really nothing more than a summary of his former works. As a matter of fact, reference is made to them much more frequently than to the inscriptions themselves, or to Schrader's "Cuneiform Collection," as the preface had promised us. Every Old Testament student values Winckler as a fellow-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224 f.; *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, pp. 224 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, pp. 227 f.

laborer, and will be ready fully to acknowledge his acumen, his inexhaustible gift of combination, and his astonishing capacity of work. Especially he who speaks to you today will be free from any suspicion of depreciating Winckler, since he has so often publicly acknowledged his merits. But the theories proposed in his "Old Testament Investigations,"<sup>38</sup> his "Ancient Oriental Studies,"<sup>39</sup> his "History of Israel,"<sup>40</sup> in the "Reports of the Hither-Asiatic Society,"<sup>41</sup> and other places, which are the result of a highly endowed, but far too active, subjectivity, must not be put into the library of student or pastor as the only complete handbook in which he may expect to find the assured results of the study of the monuments. Step by step we see how Winckler at first puts forth the most daring hypotheses merely as such, but forthwith on their basis goes on to further conclusions and inferences, so that after a few pages the airy foundation on which the stately structure rests is forgotten. Such a method may be excused, or is at least intelligible, in an altogether new science with constantly increasing material, as is Assyriology. There guessing riddles is the chief thing, and if a wrong guess is made no harm is done; the next day may make it right again. But in an old science like ours, with limited, but solid and carefully preserved, traditions, this cannot be allowed. It is pan-Babylonianism that now lays its giant fist upon the Old Testament, and makes it simply a province, a mere introduction, to the cuneiform inscriptions, as, according to Delitzsch's statement, Canaan was completely a province of Babylonian civilization in the second millennium B. C. What of the monotheism of the Yahweh religion? It sprang from a monotheistic movement of the great motherland. What of prophetism? The *nēbi'im* are simply the political agents of the world-power. So vanishes everything that we were proud to possess in the Old Testament.

I did not intend to speak only of the monuments of the land of the two rivers, though they have by far the pre-eminence and perhaps always will have. From every new quarter where

<sup>38</sup> *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen.*

<sup>39</sup> *Allorientalische Forschungen.*

<sup>40</sup> *Geschichte Israels.*

<sup>41</sup> "Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft."

monuments are unearthed we must expect assaults, especially so long as the finds are recent. The arrogant use which has been made of the few monuments from south Arabia that have hitherto come to light leads us to expect a veritable deluge so soon as Ed. Glaser's accumulated treasures shall become current. A determined purpose and a little self-confident imagination are sufficient to forge a key, with which to unlock all the doors of the Old Testament, from the materials found in any of the countries adjacent to Canaan. I can illustrate this by a true story which is not without its irony. A few years since a prominent and competent university professor (I intentionally withhold the name of his department in order to make conjecture impossible) sent me a small book privately printed. It set out to prove that the narrative portions of the Hexateuch and the older historical books of the Old Testament, to about the same extent as in Winckler's mythological scheme of Babylon, were taken to the minutest details from Egyptian mythology. The author sent the book with the request that I would read it and tell him frankly whether I could advise its publication or not. I can assure you, it showed no less ability and skill than Winckler and his school manifest in their derivations from Babylonian mythology. The wonderful correspondence between the Old Testament narratives and their Egyptian originals was enough to make one dizzy; nevertheless the unnaturalness of such artificial and forced dependence was sure soon to appear. I did my best to show my gratitude toward the trust my colleague reposed in me, by a plain statement of my objections. My trouble was abundantly repaid by a communication from the author, wherein he stated that he had decided not to publish his discovery. Possibly another thing, which had just happened, helped to tip the balance in this decision. Not long before I had reviewed in an English journal the work of a classical archæologist who claimed to have discovered that in ancient Greece there was an imageless worship of God, and incidentally gave an explanation of the ark of the covenant in the Old Testament. Soon after, the editors of the journal sent me an English manuscript which they had rejected. It opposed with

great zeal both myself and the book reviewed, and went on to prove that the Old Testament legends were derived from old Irish myths, as well as that the migration of mankind and the occupation of the lands in high antiquity took place, not from southeast to northwest, but from northwest to southeast—from Ireland over Gaul, Spain, and north Africa to Egypt and Asia.

The thing is perhaps harmless, but not quite so ridiculous as it may seem. My two stories would make but little impression on Winckler. He would simply turn the tables and let the movement begin in the East, with Babylon, and would not be in the least surprised if the common mythological foundation should reappear at each station of the journey as far even as Ireland. But two things are to be remembered: neither the representative of Egypt nor that of Ireland had Winckler's mythological scheme. They did not agree with each other, nor with any one of their predecessors in the last century who have made us happy with systems of Hebrew mythology, now sunk into oblivion. Let this be enough to prove how much room there still remains for the active imagination of individuals. Winckler himself can testify to it, and that we set it down to his credit. In the preface to the second volume of his *History of Israel*, dated August 18, 1900, he makes the following statement: "The work now made public was written toward the end of 1898. It was finished December 20 of that year. It then lay undisturbed for a year, and I had already decided to let it ripen not only *nonum in annum*, but forever." But as foundation and support for the new edition of Schrader's work he has now published it. If at first he thought of keeping it to himself, there can have been no other reason than the conviction of the impossibility, or doubts as to the possibility, of arriving at assured and therefore convincing results in this way. It is evident that in this manner any unity of the ancient tradition must infallibly be broken up into as many forms as there are inventive geniuses to explain it. For that two minds should happen to light upon the same explanation is next to impossible.

With this state of things we would reluctantly have to be content, and should be left to mourn the disparagement of our

treasured tradition, if this interpretation had to be acknowledged as right in principle. But that is not the case. This I now proceed to show as briefly as possible, first with reference to the cuneiform inscriptions and then to the Old Testament. To begin with Winckler's peculiar theory. His mythological scheme cannot be found in Babylon itself; much less is it accepted by other Assyriologists. Moreover, the authorities upon the historical works that deal with Alexander the Great, upon which he depends so fully, do not accept his theory. The Alexander romance, in spite of all the tales and folklore current at the time, can be distinguished from them and does not at all follow a ready-made mythological scheme, but throws together materials from the most distant places and times into hopeless confusion.<sup>42</sup>

A great deal too much has been inferred from the Tell-el-Amarna letters. The most noteworthy fact is the prevalence from the Euphrates to the Nile of the Babylonian language and script in the diplomatic correspondence during the second millennium. But it means no more than that national development and lively intercourse had made a diplomatic language a necessity. Since this was so, each little city-tyrant, from pure conceit, was bound to provide himself with a scribe who understood and wrote, perfectly or imperfectly, that language. This is no criterion for the state of intelligence and the extent of the penetration of Babylonian culture among the mass of the people.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in Winckler's new book is the one entitled "State and Administration," in which he paints in glowing colors the intercourse of ideas in western Asia. If we were to admit it all, which is by no means necessary, nothing would yet be proven for such a dependence upon Babylonian culture during pre-Israelite times in Canaan, as he holds. And that least of all in religion. It is altogether improbable, and all that we know goes to show the contrary, that ancient Canaan should have had in common with Babylon, or taken over as a *system*, the star-worship of Babylon or

<sup>42</sup> N. KRALL, "Der griechische Alexanderroman," Beilage zur *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1901, No. 38, February 15.



made such application of it as Winckler presupposes. The Baals of Canaan have other roots, no matter how many connections in that direction can be made out. Still less can such an intellectual dependence be affirmed for ancient Arabia. The Arabian, or Canaanitish, home of the so-called first Babylonian dynasty is inferred solely from the formation of the names of most of its rulers. But they are of true Babylonian origin, according to the information I have received from Peter Jensen.<sup>43</sup> The inscriptions call this very dynasty the "Babylonian" in contradistinction from all early and even primitive dynasties. Winckler's claim for the active intercourse between Babylonia and Arabia rests upon the solitary statement that King Gudea about 2500 B. C. got the stone for his statues from Makan, *i. e.*, according to Jensen, Arabia in general, and, according to Winckler's own interpretation, "eastern Arabia."<sup>44</sup> If one thinks of Arabia's eastern mountain chain<sup>45</sup> (and only a fool would fetch stone farther than he must), it is intelligible enough for the lower Euphrates district; but it certainly does not prove that all Arabia, and especially its western portion, which alone concerns us, was saturated with Babylonian culture. Far too much capital is made of the name-formations, where the exceeding uncertainty with which many Old Testament names have come down in the tradition and the great latitude involved in the mutation of sounds and signs into other languages are utilized to the utmost. All the peoples concerned have a large linguistic stock of roots and formations in common, so that conditions are favorable for the independent origin of like names. Besides, names may migrate without giving guarantee of retaining their original meaning. Winckler also is aware of it and points it out in the case of the oft-recurring name "Yahweh" in different countries.<sup>46</sup> But very dubious are the explanations arrived at through the medium of appellative surnames and predicates, a favorite device of Winckler's. *Dôd*, "beloved," whether it can be established or not, is certainly a good cognomen of Tammuz,

<sup>43</sup> Cf. now also his essay in *Die christliche Welt*.

<sup>44</sup> KAT<sup>3</sup>, p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Of course this could be decided by a comparison of the rock.

<sup>46</sup> KAT<sup>3</sup>, p. 209.

the beloved of Istar. Nevertheless it is the first of all, also in the sense of "relative," a word used in everyday intercourse, and, therefore, in the changed form *Dawld* is no proof at all for the divine nature or character of its bearer, King David. And that the moon-god frequently has the by-name *bél purussé*, "the oracle-god,"<sup>47</sup> does not prove that *Ša'ul*, interpreted as "the inquired of," is a name for the moon-god, instead of simply "the petitioned one," i. e., the prayed-for son, either in general or from a particular god, whose name, as frequently, is lost. Countless interpretations of such doubtful nature show the artificiality of these systems.

The same is true of the numbers. Of all units between 2 and 7, even if arrived at through addition, not one escapes Winckler's astrological interpretation,<sup>48</sup> and for many he offers a choice of more than one. In the same way he interprets other phenomena. Mythology in general deals with the simplest relations of life—with the family and its vicissitudes. Human relations and experiences which lie near at hand are, therefore, the sure prey of the mythologist. One cannot have a brother or wife without becoming his victim.

Now, these objections are not ignorantly, nor arrogantly, aimed at mythology and mythological interpretation as such, but only against its abuse. It should be possible to define its limits. Every statement has a subject and a predicate. We cannot make mythological interpretation apply to one part only. If the *acting person*, the subject, is a mythological figure, his activity, however human, must also be regarded as mythological. If the *action*, the predicate, has a mythological character, then we may, with some caution at least, infer an underlying mythological idea on the part of its originator. But where a person is unquestionably historical and his activities move in circles corresponding to this personality in actual life, it should take a great deal of evidence before we reject the plain meaning of words.

And lastly, myths certainly have a tendency to migrate, but

<sup>47</sup> Intentionally I assume throughout the correctness of the reading and interpretation of such names and appellatives.

<sup>48</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.

they do not move as organized armies. They start on their migrations singly, whenever the moving principle is unconscious life and growth, and not artificial and literary transplanting. In thousands of cases in these migrations they change their inmost nature, so that at their final resting-place they are often no longer myths, but have become fairy stories and tales, which easily attach themselves also to unquestionably historical personalities without giving them a mythological tinge, because people have lost all knowledge of their mythological nature. These are everyday truths which may be called to mind as a warning to caution and moderation against sweeping generalizations. They teach us that an individual treatment of the materials is necessary.

To this individual treatment of Old Testament history we are the more justified, and even urged, by the fact of the uniqueness of Israel and its literature. Briefly to explain this let me begin with calling attention to a most valuable admission of Winckler's, which sounds almost like a self-contradiction or retraction. He says on p. 212: "As people and individuals do not retain the reminiscences and clear conceptions of the conditions and events of prehistoric times, so neither does Israel-Judah. A popular tradition soon takes on a form corresponding to new conditions of life. The mind of the peasant, attached to the soil, knows no longer of the nomadic life of his ancestor. Where such reminiscences nevertheless appear, they can be the result only of later learned speculations. These, of course, can have no more historical value for us than the speculations of mediæval scholars about the origin of the Germans." But a little farther down, on p. 220, he says: "Throughout the whole ancient conception of history the autochthonous theory prevails, and if Israel, with its immigration legend, is apparently an exception, we have in it the traces of a vivid recollection of facts, while the autochthonous theory is represented by the patriarchal legends." This admission is in itself valuable, though Winckler has a view of the actual immigration different from that found in tradition. Israel *knew*—a very unique exception among the nations that play a part in the history of the world—that it had immigrated into its land

It remained conscious of this difference and thereby protested against being placed on the same level with the other inhabitants of the same land. This consciousness proves its right to a higher place, and this right, especially under so difficult conditions as Israel found them in Canaan, could only be preserved through the medium of the religion peculiar to itself, *i. e.*, Yahwism. This would hold good even if Judah, as Winckler believes, received its god first through David and the North even a great deal later than Judah, which, of course, is impossible.

In the history of Yahwism we can trace the national individuality of Israel in all essentials unmixed with that of other nations. That we are able to do this is due, in the first place, to the uniqueness of the tradition at our disposal. We cannot appreciate enough that it was not written down at *one* stroke, is not the work of a single systematizing mind, but is worked up out of a series of sources which can easily be distinguished and differentiated as to time. We have every reason to defend the results, won by a century's honest labor of differentiating the sources, against the easy discoveries by which Winckler would turn everything upside down. Likewise, we must defend it against all other pious wishes in these days of unbridled speculation. The second priceless and abiding possession in this field is the certainty with which the date of Deuteronomy has been fixed, and the possibility of determining what preceded and what followed it. And in the older material we can again distinguish earlier and later portions. Thus we are led up to times which in themselves furnish a tolerably certain guarantee for the independence and trustworthiness of the tradition. And even more important is it that we can determine the underlying forces which led to the repeated working over of the ancient tradition. Do we find here, as Winckler assumes, the influence of the great civilization on the Euphrates and Tigris which flooded and overpowered everything? The answer is both "yes" and "no," but we can precisely define them both. Between the two ancient sources, *i. e.*, from J to E, Babylonia is *not* the bridge. Tribal and local differences, and, above all, the Yahweh-prophetism of the northern kingdom, come here into play. Faith in Yahweh's

supreme power and the conscience awakened to feel the need of an absolute morality expresses itself. Only in the later strata of E there is a weakening of faith in the kingdom and national ideals.

In the relation of Deuteronomy to E the influence of Babylon is seen; but, so far as the authors are conscious of it, it is only in opposition and with perfect abhorrence. With a shudder they reject everything that comes from the Euphrates and Tigris. This, to be sure, is the reaction against the experience of this influence which had been so dangerous from the time of Ahaz to Josiah, and still more so under the reign of Manasseh. It is of the greatest significance that we find Babylonian and Assyrian civilization affecting Israel in a much greater degree so soon as there is an immediate contact between the two nations. This was at the time of the hither-Asiatic campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III., and even more so after the time of Sargon and Sennacherib. We have to do, not, as Winckler describes, with a constant, but with an intermittent stream, though at the same time some stray undercurrents may also have been continually at work. That this should have been so will, least of all, surprise us Germans, who, in spite of much more favorable geographical and historical conditions, have been affected in such varying degrees at different times by the civilization of France.

Different from its influence in Deuteronomy does Babylonian influence appear in Israel's literature in the later and earlier strata of the Yahwistic source, in J<sup>2</sup> and J<sup>1</sup>. Whether we rejoice in it or lament over it, we cannot escape the fact that the oldest strata of J did not know the story of the flood. But the second, J<sup>2</sup>, as well as the Priest document (P), has it and makes the whole primitive history revolve around it. As it does not concern itself with myths limited to tribes and districts, but with the whole human race, it proves, no matter how much it may be turned or twisted, that at the time when J<sup>2</sup> was composed, *i. e.*, about 800 B. C., Israel had not yet the legend of the flood. From this, again, it follows that this legend, along with others, which certainly came from the land of the two rivers, was not introduced till the time of the high

pressure of political influence from Assyria, *i. e.*, during the period when Judah was a vassal kingdom of Assyria, about 700 B. C. And, inversely, it proves that *ancient Israel*, though both itself and the land in which it found its new home were exposed for a millennium and a half to Babylonian influence, did not take over *in toto* Babylon's mythological treasures; and what it *did* receive it changed materially.

This is evident even from the cycle of myths which Winckler, with Stucken and others, accepts all but exclusively, *i. e.*, the astral or sidereal myths. For we know from indisputable, mutually corroborating sources that Babylonian star-worship and Babylonian star-knowledge found, to be sure, entrance into Israel, but as something new, as something which had not been known hitherto, and was unmistakably felt to be foreign, finding entrance at the same late period when the legend of the flood was taken over. This makes it impossible, though unconscious sidereal material was present in Israel, that already in the oldest accounts a complete astral system, coming from Babylon, should have been the controlling principle. We see well enough now why Winckler desires to place all detailed historical accounts after the time of Ahaz.

But a second time we can lay hold of the influence of Babylonia on Old Testament literature. It is at the time when the intellectually active portion of the people lived in captivity in Babylonia itself. Notwithstanding the solicitous particularism of Ezekiel and the Priest document in the Hexateuch, the Babylonian influence comes plainly to light in the content and form of the laws, and also in its theory of the world and the narrative portions. Again, therefore, the intellectual approach is conditioned by the bodily, the immediate political contact.

For the evidence that comes to us from the historical books the prophetic books are the test, enabling us to follow the separate stages of development from 750 to 450 on the basis of documentary evidence that can be dated with certainty. This means that just for the period of Israel's most powerful development we have excellent sources, and that the forces at work are in full view. The result is that we behold Israel's inherent and

native power maintaining the upper hand, and that, while influences from without are present, they pass through a fermentation and are worked over into an organic process, so that Israel's individuality is not extinguished.

These indisputable facts allow the inference that in times when Canaan was not under the direct political influence of Assyria it was also little affected by its civilization. And from this again it follows that Israel, just at the time when it became a nation and received its abiding impress, developed itself quite independently. The outside influences came chiefly from the immediate neighborhood. This justifies us, without too much overconfidence, of having a ready trust in the essential truth of our tradition. We can account for the pride and joyful exuberance with which the younger sisters of our Old Testament science look down upon it, because they deal with monuments and with documents, while we must content ourselves with a literature that has passed through innumerable hands. It is not strange that as an unavoidable transition there should be manifested a boundless skepticism toward the Old Testament. We can understand the Proteus-like transformations in which a modern haggada, based upon real or imaginary insight received from the monuments, attempts to lord it over or instruct the Old Testament tradition. But we are not confounded by it. We have learned through honest labor to study our sources and to understand them. Babylonian literature may swell up into infinity, but it will have nothing to equal our prophets, nor even the historical portions of our oldest sources. Grateful as we, the representatives of Old Testament science, are to the excavations for each new ray of light and every enlargement of the scope of ancient history, we do not yet feel that the time has come to let our beautiful village be swallowed up over night, so to speak, by the metropolis of Babylon; much less are we inclined to ask for this incorporation ourselves. To march separately and, where opportunity offers, to join hands—that shall be our motto also in the future.

## THE VIRGIN BIRTH.\*

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VII. TERTULLIAN (about 150-240 A. D.).—There are in Tertullian nearly a score of passages in which a statement of belief regarding the virgin birth is made. The most simple of these are: *Veiling of Virgins*, IV, 3, 1 (IV, 27); *Monogamy*, 8 (IV, 65); *Against Praxeas*, 2 (III, 598), 26, 27 (III, 622 ff.); and *Patience*, 3 (III, 708). Other passages, which make some significant addition to the bare statement, are: *Apol.*, 21 (III, 34), including a repudiation of the Greek myths; *Soul*, 26 (III, 207), with a reference to the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, and the prenatal testimony of John; *Against Heretics*, 36 (III, 260), and *Against Marcion*, V, 19 (III, 471), each included in the church's statement of faith; *Resurrection*, 20 (III, 559), with emphasis upon the real humanity of Jesus; *Against Valentinus*, 27 (III, 516), stating the belief of Valentinus:

His position being one which must be decided by prepositions; in other words, he was produced *by means of* (*per*) a virgin rather than *of* (*ex*) a virgin! On the ground that, having descended into the Virgin rather in the manner of a passage through her than of a birth by her, he came into existence *through* (*per*) her, not *of* (*ex*) her—not experiencing a mother in her, but nothing more than a way. Upon this same Christ, therefore, so they say, the Savior descended in the sacrament of baptism in the likeness of a dove.<sup>78</sup> There are also two references to the belief of Praxeas and the Patripassionists: *Against Praxeas*, 17 (III, 617), and 1 (III, 597):

He says that the Father himself came down into the Virgin, was himself born of her, himself suffered, indeed was himself Jesus Christ.<sup>79</sup>

Of the statements here cited and quoted, that of Praxeas appears for the first time. The Patripassion theory undoubtedly arose from

\*See this JOURNAL, 1902, pp. 473-506.

<sup>78</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Valentinianos*, XXVII: "In praepositionum quaestionibus positum, id est per virginem, non ex virgine editum, quia delatus in virginem transmeatoris potius quam generatoris more processerit: per ipsam, non ex ipsa; non matrem eam, sed viam passus. Super hunc itaque Christum devolasse tunc in baptismatis sacramento Sotorem per effigiem columbae."

<sup>79</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Praxeas*, I: "Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in Virginem ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum."



the difficulty of conceiving of a dual or triune God, and as a consistent effort to escape ditheism or tritheism.

Somewhat akin to the superficial argument about terms,<sup>80</sup> and yet showing Tertullian's rather scholastic reasoning in maintenance of the humanity of Christ, and, *secondarily*, of the virginity of Mary, is the passage in *Against Marcion*, IV, 10 (III, 358, 360). The argument is quite syllogistic: Christ cannot lie. He said he was the son of man. Therefore he had a human parent. But God was his father. Therefore Mary, his mother, was the human parent. But, if so, she was a virgin. Otherwise he had two fathers, a divine and a human one, the thought of which is ridiculous, like the stories of Castor and Hercules. Moreover, the prophecy of Isaiah is alone fulfilled by the exclusion of a human father and the acceptance of the virginity of Mary. If Marcion admits Christ to be the son of man through a human father, he thereby denies that he is son of God; if through a divine one also, he makes Christ the Hercules of fable; if through a human mother only, he concedes Tertullian's point; if not through a human father or a human mother, he involves Christ in a lie.<sup>81</sup>

Such a line of reasoning has peculiar interest in that it shows how strenuously Tertullian could defend the real *humanity* of Christ—for

<sup>80</sup> See *Veiling of Virgins*, 6 (IV, 31), and treatise on *Prayer*, 22 (III, 688).

<sup>81</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 10: "De filio hominis duplex est nostra praescriptio, neque mentiri posse Christum, ut se filium hominis pronuntiaret, si non vere erat; neque filium constitui, qui non sit natus ex homine, vel patre vel matre: atque ita discutiendum, cujus hominis filius accipi debeat, patris an matris. Si ex Deo patre est, utique non ex homine: si non ex homine, jam apparet quia ex virgine. Cui enim homo pater non datur, nec vir matri ejus deputabitur; porro cui vir non deputabitur, virgo est. Caeterum, duo jam patres habebuntur, Deus et homo, si non virgo sit mater. Habebit enim virum, ut virgo non sit; et habendo virum, duos patres faciet, Deum et hominem, et qui et Dei et hominis esset filius. Talem, si forte, Castori aut Herculi nativitatem tradunt fabulae.

"Si haec ita distinguuntur, id est, si ex matre filius est hominis, quia ex patre non est; ex matre autem virgine, quia non ex patre homine; his erit Christus Isaiæ, quem concepturam virginem praedicat. Qua igitur ratione admittas filium hominis, Marcion, circumspicere non possum. Si patris hominis, negas Dei filium; si et Dei, Herculem de fabula facis Christum: si matris tantum hominis, meum concedis; si neque matris hominis, ergo nullius hominis, est filius, et necesse est mendacium admiserit, qui se quod non erat dixit. Unum potest angustiis tuis subvenire, si audeas aut Deum tuum patrem Christi hominem quoque cognominare, quod de Aeone fecit Valentinus; aut virginem hominem negare, quod ne Valentinus quidem fecit. . . .

"Nam in illam necesse est amentiam tendat, ut et filium hominis defendat, nec mendacem eum faciat; et ex homine neget natum, ne filium virginis concedat. . . . Si natus ex homine est, ut filius hominis, corpus ex corpore est," etc.

this was Tertullian's constant task—by an appeal to the virgin birth. Of like interest is his badly stated belief that the part played by God in the generation of Jesus was such as to utterly *exclude* human fatherhood; that God, though in no gross sense, was the substitute<sup>82</sup> for a human begetter; that the dual nature of Christ depends simply upon his parentage—being divine, because God, and no man, was his father; human, because Mary was his mother. The premises are that Christ is divine (this is not only admitted, but given an unwarranted emphasis by his heretical opponents); that his nature depends upon his parentage; that therefore that humanity which he, who could not lie, claimed for himself could not come from his father; it must, therefore, come from his mother; but, granting the above, it could come from her only through the virgin birth.

In *The Flesh of Christ*, chap. 23 (III, 541), there is a semi-scholastic attempt to show that the Virgin's conception and parturition are the sign spoken of by Simeon, and long before by Isaiah; and, moreover, that Mary, though a virgin, was in reality the purely human mother of the human Christ. The saying, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord," is applicable solely to the Son of God, since only in the case of a virgin birth does a *child* open the womb.

There is a principle laid down in *Ad Nationes*, 3 (III, 131), which explains Tertullian's belief as to the person of Christ, and, as tributary to that, the virgin birth also:

It is a settled point that a god is born of a god, and that which lacks divinity is born of that which is not divine.<sup>83</sup>

This very simple philosophy is the clue to the "Son of God—son of man" passages such as *Apol.*, 21 (III, 34, 35); *Flesh of Christ*, 5 (III, 525), and especially 18 (III, 537).

Turning to prophecy, we find Tertullian using it in much the same way as did Justin Martyr and Irenæus. In his *Answer to Jews*, 9 (III, 161), he resorts to the already familiar argument that, apart from the *virgin* birth, the promise of a sign in the Immanuel prophecy<sup>84</sup> is meaningless; and in *Against Marcion*, III, 12 (III, 331), he reiterates the same contention, and points out, moreover, as did Justin Martyr (*Dial.*, 77 ff.), that in the coming of the magi the remainder of the prophecy, as to receiving the riches of Damascus, etc., was fulfilled.

<sup>82</sup> As opposed to this theory, see ORIGEN, *De Principiis*, I, 2, sec 4 (IV, 247).

<sup>83</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Ad Nationes*, II, 3c: "Scitum, deum e deo nasci, quemadmodum de non deo non deum."

<sup>84</sup> Also *Flesh of Christ*, 17 (III, 536).

In his *Answer to Jews*, 9 (III, 164), he demonstrates that, according to Isa. 11:1, 2, Jesus procures his Davidic descent through the virgin Mary. Chap. 21 of *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 539) makes a combined argument from the Immanuel prophecy, the annunciation to Mary, and Elizabeth's salutation to Mary, to show that she was the actual human mother of Jesus, through whom he was a descendant of David,<sup>85</sup> and that from her he who was the Word of God derived his flesh. Tertullian's use of "flesh" here is not synonymous with his use of "humanity" in the important reference in *Marcion*, IV, 10. Here "flesh" is used in the literal sense to designate that with which the pre-existent Word clothed himself; there the thought of pre-existence is absent, and the dual nature of Christ is explained by his generation. The virgin birth is supported by an appeal to the question in Isa., chap. 53, "Who shall declare his nativity?" from which Tertullian infers that no human being was aware of the nativity of Christ at his conception.<sup>86</sup> He also interprets the LXX of Ps. 110:3—(Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγγενησά σε): "Before the morning star did I beget thee from the womb"—as referring both to the time of Christ's birth and to the manner. "'I have begotten thee from the womb;' that is to say, from a womb only, without a man's seed, making it a condition of a fleshly body that it should come out of a womb."

In the more distinctive use of the New Testament the chief effort is, as in the foregoing, to emphasize the real humanity and Davidic descent of Christ rather than to substantiate his virgin birth. These three subjects, however, have a natural affinity for each other, and are often found in combination in Tertullian's mind. His references<sup>87</sup> to Matt. 1:1; Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8; Gal. 3:8, 16, are ordinary instances of this use of the New Testament. The twentieth chapter on *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 538) has a long dissertation to prove that Christ was born *of* (*ex*) Mary, partaking of her flesh, as does any child from any mother. The Gnostic heretics, denying the reality of his body, contended that he was begotten *in* (*in*) Mary, but not *of* (*ex*) her, using for their purpose Matt. 1:20, τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἁγίου. In reply, Tertullian quotes the 16 of Matt. 1:16 and Gal. 4:4, "*made of a woman*" (γεγόμενον ἐκ γυναικός), to good effect, but descends to his usually poor exegesis in the use of Ps. 22:9, 10, "Thou art he that didst draw me out of my mother's womb." Equally indefensible is his exegesis of the singular misread-

<sup>85</sup> See also *Against Marcion*, III, 20 (III, 338, 339).

<sup>86</sup> *Answer to Jews*, 13 (III, 171).

<sup>87</sup> *Flesh of Christ*, 22 (III, 540).

ing<sup>88</sup> which he maintains in John 1:13, and tortures into denying Jesus' birth from sexual intercourse, while admitting or affirming that he was born of real flesh.

The Gnostics were also using Matt. 12:48 to support their denial of the reality of Jesus' body,<sup>89</sup> contending that those who announced the presence of his mother and brethren did so to test him, and to determine whether he were actually of a human family, which fact, they claimed, was practically denied by his reply. But Tertullian's readiness to interpret figurative language, however fatal in most instances, did him good service in this.

It is difficult to believe that Tertullian could have been as ignorant of the gospels as would appear from what a strict interpretation of his language implies; viz., that all four of the gospels assert the virgin birth.

Of the apostles, therefore, John and Matthew first instil faith into us; whilst of apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it afterward. These all start with the same principles of faith, so far as relates to the one only God the Creator, and his Christ, born of the Virgin, fulfilling the law and the prophets. Now, of the authors whom he possesses, Marcion<sup>90</sup> seems to have singled out Luke for his mutilating process. Luke, however, was not an apostle, but only an apostolic man; not a master, but a disciple, and so inferior to a master—at least as far subsequent to him as the apostle whom he followed [Paul] was subsequent to the others.<sup>91</sup>

The possibility that the gospels of John and Mark, originally or at an early date, contained stories of the virgin birth might be entertained here, were we certain that Tertullian wrote this passage with a full consciousness of just what he was saying, and if we were, furthermore, certain of what he meant by "These all *start* with the same principles of faith . . . (how that he was) born of the Virgin." Does he

<sup>88</sup> *Flesh of Christ*, 19 (III, 537). See also IRENÆUS, *Against Heresies*, III, 19, 2 (1-449).

<sup>89</sup> *Against Marcion*, IV, 19 (III, 377, 378). Also, *Flesh of Christ*, 7 (III, 527).

<sup>90</sup> The gospel of Marcion began with Luke 3:1, followed immediately by 4:31-37, then 4:16, with numerous omissions.

<sup>91</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 2. "Denique nobis fidem, nobis fidem ex apostolis Joannes et Matthaëus insinuant; ex apostolicis, Lucas et Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad unicum Deum attinet Creatorem, et Christum ejus, natum ex Virgine, supplementum Legis et Prophetarum. . . . Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet. Porro Lucas non apostolus sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus; utque magistro minor; certe tanto posterior, quanto posterioris apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio," etc.

mean that all four gospels make this fact the foundation of faith in Christ? Or does he mean that each evangelist literally begins his gospel with the account of Jesus' birth from the Virgin? The context, which is dealing with actual narratives and attempting to show their relative value, supports the literal interpretation by which we understand Tertullian to say that each of the four gospels begins by setting forth the fact that Christ was born of the Virgin.

But, since Tertullian is wholly unsupported in this respect by the Fathers or versions, we are compelled to reject his statement as being rather free and exaggerated, or, indeed, to explain it upon the basis of his teaching as elsewhere represented. This can be done, and is perhaps the true solution of the difficulty. It was seen that, according to the treatise *Against Marcion*, IV, 10, a postulation of the divinity of Jesus made the virgin birth necessary as the explanation of his humanity. To assert the former was to affirm the latter, and it was by the unique birth of Jesus that his dual nature was explained. Now, as Tertullian looks at the matter, while it is true that only Matthew and Luke give, at the beginning of their gospels, the actual narratives of the peculiar birth of Jesus, both Mark and John clearly assert the fact which is inseparable from the virgin birth, viz., that God is the father of Jesus. Thus, if Tertullian accepted the uncertain reading of  $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  in Mark 1:1, which reading Irenæus before him had used, and resorted, as he usually did, to the singular and erroneous interpretation of John 1:13, which makes God the begetter of Christ, or even to the assertion of the divine sonship as set forth in John 1:18—then, to all intents and purposes, and by inevitable deduction, the second and fourth gospels do, in his opinion, start with the assertion that Christ was born of a virgin.

It is interesting to notice, in passing, his comparative valuation of Mark and Luke, especially of the latter, and of Paul. His low valuation of Luke was no doubt for the purpose of weakening Marcion's position, as was also his unwarranted assertion regarding the other gospels. It was as much as saying: "Marcion may do what he likes with the gospel of Luke, but he still has the other and better gospels to reckon with, if he wishes to discard the true nativity of Christ and the virgin birth."

An interesting point noticed in the writers preceding Tertullian is that of the analogy between the virgin birth and the Genesis story of creation, between Mary and Eve. In chap. 17, on *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 536), in connection with an argument to prove the reality of the flesh of Christ, Tertullian makes an elaborate use of this analogy:

Now it will be first necessary to show what previous reason there was for the Son of God's being born of a virgin. He who was going to consecrate a new order of birth must himself be born after a novel fashion. . . . Accordingly a virgin did conceive and bear Emmanuel, God with us. This is the new nativity; a man is born in God. And in this man God was born, taking the flesh of an ancient race, without the help, however, of the ancient seed, in order that he might reform it with a new seed, that is, in a spiritual manner, and cleanse it by the removal of all its ancient stains. But the whole of this innovation was prefigured, as was the case in all instances, in ancient type, the Lord being born as man by a dispensation in which a virgin was the medium. The earth was still in a virgin state, reduced as yet by no human labor, with no seed as yet cast into its furrows, when, as we are told, God made man out of it into a living soul. As, then, the first Adam is thus taken from the ground, it is a just inference that the second Adam likewise, as the apostle has told us, was formed by God into a quickening spirit out of the ground—in other words, out of a flesh which was unstained as yet by any human generation.<sup>92</sup> But that I may lose no opportunity of supporting my argument from the name of Adam, why is Christ called Adam by the apostle, unless it be that, as man, he was of that earthly origin? And even reason here maintains the same conclusion, because it was by just the contrary operation that God recovered his own image and likeness, of which he had been robbed by the devil. For it was while Eve was yet a virgin that the ensnaring word had crept into her ears which was to build the edifice of death. Into a virgin's soul, in like manner, must be introduced that word of God which was to raise the fabric of life, so that what had been reduced to ruin by this sex might, by the selfsame sex, be recovered to salvation. As Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed Gabriel. The delinquency which the one occasioned by believing, the other by believing effaced. But (it will be said) Eve did not at the devil's word conceive in her womb. Well, she at all events conceived; for the devil's word afterward became as seed to her that she should conceive as an outcast and bring forth in sorrow. Indeed, she gave birth to a fratricidal devil; whilst Mary, on the contrary, bare one who was one day to secure salvation to Israel, his own brother after the flesh and the murderer of himself. God, therefore, sent down into the virgin's womb his Word, as the good brother who should blot out the memory of the evil brother. Hence it was necessary that Christ should come forth for the salvation of man in that condition of flesh into which man had entered ever since his condemnation.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>92</sup> See also *Answer to Jews*, 12 (III, 169); *Flesh of Christ*, 16 (III, 536); *Resurrection*, 49 (III, 582).

<sup>93</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Lib. de Carne Christi*, XVII: "Ante omnia autem commendanda erit ratio quae praefuit, ut Dei filius de virgine nasceretur. Nove nasci debebat novae natiuitatis dedicator, de qua signum daturus Dominus ab Isaia praedicabatur. Quod est istud signum? Ecce virgo concipiet in utero, et pariet filium (Isa. vii). Concepit

The apparent ultimate dogmatic statement of Tertullian is found in his discourse *Against Marcion*, IV, 36 (III, 411):

Whosoever wishes to see Jesus the son of David must believe in him through the virgin's birth. He who will not believe this will not hear from him the salutation, "Thy faith hath saved thee." And so he will remain blind, falling into antithesis after antithesis which mutually destroy each other, just as the blind man leads the blind down into the ditch.<sup>24</sup>

There is not as much, however, in this saying regarding the virgin birth as would at first sight be supposed. For the context shows that the point at issue is not the virgin birth, but rather Jesus' Davidic descent and his possession of an actual body. In support of these last two contentions Tertullian appeals to the healing of the blind man at the entrance to Jericho, Luke 18:35-43. The man persistently cried out: "Jesus, thou *son of David*, have mercy on me!" In response to which, and thus in recognition of his Davidic descent, Jesus performed the cure.

It must be remembered also that in the writings of Tertullian the term "the virgin" is, through the passing over of what was formerly a

igitur virgo et peperit Emmanuelem, Nobiscum Deum. Haec est nativitatis nova, dum homo nascitur in Deo; in quo homine Deus natus est, carne atque seminis suscepta, sine semine antiquo ut illam novo semine, id est spiritaliter reformaret exclusis antiquitatis sordibus, expiatam. Sed tota novitas ista, sicut et in omnibus, de veteri figura est, rationali per virginem dispositione Domino nascente. Virgo erat adhuc terra nondum opere compressa, nondum sementi subacta: ex ea hominem factum accepimus a Deo in animam vivam. Igitur si primus Adam de terra traditur, merito sequens, vel novissimus Adam, ut Apostolus dixit, proinde de terra, id est, carne nondum generationi resignata, in spiritum vivificantem a Deo est prolatus. Et tamen, ne mihi vacet incursus nominis Adae, unde Christus Adam ab Apostolo dictus est, si terreni non fuit census homo ejus? Sed et hic ratio defendit, quod Deus imaginem et similitudinem suam, a diabolo captam, aemula operatione recuperavit. In virginem enim adhuc Evam irrepserat verbum aedificatorium mortis; in virginem aequè introducendum erat Dei Verbum exstructorium vitae: ut quod per ejus modi sexum abierat in perditionem, per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem. Crediderat Eva serpenti: credidit Maria Gabrieli. Quod illa credendo deliquit, haec credendo delevit. Sed Eva nihil tunc concepit in utero ex diaboli verbo. Imo concepit. Nam exinde ut abjecta pareret, et in doloribus pareret, verbum diaboli semen illi fuit. Enixa est denique diabolum fratricidam. Contra, Maria eum edidit, qui carnalem fratrem Israel, interemptorem suum, salvum quandoque praestaret. In vulvam ergo Deus Verbum suum detulit, bonum fratrem, ut memoriam mali fratris eraderet. Inde prodeundum fuit Christo ad salutem hominis, quo homo jam damnatus intraverat."

<sup>24</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 36: "Qui vult videre Jesum, David filium, credat per Virginis censum. Qui non ita credet, non audiet ab illo: Fides tua te salvum fecit. Atque ita caecus remanebit, ruens in antithesim, ruentem et ipsam antithesim. Sic enim caecus caecum deducere solet."

descriptive adjective into a proper name, frequently used to designate Mary. This is quite similar to the more familiar transition from Jesus the Christ to Jesus Christ, and finally to Christ, as the personal proper name. Bearing in mind the context and the interchangeable use of "The Virgin" and "Mary," this passage is taken to mean that, by the analogy of what took place at the blind man's confession and request, whoever wishes to see Jesus spiritually (savingly) must believe that he was actually born into this world with real flesh, being the son of Mary, David's descendant. To deny this is to remain in spiritual blindness and to perish.

Evidently Tertullian's final word as to the condition of those who disbelieve in the *virgin* birth is not as specific and unmistakable as that of Irenæus.<sup>25</sup> This is due, however, to a difference in the ends sought by his polemic, and hence in his emphasis, rather than to different conviction as to the essentialness of belief in the virgin birth. For, very clearly, it is only by means of the virgin birth that he is able to give what seems to him a consistent explanation of the humanity and the divinity of Jesus.

1. A review of the material presented by Tertullian will show that for purposes of argument he uses the canonical infancy stories only—*Ans. to Jews*, 9 (III, 164); *Soul*, 26 (III, 207); *Marcion*, III, 12 (III, 331); *ibid.*, V, 9 (III, 448)—and that, in so far as the apocryphal gospels taught the perpetual virginity of Mary, he was uninfluenced by them and insisted upon a real birth (*Flesh of Christ*, 23 (III, 541)). On the other hand, Tertullian does not wholly repudiate the use of other gospels of the Lord's nativity which he recognizes as in circulation, but for himself abstains from anything but a very sparing use of them. (*Against Praxeas*, 26 [III, 632].) His reference, like that of Irenæus to the mutilation of Luke by Marcion, indicates that the heretics also recognized the canonical gospels as the basis of appeal.

2. Tertullian is divided in his own mind between the representation of pre-existence as made in the fourth gospel and the generation of a new being as given in the first and third gospels. Both thoughts are expressed by him, but not harmonized.

3. Perhaps Tertullian's increment to the study lies chiefly in the fact of his noteworthy use of the virgin birth to prove the *humanity* of Jesus, and, secondarily, in his throwing light upon the increasing extra-canonical sources; while at the same time his straight-going theory of imparted nature as in human generation keeps his argument in a rather pagan sphere.

<sup>25</sup> *Against Heresies*, III, 19 (I, 448, 449).



VIII. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (died about 220 A. D.)<sup>66</sup> seldom refers to the virgin birth. A sentence from *The Instructor*, I, 6 (II, 220), gives very clear evidence of the increasing exaltedness of Mary, however, and of her trend toward deity:

The universal Father is one, and one the universal Word; the Holy Spirit is one and the same everywhere, and one is the only virgin mother.<sup>67</sup>

It is true that Clement immediately proceeds to liken Mary to the church, and even to identify her with it in his allegorical cast of thinking; but, nevertheless, such an utterance serves as an index of the direction, in which the current of thought has set. More significant is *Stromata*, VII, 16 (II, 551):

But, as appears, many even down to our own time regard Mary, on account of the birth of her child, as having been in the puerperal state, although she was not. For some say that after she brought forth she was found, when examined, to be a virgin. Now such, to us, are the Scriptures of the Lord, which gave birth to the truth and continue virgin in the concealment of the mysteries of the truth.<sup>68</sup>

This illustration, colored by the rather occult sentiment of the "true Gnostics," who recognize "the son of the Omnipotent, not by his flesh conceived in the womb, but by his Father's own power," serves to verify the tendency already noted, and to indicate the significant presence of apocryphal material. Its seeming conflict with the defense of physical generation made in *Stromata*, III, 17 (II, 400), is not to be wondered at in a treatise that makes no attempt at homogeneity and consistency. To the Gnostic the spiritual lesson is everything. Incidentally we get a few of the underlying facts, and from these, though scanty, we must reconstruct, as far as possible, Clement's theory of the virgin birth.

1. It is evident that he was acquainted with both the Johannine and the synoptic sources; and it is equally clear that he was influenced by some apocryphal source or sources<sup>69</sup> similar to the gospel of James.

2. He believed in the pre-existence—*Strom.*, VI, 15 (II, 508)—as

<sup>66</sup>EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Book V, 11, and Book VI, 6, 13.

<sup>67</sup>εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Πατήρ. εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄλων Λόγος. καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πατράχου. μία δὲ μόνη γὰρ μήτηρ παρθένος.

<sup>68</sup>CLEMENTIS ALEXANDRINI *Stromatum*, Lib. VII, cap. xvi: 'Ἄλλ', ὡς ἴσμεν, τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ μαριάμ λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν οὐκ ὄντα λεχῶ. καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν φασὶ τινες παρθένον εὐρεθῆναι. τοιαῦται δ' ἡμῶν αἱ κυριακαὶ Γραφαὶ τὴν ἀληθεῖαν ἀποτίκτουςαι, καὶ μένουσαι παρθένοι μετὰ τῇ ἐπικρύψει τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας μυστηρίων.

<sup>69</sup>See mention of "Gospel according to the Hebrews," *Strom.*, II, 9.

also in the real birth of Jesus—*Strom.*, III, 17 (II, 400); but just how much of miracle the apocryphal sources had instilled into his belief, in addition to the miraculous conception of the canonical accounts, cannot be definitely decided. Judging by *Strom.*, VII, 16, he was attracted toward a belief in the miraculous *birth* as well as in the miraculous conception.

3. Clement's increment to the study is noteworthy, inasmuch as he is the first of our contributors to look with decided favor upon the apocryphal material; and, while he uses it for illustration chiefly, it is nevertheless at the church doors waiting for admission. It had not long to wait. In fact, the exaltation toward deity which with Clement begins to be attributed to Mary is undoubtedly due to the influence of the apocryphal material and the traditions embodied therein.

IX. ORIGEN<sup>200</sup> (185-254) gives frequent statements of the doctrines of the virgin birth, including the orthodox, the heretical, and what may be called the Gnostic-orthodox. In the first class are such passages as *De Prin.*, preface (IV, 240) and II, 6 (IV, 281); *Against Celsus*, I, 7 (IV, 399), and *Com. Jno.*, I, 39, and X, 23 (IX, 315, 403); and also *Against Celsus*, II, 25 (IV, 473), where the reality of the body of Jesus is emphasized in comparison with the mystic entrance of the spirit of Apollo into the priestess of the Pythian cave. In the second class is the belief of Celsus stated in *Against Celsus*, I, 59 (IV, 427); and a reference to the common belief of Jesus' contemporaries in *Com. Mt.*, X, 20, and *Jno.*, VI, 7 (IX, 427, 355). In the third class there is a passage which shows how easily the "true" Gnostic could satisfy himself in the matter of Jesus' parentage through his ready idealizing and spiritualizing faculty. It serves as an indication of the fact that, apart from precise historic reality, the semi-Gnostic was able to worship Christ as the supreme spiritual ideal, and his liability to error was never in the direction of subtracting those things which made for the divinity of Jesus.

If anyone should lend credence to the gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Savior himself says, "My mother the Holy Spirit took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great Mount Tabor," he will have to face the difficulty of explaining how the Holy Spirit can be the mother of Christ when it was itself brought into existence through the Word. But neither the passage nor this difficulty is hard to explain. For if he who does the will of the Father in heaven is Christ's brother and sister and mother, and if the name of brother of Christ may be applied, not only to the race of

<sup>200</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, VI, 2-4, 8, 16, 19, 23, 30, 32, 36.

men, but to beings of diviner rank than they, then there is nothing absurd in the Holy Spirit's being his mother, everyone being his mother who does the will of the Father in heaven.<sup>101</sup> (*Com. Jno.*, II, 6 [IX, 329].)

But the statement of the theories with respect to the parentage of Jesus is incomplete without noticing the more distinctively Jewish contentions which cause Origen to pass over more perceptibly into the region of argument and refutation. A common Jewish story is represented in *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408):

For he represents him disputing with Jesus, and confuting him, as he thinks, on many points; and in the first place he accuses him of having invented his birth from a virgin, and upbraids him with having been born in a Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out-of-doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery; that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who, having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt, on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a god."<sup>102</sup>

An elaboration of this story and its refutation are found in chaps. 32 and 33:

But let us now return to where the Jew is introduced, speaking of the mother of Jesus and saying that when she was pregnant she was turned out-of-doors by the carpenter, to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and that she bore a child to a certain soldier named Pan-

<sup>101</sup> ORIGENIS *Comment. in Joan.*, II, 6: 'Εάν δὲ προσέταλ' τις τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίων Εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Ζωτὴρ φησιν. "Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν μία τῶν τριῶν μου, καὶ ἀπένεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὕψος τὸ μέγα θαβώρ. ἐπαπορήσει πῶς μήτηρ Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γεγενημένον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἶναι δύναται. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ Χαλεπὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ φθάσει τὸ ἀδελφὸς Χριστοῦ ὄνομα οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτου θεώτερα. οὐδὲν ἄσπον ἐστὶν πατρὸς Χριστοῦ διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι μητέρα.

<sup>102</sup> ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 28: μετὰ ταῦτα προσωποποιεῖ Ἰουδαῖον αὐτῷ διαλεγόμενον, τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐλέγχοντα αὐτὸν περὶ πολλῶν μὲν, ὡς οὐκ εἶται, πρῶτον δὲ, ὡς ἐπλάσμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν. οὐκ ἐπιφέρει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ κόμης αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ἰουδαϊκῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγγυωρίου καὶ πενιχρᾶς, καὶ χειρῆτιδος φησὶ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γήμαντος, τέκτονος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξεῶσθαι, ἐλεγχθεῖσαν ὡς μεμοιχευμένην. εἰς τοῦτο λέγει, ὡς ἐκβληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πλανωμένη ἀτίμως σκάνιον ἐγένετο τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ὅτι οὗτος διὰ πέναν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μισθαρνήσας κάκει δυνάμεων τιναν περαιοῖς, ἐπ' αἷς Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνύονται, ἐπαυγλθεν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι μέγα φρονῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε.

thera;<sup>103</sup> and let us see whether those who have blindly concocted these fables about the adultery of the Virgin with Panthera and her rejection by the carpenter did not invent these stories to overturn his miraculous conception by the Holy Ghost: for they could have falsified the history in a different manner, on account of its extremely miraculous character, and not have admitted, as it were against their will, that Jesus was born of no ordinary human marriage. It was to be expected, indeed, that those who would not believe the miraculous birth of Jesus would invent some falsehood. And their not doing this in a credible manner, but their preserving the fact that it was not by Joseph that the Virgin conceived Jesus, rendered the falsehood very palpable to those who can understand and detect such inventions. Is it at all agreeable to reason that he who dared to do so much for the human race in order that, as far as in him lay, all the Greeks and barbarians who were looking for divine condemnation might depart from evil and regulate their entire conduct in a manner pleasing to the Creator of the world, should not have had a miraculous birth, but one the vilest and most disgraceful of all? And I will ask of them as Greeks, and particularly of Celsus, who either holds or not the sentiments of Plato, and at any rate quotes them, whether he who sends souls down into the bodies of men, degraded him who was to dare such mighty acts, and to teach so many men, and to reform so many from the mass of wickedness in the world, to a birth more disgraceful than any other, and did not rather introduce him into the world through a lawful marriage. Or, is it not more in conformity with reason that every soul, for certain mysterious reasons (I speak now according to the opinions of Pythagoras and Plato and Empedocles, whom Celsus frequently names), is introduced into a body and introduced according to its deserts and former actions? It is probable, therefore, that this soul also which conferred more benefit by its residence in the flesh than that of many men (to avoid prejudice I do not say "all"), stood in need of a body not only superior to others, but invested with all excellent qualities? (33) . . . By act of adultery between Panthera and the Virgin? Why, from such unhallowed intercourse there must rather have been brought some fool to do injury to mankind—a teacher of licentiousness and wickedness and other evils, and not of temperance and righteousness and the other virtues!<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Celsus's statement of the infidelity of Mary, affirming that the father of Jesus was a soldier by name Panthera, appears also in the Talmud, where the name is transliterated into Pandera. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON (*Text and Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 25) thinks that this name is simply a Greek anagram on the word *παρθένος*, similar to "the literary tricks of that time." "Everything that we know of the dogmatics of the second century agrees with the belief that at that period the virginity of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian belief. Nor need we hesitate, in view of the antiquity of the Panthera fable, to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides."

<sup>104</sup> ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 32: 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανεῦθωμεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου προσωποποιᾶν, ἐν ᾗ ἀναγέγραπται ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μήτηρ ὡς ἐξωσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ μηστρευσα-

Origen's polemic tactics in this passage are as good as his information and defense are imperfect in the following: *Against Celsus* I, 37 (IV, 412):

But as a further answer to the Greeks, who do not believe in the birth of Jesus from a virgin, we have to say that the Creator has shown by the generation of several kinds of animals that what he has done in the existence of one animal he could do if it pleased him in that of others, and also of man himself. For it is ascertained that there is a certain female animal which has no intercourse with a male, as writers on animals say is the case with vultures, and that this animal without sexual intercourse preserves the succession of race. What incredibility is there, therefore, in supposing that, if God wished to send a divine teacher to the human race, he caused him to be born in some manner different from the common way? Nay, according to the Greeks themselves, all men were not born of a man and woman. For, if the world has been created, as many even of the Greeks are pleased to admit, then the first men must have been produced, not from sexual intercourse, but from the earth, in which spermatic elements existed; which, however, I consider more incredible than that Jesus was born like other men so far as regards the half of his birth. And there is no absurdity in employing Grecian his-

μέμον αὐτὴν τέκτονος, ἐλεγχεῖσα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ τίκτουσα ἀπὸ τινος στρώτου Πανθήρα τοῦτομα· καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ μὴ τυφλῶς οἱ μυθοποιήσαντες τὴν μοιχείαν τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ Πανθήρα καὶ τὸν τέκτονα ἐξωσάμενον αὐτὴν ταῦτα πάντα ἀνέπλασαν ἐπὶ καθαίρεσει τῆς παραδόξου ἀπὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος συλλήψεως. ἐδύναντο γὰρ ἄλλως ψευδοποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ σφόδρα παράδοξον τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ εἰ ἀκουσίως συγκαταβῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ συνήθων ἀνθρώπων γάμων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐγεννήθη. καὶ ἀκόλουθον γὰρ ἦν τοὺς μὴ συγκαταβέβηκους τῇ παραδόξῳ γενέσει τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πλάσαι τι ψεύδος· τὸ δὲ μὴ πιθανῶς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ τηρῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ παρθένος συνέλαβε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τοῖς ἀκούειν καὶ ἐλέγχειν ἀναπλάσματα δυνάμενοι ἐναργῆς ἦν ψεύδος. ἄρα γὰρ ἐλλογον τὸν τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τολμήσαντα, ἴνα τὸ δοῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι κρίσιν θέλαιν προσδοκῆσαντες ἀποστῶσι μὲν τῆς κακίας πάντα δὲ πράττωσιν ἀρεσκόντως τῷ τῶν ὁλων δημιουργῷ, παράδοξον μὲν μὴ ἐσχηκέναι γένεσιν πασῶν δὲ γενέσεων παρανομωτάτην καὶ αἰσχρότην; ἐρῶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ μάλιστα Κέλσον, εἶτε φρονοῦντα εἶτε μὴ, πλὴν παρατιθέμενον τὰ Πλάτωνος· ἄρα ὁ καταβέβηκων ψυχὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπων σώματα τὸν τοσαῦτα τολμήσαντα καὶ τοσοῦτους διδάζοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χύσεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν κακίαν μεταστήσαντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὴν πασῶν αἰσχροτέραν γένεσιν ὥθει, μὴδὲ διὰ γάμων γνησίωσιν αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον; ἢ εὐλογώτερον ἐκάστην ψυχὴν κατὰ τινὰς ἀπορρήτους λόγους (λέγων δὲ ταῦτα νῦν κατὰ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα, οὗς πολλὰκις ὠνόμασεν ὁ Κέλσος), εἰσκρινομένην σώματι κατ' ἀξίαν εἰσκρινεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα ἦθῃ; εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ψυχὴν, πολλῶν (ἴνα μὴ συναρπάξῃν δοκῶ, λέγων πάντων) ἀνθρώπων ὠφελιμωτέραν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ πάντων κρείττονος.—33: ἀπὸ πανθήρα μοιχεύσαντος καὶ παρθένου μοιχευθείσης; Ἐκ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἀνάγων μίξων ἴδει μάλλον ἀνόητον τινα, καὶ ἐπιβλαβῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδάσκαλον ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακῶν γενέσθαι οὐχὶ δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν.

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<sup>277</sup> 427-347 B. C. <sup>278</sup> Ma

<sup>279</sup> Made pregnant by Hippo  
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<sup>280</sup> Daughter of Aleus of T

<sup>281</sup> The mother of Anthion

<sup>282</sup> ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*  
ἐκ παρθένου γένεσι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, δ  
ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς βουλήσεως· δυνατὸν  
τὴν ἐκφάνειν. εὐρίσκειται δὲ τ  
τοῖς ἴσους ἀναγράφοντας λέγουσι  
ἐκ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν. τί οὖν πα  
τὴ γυναικὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποι  
τῶ γυναικί, [τοῖσιν] ἄλλω  
αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐ πάρι  
τῶ ἱεροῦ ὁ πέρας, ὡς καὶ πολλοὶ  
γινώσκουσιν· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς, σπερμα  
τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξ ἡμίσεος ὁμοῦ  
ἐκτενοῦ πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἕλλ  
ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ταύτης κεχρησθε  
φαίμεν ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τινων  
Πλάτων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμφικτιόντι  
ἐκτενοῦσιν τὸν ἐξ Ἀπὸλλωνος  
τῶ ἀναπλάσει τοσαῦτο τί περὶ  
ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ κρείττονης καὶ  
ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τοῦθ' ἀρμόζον το  
ἀνθρώπων διαλεγόμενον τῷ Ἰη  
σοῦ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ, φέροντα  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας λακτέον  
ὅτι ἀνεγχετο.

to answer Greeks with a view to showing that we are not the only people who have recourse to miraculous narratives of this kind. For some thought fit, not in regard to ancient and heroic narratives, but in regard to events of very recent occurrence, to relate as a possible thing that Plato<sup>105</sup> the son of Amphictione, Ariston being prevented from having marital intercourse with his wife until she had given birth to him with whom she was united by Apollo. And yet these are veritable fables, which have led to the invention of such stories concerning a man whom they regarded as possessing greater wisdom and power than the multitude, and as having received the beginning of his corporeal substance from better and diviner elements than others, because they thought that this was appropriate to persons who were too great to be human beings. And since Celsus has introduced the story of the sputing with Jesus and tearing in pieces, as he imagines, the fiction of the birth from a virgin, comparing the Greek fables about Danaë,<sup>106</sup> and Hippolyte,<sup>107</sup> and Auge,<sup>108</sup> and Antiope,<sup>109</sup> our answer is that such language is the work of a buffoon, and not one who is writing in a serious tone.<sup>110</sup>

427-347 B. C. <sup>106</sup> Made pregnant by Jupiter by means of a golden shower. Made pregnant by Hippotes, and gave birth to Æolus, metamorphosed into a star and placed among the stars.

Daughter of Aleus of Tegea, and mother of Telephus by Hercules.

The mother of Anthion by Jupiter.

ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 37: "Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λεκτέον, ἀπειθοῦντας τῇ τοῦ γενέσεαι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν ποικίλων ζῴων γενέσει ἔδειξεν τῷ περὶ βουληθέντι δυνατόν ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ἐφ' ἑνὸς ζῴου καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ. εὐρίσκεται δὲ τινα τῶν ζῴων θήλαα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἄρρενος κοινωνίαν, ὡς οἱ ἰν ἀναγράψαντες λέγουσι περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον χωρὶς μίξεως σφίξει τὴν τῶν γενῶν. τί οὖν παράδοξον, εἰ βουληθεὶς ὁ θεὸς θεῶν τινα διδάσκαλον πέμψαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποιήκεν ἀπὸ σπερματικῶν λόγων, τοῦ ἐκ μίξεως τῶν ἀρρένων αἰεὶ, [ποιῆσαι] ἄλλω τρόπῳ γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ τεχνησομένου; καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἑλληνας οὐ πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἐξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐγένοντο. εἰ γὰρ γεννητοῦ ὁ κόσμος, ὡς καὶ πολλοὶς Ἑλλήνων ἥρεσεν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους μὴ ἐκ συνουσίας ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς, σπερματικῶν λόγων συστάσων ἐν τῇ γῇ. ὅπερ οἶμαι παραδοξὸν τοῦ ἐξ ἡμίσεως ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. οὐδὲν δ' ἔστιν Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις χρῆσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν μῆνοι τῇ παραδόξῳ ταύτῃ κεχρησθαι. Ἐδοξε γάρ τισιν οὐ περὶ ἀρχαίων τινῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἰλλὰ καὶ περὶ τινῶν χθῆς καὶ πρώην γενομένων ἀναγράψαι ὡς δυνατόν ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμφικτιονίης γέγονε, κωλυθέντος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, ἕως τὸν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος σπαρέντα. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀληθῶς μῦθοι, κινήσαντες εἰς αἰσῶτα τοιοῦτό τι περὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὃν ἐνόμιζον μείζονα τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντα σοφίαν καὶ ἀπὸ κρείττονων καὶ θεοτέρων σπερμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ σώματος ὡς τοῦθ' ἀρμόζον τοῖς μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ὁ Κέλσος ἰαλεγομένου τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ διασύροντα τὴν, ὡς οἴεται, προσποιεῖται τῆς ἐκ παρθένου αὐτοῦ, φέροντα τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς μύθους περὶ Δανάης καὶ Μελεναίπης καὶ Ἀντικτιονίης λεκτέον ὅτι ταῦτα βωμολόχῃ ἔκπεσε τὰ ῥήματα καὶ οὐ σπουδάζοντι γυγνῆναι.

In *Against Celsus*, I, 39 (IV, 413), mention is made of the sarcastic inquiry of Celsus as to just why God decided to have intercourse with this particular woman, but in the opinion of Origen such an irreverent question merits no reply. There is an argument in *Against Celsus*, II, 69 (IV, 459), based upon the burial of Jesus in the new tomb, to show that by analogy it was fitting for him to be conceived, not by ordinary generation, but of a virgin.

As would be expected, Origen's argument in defense of the virgin birth causes him to make the ordinary appeal to prophecy, which he regards as being minutely predictive.<sup>111</sup> The Immanuel passage is used in *Against Celsus*, I, 34, 35 (IV, 410 ff.), where from his linguistic studies Origen decides that עִלְמָנִי, which the Septuagint translates παρθένος, means technically a virgin, as is substantiated, in his opinion, by Deut. 22:23, 24. But by referring to Prov. 30:19 and Cant. 6:8 we are led to believe that his deduction was made upon too narrow a basis. Probably the best translation for Isa. 7:14 is "the young spouse."

The distinctive use of the New Testament is found in the relics which we have of Origen's commentaries on Matthew and John. In the former, Books VI, 7, and X, 17 (IX, 357, 424), treating of the opinion of Jesus' contemporaries as expressed in Matt. 13:55 ff., where Mary and the carpenter and his brothers are mentioned by name and his sisters referred to, he says:

But some say, basing it on a tradition in the gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or the book of James, that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary. Now those who say so wish to preserve the honor of Mary in virginity to the end, so that that body of hers which was appointed to minister to the Word which said: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, etc.," might not know intercourse with man after that the Holy Ghost came into her, and the power from on high overshadowed her. And I think it in harmony with reason that Jesus was the first fruit among men of the purity which consists in chastity, and Mary among women; for it were not pious to ascribe to any other than to her the first fruit of virginity.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> E. g., *Against Celsus*, I, 37 (IV, 412.)

<sup>112</sup> ORIGENIS *Com. Matt.*, X, 17: φασι τινες εἶναι ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρῶμενοι τοῦ ἐπεγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐαγγελίου ἡ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς, συνωκηκίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν παρθενίᾳ τηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους βουλονται, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κριθέν ἐκεῖνο σῶμα διακοινησθῆαι ἐν παρθενίᾳ εἰπόντι Ἀδῶψ. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον κ. τ. λ. γυνὴ κοίτην ἀνδρὸς μετὰ τὸ ἐπελθεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν ἐπεσκιακυῖα αὐτῇ δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους. καὶ οἷμαι λογὸν ἔχειν, ἀνδρῶν μὲν καθαρότητος τῆς ἐν ἀνείρᾳ ἀπαρχὴν γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, γυναικῶν δὲ τὴν Μαρίαν. Οὐ γὰρ εὐφημον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπάρχην τῆς παρθενίας ἐπιγράψασθαι.

In this passage Origen clearly accepts as agreeable with his own thinking the tradition of the perpetual virginity of Mary given in the gospel of James, while he differs from those who by their questions recorded in Matt. 13:55 evidently thought Jesus to be the son of Joseph. But just what does Origen mean by Jesus' being the first fruit among men of the purity which consists in chastity, and Mary's being the same among women? With regard to Jesus he seems to express it as a reasonable opinion that he was the first man born in purity, *i. e.*, whose conception and birth were chaste. Impurity and unchastity entered into the generation of all others. In the case of Jesus this purity was the result of the miraculous conception by the spirit of God, and his miraculous birth as related in the gospel of James, for the birth there described is free from pollution such as attended every other birth, and the virginity of Mary is preserved intact. But does Origen assert a like birth for Mary herself? It is more probable that he intends to give Mary only a somewhat *similar* place of purity among women, not asserting a virgin birth for her, but, in accord with the gospel upon whose representation he has already commented, ascribing to her superior chastity in her birth and upbringing. This is the impression given by the protevangelium, where the most remarkable child Mary is born to the aged Joachim and Anna, not of lust, but as the child of prayer, and is carefully shielded from all impurity. Similar births of male children are recorded in the Old Testament, but Mary is the first *woman* of whom we have such a record. Thus the influence of the protevangelium of James or of some similar tradition is very evident in shaping the thought and expression of Origen in this passage.

There is a reference to John 2:21 in *Com.*, X, 23 (IX, 403), where the query is raised as to whether "the temple of his body" means "the body which he received from the Virgin, or that body of Christ which the church is said to be." And the leaping of the Baptist in the womb of Elizabeth is taken to attest "his divine conception and birth."

Having dealt with the statements of the virgin birth and Origen's appeal to Scripture, especially prophecy and the gospels, we come to the ultimate theological position of Origen on the question. *De Principiis*, I, 2, 4 (IV, 247):

For those children of men which appear among us, or those descendants of other living beings, correspond to the seed of those by whom they were begotten, or derived from those mothers in whose wombs they are formed and nourished, whatever that is which they bring into this life and carry



with them when they are born. But it is monstrous and unlawful to compare God the Father, in the generation of his only begotten Son, and in the substance of the same, to any man or other living thing engaged in such an act; for we must of necessity hold that there is something exceptional and worthy of God which does not admit of any comparison at all, not merely in things, but which cannot even be conceived by thought or discovered by perception, so that a human mind should be able to apprehend how the unbegotten God is made the father of the only begotten Son. Because his generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun. For it is not by receiving the breath of life that he is made a son, not by any outward act, but by his own nature.<sup>113</sup>

Although Origen is not here dealing directly with the virgin birth as such, but rather with the problem of the creation of the pre-existent Son of God, still what he has to say has a double bearing upon the virgin birth; first, in that it flatly repudiates the thesis of Tertullian and others of the Fathers, that a god is born of a god, and that the laws which hold in the matter of human generation and offspring must be normative in the sphere of the divine. On the contrary, Origen, in a very laudable way, lifts the whole matter out of the realm of human parallel and says that, as when the sun first existed its rays went forth, so when God first existed (if such a time can be conceived) then inevitably the Son existed also. This idea has its bearing upon the virgin birth in freeing it from any thought of a nature imparted to Jesus, and in the second place makes the virgin birth an incarnation purely.<sup>114</sup>

The material of Origen is valuable for this study of the virgin birth in that it indicates what were the counter-stories in vogue among the Jews; that the Greek myths and the story regarding the virgin birth of Plato were widely discarded, while the virgin birth of Jesus was still

<sup>113</sup> ORIGENIS *De Principiis*, I, ii, 4: "Quoniam hi qui videntur apud nos hominum filii, vel caeterorum animalium, semini eorum a quibus seminati sunt respondent, vel earum quarum in utero formantur ac nutriuntur, habent ex his quicquid illud est quod in lucem hanc assumunt ac deferunt processuri. Infandum autem est et illicitum, Deum patrem in generatione unigeniti filii sui atque in subsistentia ejus exaequare alicui vel hominum vel aliorum animantium generanti: sed necesse est aliquid exceptum esse Deoque dignum cui nulla prorsus comparatio non in rebus solum, sed ne in cogitatione quidem, vel sensu invenire potest, ut humana cogitatio possit apprehendere quomodo ingenitus Deus pater efficitur unigeniti filii. Est namque ita aeterna ac sempiterna generatio sicut splendor generatur ex luce. Non enim per adoptionem spiritus filius fit extrinsecus, sed natura filius est."

<sup>114</sup> For the Gnostic refinement of the incarnation see *De Principiis*, II, 6 (IV, 282), where the union of the pre-existent Son with  $\psi\chi\eta$  prior to the latter's assumption of a body lessens the difficulty of God's mingling with matter.

generally maintained ; that the resort to prophecy was similar to that of former apologists, but with a show of more scholarship; that the mystic and spiritual import of the fact was, as would be natural from the Gnostic standpoint, of relatively the greatest importance ; and that this same spiritual sense freed the concept from some of its former grossness, and placed it beyond the realm of explanation ; while at the same time the virgin birth was an important witness to the true nature of him who, being pre-existent as the Son of God, nevertheless submitted to this wonderful incarnation. " His birth from the Virgin and his life so admirably lived showed him to be more than a man " (*Com. in Ioannem*, I, 34, [IX, 315]).

1. In the matter of the sources for the virgin-birth story Origen shows that there was no extra-canonical account to which the Jews in their bitter calumny could appeal, and that therefore they were forced to apply their inventive and spiteful genius to the canonical sources. All of the apocryphal sources were a heightening rather than a toning down or denial of the miraculous in the canonical accounts. That the heretics made use of these apocryphal elaborations is made quite probable from *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408). In this passage there seems to be a heretical use of some gospel or gospels that narrated the miraculous doings of Jesus while in Egypt. (See, *e. g.*, Pseudo-Matthew, chaps. 19-24.) As for Origen himself, his chief appeal is to the canonical stories, but at the same time his references to the Gospel of the Hebrews and of Peter and of James, and his rather glad acceptance of the material which they afford, indicate the growing favor which the apocryphal gospels were receiving.

2. Origen's belief in the pre-existence of Christ as the Word is clearly stated, as is also the humiliation of the advent as taught by Paul. He believed in the miraculous conception and in the virgin birth as a real birth, and yet he exalted the whole matter above the rightful field for man's investigation and understanding, making it a more profound fact by far than the straight-going logic of Tertullian had assumed. Origen held to a combination, but hardly a harmonization, of the Johannine Logos philosophy and the simple account of the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke ; and in this combination the Logos philosophy was the predominant factor.

3. The item of chief importance contributed by Origen is his indication of the growing acceptance of the apocryphal view of the chastity of Mary as emphasized in the teaching of her perpetual virginity. This gradual advance upon the position of Clement of Alexandria is

what would be expected in the case of so severe an ascetic as Origen, and we should therefore be guarded against crediting the apocryphal sources with too wide an influence among Christians who were unaffected by the Gnostic philosophy.

X. HIPPOLYTUS (flourished 198-239).<sup>115</sup> The extant writings of Hippolytus state the theories of the virgin birth with great frequency and variety. Most of the views, however, are those that have already been noticed in other apologists and polemicists.<sup>116</sup> Among the less familiar views is that of the Sethians:

The Son . . . in the shape of a serpent entered into a womb in order that he might be able to recover that Mind which is the scintillation from the light.<sup>117</sup>

The Sethians had formed a threefold philosophy based upon light, spirit, and darkness, as the three fundamental elements. Light is that which is superior and above, darkness is its opposite, and spirit is between the two. Jesus came into human life to redeem the mind, which is light, encircled in the darkness of flesh. The Greek sophist Monoimus says:

The Son of Man . . . has been generated from the perfect man, whom no one knew; every creature who is ignorant of the Son, however, forms an idea of him as the offspring of a woman (*Refutation of All Heresies*, VIII, 6 [V, 121]).

Noetus expresses the Patripassian theory which found favor with the contemporary Roman bishops and served to make them odious to Hippolytus. The longer statement of this theory is in IX, 5 (V, 127), but the shorter one in X, 23 (V, 148) gives the gist of the matter:

And this heretic also alleges that the Father is unbegotten when he is not generated, but begotten when he is born of a virgin.

There is an interesting belief recorded in IX, 9 and 25 (V, 132, 148), showing how the Pythagorean influence had determined the theory of a certain heretic Elchasai, who

<sup>115</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Book VI, 22.

<sup>116</sup> Orthodox statement = *Refutation of All Heresies*, VIII, 10; X, 29 (V, 123, 152); *Com. on Dan.*, III, 6 and 93 (V, 179, 188); *Homilies*, VI (V, 239); *Against Noctus*, IV (V, 225); and *Com. Prov.* (V, 174). Especially emphasizing the reality of Jesus' birth, *Refutation of All Heresies*, VI, 4 (V, 75); Valentinian and Gnostic views = *Ref. All Her.*, VI, 30, 31; VIII, 2 (V, 88, 90, 118); Carpocrates = VII, 20 (V, 113); Cerinthus = VII, 21; X, 17 (V, 114, 147); Ebionites = VII, 22 (V, 114); Theodotus = VII, 23; X, 19 (V, 114, 147); Apelles = VII, 26; X, 16 (V, 115, 147); Marcus = VI, 46 (V, 97); Docetic = VIII, 3 (V, 120).

<sup>117</sup> *Refutation of All Heresies*, V, 14; X, 7 (V, 66, 143).

asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way as common to all, and that Christ was not for the first time on earth when born of a virgin, but that both previously and that frequently again he had been born and would be born. Christ would thus appear and exist among us from time to time, undergoing alterations of birth, and having his soul transferred from body to body.

Then finally there is the Jewish belief

that his generation will be from the stock of David, but not from a virgin and the Holy Spirit, but from a woman and a man, according as it is a rule for all to be procreated from seed (*Refutation of All Heresies*, IX, 25 [V, 138]).

From the material above cited and quoted we may learn with what variety and in connection with what professedly philosophic vagaries the doctrine of the virgin birth was set forth. Had more of the writings of Hippolytus been preserved, we should undoubtedly be even more impressed with this fact, which means that the theological valuation of the doctrine steadily increased from what was in apostolic times a negligible quantity to what was now conceived to be of the most serious theological import. In the formulation of the church's belief, whether that most commonly accepted or that peculiar to the heretical sects, this doctrine, in some form or other, negative or positive, was sure to appear.

In examining the support which Hippolytus adduces from the Scriptures for the orthodox theory of the virgin birth we must, because of the fragmentary character of his writings, be satisfied with a more superficial defense than was offered by his great predecessors. No use is made of the Immanuel prophecy; but Daniel, Proverbs, and Psalms are the chief Old Testament authorities to which appeal is made. Prov. 9:1, "Wisdom hath builded her house," is taken to mean that Christ, the wisdom and power of God, took his covering of flesh from the Virgin. A fanciful comment is given on Cant. 4:16, "Awake, O northwind; and come thou, south. Blow upon my garden that the spices thereof may flow out":

As Joseph was delighted with these spices, he is designated the king's son by God; as the virgin Mary was anointed with them, she conceived the Word <sup>177a</sup> (V, 176).

In the comment on Dan. 3:26 there is a statement of the pre-existence

<sup>177a</sup> HIPPOLYTUS, *In Canticum Canticorum*, 4:16: "His aromatibus cum oblectatus esset Joseph, filius Regis a Deo designatur. His Virgo Maria cum uncta esset, in ventre suo concepit Verbum."

and activity of Christ before the virgin birth. There is also an obscure remark in the *Commentary on the Psalms* (V, 170):

But the Lord was without sin, made of imperishable wood as regards his humanity; that is, of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost inwardly, and outwardly of the Word of God, like an ark overlaid with purest gold.<sup>118</sup>

The main object here seems to be to show the purity of Jesus' conception. But what can be meant by Jesus' being made of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost *inwardly* and of the Word of God *outwardly*? The reverse statement would have been more easy of apprehension. Whether there is any serious theological concept at the basis of this similitude of Jesus to the ark, or whether the similitude is carried out for its own sake and on this account the Word, as being the more precious and corresponding to the gold of the ark, is given an external place in the ontography of Jesus, is difficult to say, because at most the passage is only a fragmentary and fanciful comment on a Hebrew poem. If, however, the passage be taken at all seriously, it will be seen to teach that the Spirit and the Virgin produced the humanity of Jesus (*i. e.*, the Spirit is the cause of the conception of Jesus the human being, but does not impart divinity to his nature), and the Word is the divine element existing in union with this humanity. But it should be borne in mind that the primary emphasis of the passage is upon the purity and sinlessness of Jesus.<sup>119</sup>

The theological deductions from the virgin birth are clear and uniform. It took place in order that God might create anew the first-formed Adam: *Dan.*, VII, § 14 (V, 189); *Refutation of All Heresies*, X, 29 (V, 152); *Prov.* 30: 29 (V, 175). In order to do this, the first-born God must be manifested in union with a first-born man: *Com. Luke*, 2: 7 (V, 194); *Homilies*, IV, § 2 (V, 234), and VII, § 1 (V, 239); *Com. Psalm.*, 109, 110 (V, 170), "that by uniting his own power with our mortal body, and by mixing the incorruptible with the corruptible and the strong with the weak, he might save perishing man."<sup>120</sup> *Antichrist*, 4 (V, 205), and *Against Noetus*, 17 (V, 230). But the most compre-

<sup>118</sup> HIPPOLYTUS, *In Psalmum XXII*: 'Ο δὲ Κύριος ἀναμάρτητος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν ἀσχητῶν ξύλων τὸ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, τούτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔσθωτο, καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ, οἷα καθαρῶτάψ χρυσίῳ περικεκαλυμμένος. (These comments are gathered from quotations by THODORET in his *First and Second Dialogue*.)

<sup>119</sup> See also comments on Pss. 109, 110 (V, 170), and *Prov.*, 30: 29 ff., treating of the first and second Adam; and meager New Testament references (V, 213, 236).

<sup>120</sup> HIPPOLYTUS, *De Christo et Antichristo*, IV: 'Ὅπως συγκερᾶσας τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν σῶμα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καὶ μίξας τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τὸ φθαρτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῷ ισχυρῷ, σώσῃ τὸν ἀπολλύμενον ἄνθρωπον.

hensive single statement is given in Fragment 8 of the *Treatise against Beron and Helix* (V, 234):

But the pious confession of the believer is that, with a view to our salvation and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things incorporated with himself a rational soul and a sensible body from the all-holy Mary, ever virgin by an undefiled conception, without change, and was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness; the same was perfect God and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man.<sup>121</sup>

In Hippolytus, then, we find the greatest variety of theories of the virgin birth, a superficial resort to scriptural attestation, and a clear conviction that such a birth was necessary for the restoration to God of fallen and corrupt man. Mary is "all holy" as well as "ever virgin," and her importance in the divine economy may be judged from the importance and greatness of the redemptive work undertaken by God through her sacred instrumentality.

1. In addition to the canonical accounts Hippolytus used some such apocryphal sources as the gospel of James or the gospel of Thomas.<sup>122</sup> This is evidenced by his expressions of "ever virgin" and "all holy," and in general by the exaltedness ascribed to Mary.

2. In the passages which bear upon the virgin birth Hippolytus asserts the pre-existence of Jesus more than a dozen times. He goes even beyond the philosophy of John when he says that "the Creator of all things incorporated with himself a rational soul and a sensible body from the all-holy Mary ever virgin," etc. Thus, as so often, the idea expressed in the prologue of John, because better calculated to support the divinity of Jesus, becomes the controlling factor in the representation of the advent of Christ. It will be seen that, while Hippolytus accepts Origen's tricotomous description of Jesus, he holds that both soul and body were assumed from Mary, whereas Origen held the soul was supplied as a medium whereby to reduce the harshness of the incarnation of God, the divine spirit.

<sup>121</sup> HIPPOLYTUS, *Contra Beronem et Heliconem*, VIII: 'ΑΛΛ' εὐσεβῶς ὁμολογεῖ πιστεῦν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὸ δῆσαι πρὸς ἀρεσίαν τὸ πᾶν, ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, κατὰ σύλληψιν ἀχραντον, δίχα τροπῆς, ἐνουσίως ἐαυτῷ ψυχὴν νοερὰν μετὰ αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει κακίας ἀλλότριος. ὁλος θεὸς ὁ αὐτός, καὶ ὁλος ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός. ὁλος θεὸς ὁμοῦ φύσει καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός.

<sup>122</sup> That Hippolytus used the gospel of Thomas see *Philos.*, V, 7: 'Ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδίδασι λέγοντες οὕτως. "Ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν ἐνρήσῃ ἐν παιδίοις ἀπο ἐτῶν ἐπτά ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἰδ' αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανερούμαι.

3. Hippolytus is of significance chiefly in showing how the apocryphal literature which, in its exaltation of Mary, served Clement as attractive illustration, and appealed to Origen as being in accord with reason, found unquestioned acceptance and unhesitating use.

XI. CYPRIAN<sup>103</sup> (bishop of Carthage, martyred 258) makes frequent quotation of prophecy and also of the gospel story, but all that he comments on or uses in any significant way is confined to three references. Two of these, *Epistles*, 72, § 5 (V, 380), and *Treatises*, 6, § 11 (V, 468), contain merely the statement of the virgin birth involving the pre-existence of Christ, as the Word and Son of God, who by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit entered a virgin and mingled with man in the birth, thus becoming a perfect mediator. The third reference, *Treatises*, Book II, 9 (V, 515), contains an echo of the Immanuel argument: "That this should be the sign of his nativity that he should be born of a virgin—man and God—son of man and of God."

1. The material of Cyprian is altogether too meager to warrant any broad deductions, but such material as we have reflects (1) a use of canonical sources only; (2) that he believed in the pre-existence and at the same time accepted the virgin birth, probably seeing in it, as did Tertullian his predecessor in Carthage, a consistent explanation of the humanity of the divine Christ.

XII. NOVATIAN, a Roman presbyter, in his work *De Trinitate*, chap. 24 (V, 635), written perhaps shortly after 256, makes a reference to the annunciation story in Luke, making especial use of the implicative force of *ὁ καὶ* in 1:35b. The heretics had not preserved the distinction between the "Son of God" and "Son of man" elements in Jesus. By the use of Luke 1:35 they had maintained that "man himself and that bodily flesh, that which is called holy, is itself the son of God." In reply, Novatian points out that the Scripture does not say, "Therefore the holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," but it says, "Therefore *also*," and thereby implies that the Son of God is in the first place the Word of God which came into Mary by the Holy Spirit's operation and which sanctified the substances taken from her body for the formation of Jesus, permitting them to be called "holy" and in a consequential and merely secondary sense the "Son of God."

1. These passages from Novatian reveal his appeal to the infancy sections of Luke as "the divine Scriptures" and also verify the fact, before noted, that the heretics seem to have been shut up to the

<sup>103</sup>EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books III, VI, VII, XXXI.

canonical accounts as their only source of appeal in altering the generally accepted teaching of the virgin birth.

2. Novatian's theory is decidedly that of an incarnation, the indwelling of the pre-existent Christ, the Word, within Mary, and his taking from her and hallowing those physical elements necessary to his human self-revelation. The doctrine as stated by Novatian gets a natural setting in trinitarian theory. God's Son, the Word, is imparted to Mary by the Holy Spirit and from Mary is given to the world clothed in flesh, being still the Son of God, but, because of the human nature which he assumed, also Son of man.

3. Perhaps Novatian's chief contribution to the study is in his serious and hitherto unsurpassed attempt to harmonize John and Luke, and almost equally in his clear definition of the incarnation in trinitarian terms.

XIII. MALCHION (flourished about 270) seems to present a new view of the incarnation in a fragment of the epistle of the Antiochian synod (VI, 171):

He was formed in the first instance as man in the womb, and in the second instance (*κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον*) the God also was in the womb, united essentially with the human (*συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ*), that is to say, his substance being wedded with the man.<sup>124</sup>

This statement, however, does not exactly touch the matter of the virgin birth, but leaves the way open for a theory of the generation of the body of Jesus either naturally or by miracle, and subsequent to the beginning of that process an infusion of a divine element or the Word. Thus the incoming of the Word would not be the cause of the generation, but, the generation being already under way by miraculous or natural initiative, the deifying element enters and differentiates Christ from all other men. But it would be very unsafe to more than admit the *possibility* of such a theory from an isolated fragment such as this; and, at any rate, the theory would collapse should "in the first instance" and "in the second instance" be shown to be logical rather than chronological, which is indeed probable.

What Malchion seems to be contending for is the actual union of the divine and the human in Christ, as distinct from the mere indwelling of the divine as a spirit inhabiting the body.

1. Nothing significant can be determined as to the sources used.

<sup>124</sup> MALCHION, *Epistola contra Paulum Samosatam*: "Formatus est principaliter ut homo in ventre; et secundario Deus erat in ventre *συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ*, id est, copulata substantia ejus cum homine."



2. Malchion seems to be contending for an actual incarnation and a vital union of the divine with the human.

3. There is no significant increment to the study at this point.

XIV. ARCHELAUS (flourished about 277). In the *Disputation with Manes*, which is no doubt for the most part genuine, the objections raised against the virgin birth by the Gnostic dualism of the Manichaeans are clearly set forth, and are seen to be objections not so much against the *virgin* birth as against any birth whatsoever. Since matter is inherently evil, how could the Son of God submit to be born of a woman? § 5 (VI, 182). Could the Son of God, he who could change himself into any semblance, and did change himself into the semblance of the sun, be under the necessity of having mother, brethren, or father, as is involved when Archelaus makes Joseph, his father, and Christ to descend upon him at the baptism? To adopt this belief would be to make him the Son of God by increase (*per profectum*), and not because of his essential nature. Then, too, if he were a real material man, is it not also necessary to consider the dove that descended as material; and how could it dwell within him? § 50 (VI, 226, 227). Moreover, if Jesus were the son of Mary, it was possible for him to have brethren either begotten by the same Holy Spirit, and hence like himself, or perchance the undefiled Virgin had subsequent intercourse with Joseph — all of which is unthinkable. The rebuke administered by Christ to the intruder who announced the approach of his mother and brethren (Matt. 12:47), together with his approval of Peter's confession (Matt. 16:16), go to show that Jesus was born of no human parentage whatever; § 47 (VI, 223).

In reply Archelaus points out the various uses of the term "father," showing that it may be used of the begetter or of the guardian of a child, or it may signify a certain privilege or revered standing because of age and position. In the first of these senses, God was the father of Jesus; in the second, Joseph could be called his father; and in the third, the title was applicable to David; <sup>185</sup> § 34 (VI, 207). Another

<sup>185</sup> ARCHELAUS, *Cum Manete Haeresiarcha*, § 34: "Ignorare vos non arbitror, quoniam *pater* unum quidem sit nomen, diversos tamen habet intellectus: alius enim pater dicitur eorum, quos naturaliter genuerit filiorum; alius vero eorum, quos tantummodo enutrierit; nonnulli vero temporis atque aetatis privilegio: unde et Dominus noster Jesus plurimos patres habere dicitur; nam et David pater ejus appellatus est, et Joseph ejus pater putatus est, cum nullus horum pater ejus fuerit veritate naturae. Nam David pater ejus dicitur aetatis ac temporis privilegio, Joseph vero lege nutriendi; solus autem Deus Pater ejus natura est, qui omnia per Verbum suum velociter nobis manifestare dignatus est."

argument is advanced from the fact that, the judgment being dependent upon the resurrection, and this upon the passion, and the passion in turn upon the birth from Mary, the whole Christian system would be undermined by the denial of such a birth ; § 49 (VI, 225). Archelaus appeals to Phil. 2 : 7 to show how Jesus voluntarily humbled himself and took the form of a servant. He asserts, moreover, that the descending Spirit was only *like* a dove, and that Jesus' body made of Mary was the only tabernacle that had ever been equal to sustaining the Spirit which descended from God ; § 50 (VI, 226).

There is also in the *Disputation* a noteworthy story of the doings of an impostor Terebinthus,<sup>126</sup> the disciple of one of Scythianus. This Terebinthus made great claims for himself in Babylonia, alleging, among other things, "that he was the son of a certain virgin." He was, however, cast down from a housetop by a spirit, and so perished. The incident indicates how this man of great pretensions simulated a birth like that ascribed to Jesus, but, unlike him, made such a birth a basis of appeal for establishing his own claims.

1. The material of Archelaus betrays no use of extra-canonical sources, and the Manichæans seem to have made no pretense at having biblical sources for their teaching, but to have evolved their doctrine chiefly from an extreme Gnostic philosophy. Their abhorrence of the thought that Mary could ever have become actually married to Joseph reveals the influence of apocryphal gospels, or of such material as is embodied in them.

2. Archelaus believed that Jesus was the Son of God (*i. e.*, God) and that he chose to be made man of Mary, the mother of God, and that upon the man thus born the Spirit or the Christ descended at baptism, reconstituting the willingly humiliated one, Christ and divine.

3. One contribution of Archelaus to the study is a clear definition of the uses of the term "father." His reference to Mary the mother of God (if not the touch of a later Latin hand) is an inevitable result of the dominant rigid trinitarianism stimulated by the increasing tendency to exalt Mary. A third increment to the study is the idea of the complete humanizing of God in the incarnation, necessitating a restitution by the descent of the Spirit at baptism. In this way it

<sup>126</sup> ARCHELAUS, *Cum Manele Haeresiarcha*, § 52 : "Quo cum venisset, talem de se famam pervulgavit ipse Terebinthus, dicens omni se sapientia Aegyptiorum repletum, et vocari non jam Terebinthum, sed alium Buddam nomine, sibi que hoc nomen impositum ; ex quadam autem virgine natum esse, simul et ab angelo in montibus enutritum."

seems that Archelaus is the first of the Fathers to make an actual harmonization of John and Luke by representing the complete change of deity into humanity and the birth as that of a human being not possessed of a dual nature.

XV. ARNOBIUS (flourished 290-310) says:

We worship one who is born of man . . . but if, while you know that they (the Greek gods) were born in the womb and that they lived on the produce of the earth, you nevertheless upbraid us with the worship of one born like ourselves, you act with great injustice. . . . You worship, says my opponent, one who was born a mere human being. Even if that were true, as has been already said in former passages, yet, in consideration of the many liberal gifts which he has bestowed on us, he ought to be called and be addressed as God (VI, 422).<sup>127</sup>

This very fairly represents the practical sort of defense that could be produced from the limited information of Arnobius, and in view of the immediate issue which confronted him in the gross heathen idolatry from which he had so recently been converted. The statements that Jesus "was born a man," "born a mere human being," point (in view of the reference to Greek myth and the implication of "even if that were true," § 37), not to the conclusion that Arnobius was ignorant of the virgin birth or, though informed on the theory, did not deem it worthy of mention or timely in the apology under consideration, but rather to the fact that his apology was of so primary a nature as to forbid emphasis upon the distasteful elements of Christianity or upon anything but the barest fundamentals of faith.

1. The material in our possession indicates an acquaintance with the virgin-birth story of Matthew or Luke, but not the slightest influence of the Johannine philosophy, and an entire absence of apocryphal elements.

2. These two references do not indicate that Arnobius made any theological deductions from the virgin birth (assuming that he was acquainted with the accounts of Matthew and Luke), but that, on the contrary and for his immediate practical purpose, based the claim of divinity upon the benefits which Jesus bestowed upon mankind.

3. He is of interest in the course of the study as representing a reversion to the virgin birth unaffected by the Logos doctrine.

<sup>127</sup> ARNOBIUS, *Adversus Gentes*, I, 37: "Natum hominem colimus. . . . Sin autem scientes uteris esse gestatus, et frugibus eos victitasse terrenis, nihil ominis tamen nati nobis hominis abjectatis cultum: res agitis satis injustas. . . ." 42: "Natum hominem colitis. Etiam si esset id verum, locis ut superioribus dictum est, tamen pro multis, et tam liberalibus donis, quae ac eo profecta in nobis sunt, Deus dici appellari-que deberet."

XVI. LACTANTIUS (about 250-330) regards the virgin birth from a decidedly theological point of view. The Son of God, the Word, was first *spiritually* created by God; *Institutes*, IV, 8 (VII, 106). This was his first birth and in it no mother participated. His second birth was *physical*, of the Virgin's womb, and in it no father participated. By these two births he was constituted a "middle substance" between God and man, and was eminently fitted to be man's Savior. He was "the Son of God through the Spirit and the son of man through the flesh, that is, both God and man;" IV, 13 (VII, 112).<sup>128</sup>

1. The material of Lactantius reflects but slightly the influence of any sources save the canonical accounts<sup>129</sup> of the virgin birth and the Johannine Logos doctrine, but it is possible that apocryphal influence accounts for the epithet "holy" as applied to Mary.

2. His understanding of the virgin birth is schematic; and indeed he offers a partial rationale of John's Logos doctrine in pointing out that, while other spiritual beings were merely the breath of God, he who was subsequently born of Mary was pre-eminent among the angels in that he was the *articulate* breath of God, *i. e.*, the Word. But Lactantius does not differentiate the Word from "the Holy Spirit of God who descending from heaven chose the holy Virgin that he might enter into her womb." The virgin birth assured the human nature of the divine Christ, and constituted him a fit mediator for the lost human race.

3. The contribution of Lactantius to the history of the thought is of little interest except to show how the doctrine of the virgin birth as dominated by the Johannine philosophy was finding its place in the gradually hardening cast of a systematic theology.

XVII. METHODIUS (martyred about 311) has but one certain<sup>130</sup> reference to the subject in hand:

<sup>128</sup> LACTANTIUS, *Divin. Instit.*, IV, 13: "In prima enim nativitate spiritali *ἀσώτως* fuit, quia sine officio matris a solo Deo Patre generatus est. In secunda vero carnali *ἀνάτως* fuit, quoniam sine patris officio virginali utero procreatus est, ut mediam inter Deum et hominem substantiam gerens, nostram hanc fragilem imbecillemque naturam quasi manu ad immortalitatem posset educere. Factus est et Dei filius per spiritum, et hominis per carnem; id est, et Deus, et homo." See also chap. 25 and *Epitome*, 43 (VII, 126, 239).

<sup>129</sup> For use of a spurious quotation accredited to Solomon, but being probably a marginal interpolation of the Book of Wisdom, see *Institutes*, IV, 12, and *Epitome*, 44 (VII, 110, 239).

<sup>130</sup> His purported *Oration re Simeon and Anna*, which contains material germane to the virgin birth, is undoubtedly spurious and of much later date. The system of church festivals assumed in the work was not in existence at the time of Methodius; and the work gives evidence of being subsequent to the Nestorian controversy.

And thus, when renovating those things which were from the beginning and forming them again of the Virgin and the Spirit, he frames the same just as at the beginning. When the earth was still virgin and untilled, God, taking mold, formed the reasonable creature from it without seed. . . . (Chap. 5.) For when Adam, having been formed out of clay, was still soft and moist, and not yet like a tile made hard and incorruptible, sin ruined him, flowing and dropping down upon him like water, and therefore God, moistening him afresh, and forming anew the same clay to his honor, having first hardened and fixed it in the Virgin's womb, and united and mixed it with the Word, brought it forth into life, no longer soft and broken.<sup>131</sup> (Discourse, III, chaps. 4 and 5 [VI, 318].)

1. Methodius seems to be informed and influenced by the canonical sources only.

2. His understanding of the virgin birth is that in it is an explanation of the dual nature upon the basis of a union of the Word with an impeccable human being, and also the assurance of the restoration of man to his primal purity.

3. The material of Methodius serves to verify in some degree the existence of the theologizing tendency reflected in Lactantius; and perhaps chiefly to recall again to our minds by a very striking example the dominant theological *method* of the entire ante-Nicene period.

XVIII. VICTORINUS (martyred about 311), in commenting on Rev. 1:16 (VII, 345 ff.), as illumined by Isa. 4:1, refers to Christ as "not born of seed;" and in elaborating 4:7 (VII, 348) says:

And in the figure of a man Matthew strives to declare to us the genealogy of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Therefore, in enumerating from Abraham to David and thence to Joseph, he spoke of him as if of a man. This conscious effort at representing God as human, which is ascribed to Matthew, is as far wide of the truth as the assertion that he gave the genealogy of *Mary*. A rather fanciful passage is found in the discourse on the *Creation of the World* (VII, 343), where he makes the day of the annunciation to Mary coincident with that on which Eve was deceived, and the day when "the Holy Spirit overflowed the virgin

<sup>131</sup> METHODIUS, *Convivium Decem Virginum*, III, 4: Ταύτην γὰρ ἀναζωγραφὴν τὰ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, καὶ ἀναπλάσσωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ Παρθένου καὶ Πνεύματος, τεκταίνεται τὸν αὐτόν. ἐπειδὴ καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, οὕσης Παρθένου γῆς ἔτι καὶ ἀνηρότου, λαβὼν χεὺν, τὸ λογικώτατον ἐκπλάσματο ζῶον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ θεὸς ἀνεν σποράς. . . . Ἐτι γὰρ πληρουρούμενοι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, καὶ τηκτὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑδαρῆ, καὶ μηδέπω φθάσαντα, δίκην ὀστράκου, τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ κραταιωθῆναι, ὅδωρ ὥσπερ καταλειβομένη καὶ καταστάζουσα, διέλυσε αὐτὸν ἢ ἀμαρτία. Διὸ δὴ πάλιν ἀνωθεν ἀναδείων καὶ πηλοπλαστῶν τὸν αὐτόν εἰς τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ κρατειώσας πρῶτον καὶ πῆξας μήτρεα, καὶ συνενώσας καὶ συγκερμάσας τῷ λόγῳ, ἀτηκτον καὶ ἀθραυστον ἐξήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον.

Mary" coincident with that on which God made light. Other more important passages are found in a work *Against All Heresies* (III, 649-54), which is inserted in the text of Tertullian, but which in all probability comes from the pen of Victorinus. The treatise is a hasty review of the chief heretics from Simon Magus to Praxeas, and deals specifically with "*those who have chosen to make the gospel the starting-point of their heresies.*" Among these are Saturninus (prior to Irenæus and probably to Justin), who stated that the innascible (*innascibilem* probably an adaptation of *innoscibilem* = ἀγνώστος) God abides in the highest regions, and that Christ did not exist in a bodily substance, but in phantasmal form; and Basilides (about 120), asserting that Christ came to this world in a phantasm and was destitute of the substance of flesh; and the Ophites (second century prior to Irenæus) or Serpentarians, also asserting that Christ did not exist in the substance of flesh; and Carpocrates (about 130), denying that Christ was born of a virgin and maintaining that he was a mere human being born of the seed of Joseph, but superior to all men in the practice of righteousness and in integrity of life, hence only his soul was received into heaven, and there is no resurrection of the body. Cerinthus (about 100) also maintained that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, while Valentinus (about 140) asserted that Christ was sent by the First-Father, Bythus, was not of the substance of our flesh, but, bringing down from heaven some sort of spiritual body, took nothing from Mary, but only passed through her as water through a pipe. Ptolemy (about 170), and Secundus (about 170), and Heracleon (about 170) held the same view as that of Valentinus. Marcus (about 150) and Colarbasus (second century prior to Irenæus) also asserted that Christ was not in the substance of flesh, but descended upon the natural Jesus—and there is no bodily resurrection.

Then the author mentions Cerdo (about 135), who believed in two gods, a superior and an inferior one, and that the Son of the superior God was not flesh, was not born of a virgin, was not born at all, but was a mere phantasm. Cerdo denied any bodily resurrection, and received only the gospel of Luke, and that in part. His disciple Marcion of Pontus agreed with him, as did Lucan, Marcion's disciple. Apelles, another disciple of Marcion, specified more particularly as to the body of Christ, saying that it was composed of a starry ethereal sort of flesh, which Christ gathered in his descent from the upper world, and the elements of which he restored to space after his resurrection and during his ascension. As for Tatian (about 140), "he wholly

savors of Valentinus." The followers of Æschines affirm Christ to be himself Son and Father. Theodotus, the Byzantine (prior to Hippolytus), admitted that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, but held that he had no pre-eminence over other men except in righteousness; while a second Theodotus held a somewhat similar doctrine, asserting that Christ was inferior to Melchizedek, inasmuch as the latter was a mediator between God and *angels*, and surpassed Christ likewise in being, not only *ἀπάρω*, but also *ἀμήτωρ* and *ἀγενελογγητός*. The heresy of Praxeas (about 200?) consisted in his belief that Christ was God the Father Almighty.

Of the above-stated beliefs that of Theodotus of Byzantium is perhaps the most striking, in that, while it admits the virgin birth, it denies the deductions commonly made therefrom, attributing to Christ only pre-eminent righteousness, and that not necessarily because of his unique birth. Theodotus had as a personal and determinative reason for holding this striking theory the fact that under persecution he had denied Christ, and it was a palliative to his conscience to maintain that after all he had not denied God, but man only.<sup>132</sup>

1. From the first three references of Victorinus it is clear that his own thought is controlled chiefly by the canonical infancy sections, while at the same time there is probably a hint of the influence of the fourth gospel in the expression that Christ took flesh from Mary. The other references, although not beyond a doubt those of Victorinus, give some idea of the widespread influence of Gnosticism in its various phases, and indicate that Gnosticism had no authoritative evangelical sources of its own to set over against the canonical gospels, but rather, so far as scriptural sanction was needed, fell back upon the canonical sources, resorting to whatever change or curtailment was found necessary.

2. Victorinus's understanding of the virgin birth is not clearly stated, but it is a practically safe deduction to credit him with the orthodox doctrine of an incarnation of God, the Word or Spirit.

3. The contribution given by Victorinus consists chiefly in the exhaustive survey of the heresies touching the virgin birth and in a clear verification of the fact that the heretics were always destitute of any authoritative starting-point save the canonical Scriptures.

XIX. PETER (bishop of Alexandria, martyred about 311) says:

Now God the Word in the absence of a man, by the will of God, who easily effects everything, was made flesh in the womb of the virgin, not

<sup>132</sup> See context and SCHAFF, *History of Christian Church*, Vol. II, p. 574.

requiring the operation of the presence of a man. For more efficacious than a man was the power of God overshadowing the Virgin, together with the Holy Ghost, who came upon her.<sup>133</sup> (Fragment on *The Godhead* [VI, 280, 283].) The extravagant nature of two remaining references makes somewhat against their genuineness. Such expressions as "the most blessed mother of God and ever-virgin Mary"<sup>134</sup> (*Genuine* [Acts VI, 267]) and "Our Lord and God Jesus Christ being in the end of the age born according to the flesh of our *holy and glorious lady*, mother of God and ever virgin, and of a truth of Mary the mother of God"<sup>135</sup> (Fragment 5 [VI, 282]) sound somewhat anachronistic, and of a piece with post-Nicene Mariolatry. But, after all, they are only a summary of the extravagant titles already applied to Mary, with the addition of "glorious lady."

1. Peter has as sources (Matthew), Luke and John, but at the same time he shows the most marked influence of the apocryphal literature.

2. According to Peter, God the pre-existent Word was made flesh in the womb of Mary by the power of God overshadowing her and the Holy Spirit coming upon her. Probably the thought of Peter resembles that of Novatian in regarding the Spirit (or power) as imparting to Mary the Word, who thus became incarnate. As usual, the virgin birth is described in terms of an incarnation.

3. The very pronounced influence of the apocryphal literature is perhaps the chief increment which Peter of Alexandria makes to the study.

XX. ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA (died about 326) states how that God, the Son, whose creation was beyond the power of the human mind to grasp, and who reigned with the Father in heaven, descended to earth and became incarnate in the Virgin's womb, assuming from her, who was thus constituted the mother of God, an actual body.<sup>136</sup>

1. Alexander shows the influence of the sources which have by this

<sup>133</sup> PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Deitate*: 'Ο δὲ θεὸς Λόγος παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀπουσίαν, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πάντα δυναμένου κατεργάσασθαι θεοῦ, γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ τῆς Παρθένου σάρξ, μήτε δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐνεργείας ἢ παρουσίας. 'Ενεργέστερον γὰρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνεποίησεν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, ἐπισκιάσασα τῇ Παρθένῳ σὺν τῷ ἐπεληλυθότι ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

<sup>134</sup> PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *Acta Sincera*: "Venerunt in ecclesiam beatissimae Dei Genetricis semperque virginis Mariae.

<sup>135</sup> PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *Fragments*, V, § 7: ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων κατὰ σάρκα τεχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ Ἀειπαρθένου, καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεοτόκου Μαρίας.

<sup>136</sup> An addition in the codex, VI (VI, 302), gives also the reason for the virgin birth: "To raise erect lost man, re-collecting his scattered members."



time become common to all the writers contributing to the study, viz., the canonical infancy stories, the Logos teaching of the fourth gospel, and the apocryphal literature.

2. As is clearly the case subsequent to the time of Ignatius, and with the exception of Arnobius, Alexander's thought of the virgin birth is controlled by the Logos doctrine, becoming on that account an incarnation in a sense that would never be suggested by the infancy sections alone.

3. Alexander's contribution, standing, as he does, the last of these twenty ante-Nicene Fathers to contribute to the study, is that of an inheritor of the good and evil of his predecessors, in apology, in polemic, and in constructive theology. His representation is a product of the whole period, during which the child born in Bethlehem gained his title to messiahship and divinity and pre-existence, carrying up with him from her obscurity the humble mother who from "virgin" became "ever virgin," and from "ever virgin" "all holy," and from "all holy" to what was inevitable in the trinitarian thought—"mother of God."

XXI. *Conclusion.*—In making a recapitulation of this survey of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, we shall endeavor (1) to gather up the facts which throw light upon the sources used by the defenders and the opponents of the virgin birth; (2) to exhibit what theories the successive Fathers held as to the origin of him who was born of the virgin; (3) to point out the theological and apologetic use made of the doctrine; and (4) to indicate the bearing of the facts adduced upon the relation existing between the doctrine of Scripture and that which became the doctrine of the church, and to show the consequent need of a historical and untraditional interpretation of the canonical accounts of the virgin birth.

1. From the first post-apostolic reference to the virgin birth to the close of the ante-Nicene period, the modifying influence of the doctrine of the pre-existence is clearly traceable. Nowhere does the representation of Matthew and Luke get a distinctly separate and independent treatment or interpretation. It is true that the influence of the Johannine source is not as unmistakably present in Ignatius as in all the other Fathers (Arnobius excepted), but it is nevertheless present in sufficient power to give an interpretation which cannot upon any other basis be thought to spring from the Matthean and Lucan material. If it is objected that Arnobius stands as an exception to this general statement, in that his interpretation of the virgin

birth is uninfluenced by the Johannine material, the objection loses its force from the fact that Arnobius gives absolutely no interpretation of the virgin birth, but only a few words of elementary apologetic. In one or two passages Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, I, 21) and possibly Tertullian (*Answer to Jews*, 13, and *Against Marcion*, IV, 10) betray the survival of the representation in the infancy sections; yet they show almost uniformly the influence of the doctrine of the pre-existence; while none of the other Fathers reflect the thought of the mere birth of a being generated in the womb of Mary; so that the Johannine source is dominant from the beginning of the second century to the Council of Nicea.<sup>137</sup>

As early as Justin there is evidence of extra-canonical tradition concerning the infancy, but this tradition in no wise influences his argument. Tertullian plainly mentions the existence of other gospels of the nativity, but does not accept any such teaching as that of the perpetual virginity of Mary, thus showing that the teaching of such a gospel as that of James (the existence of which explains the reference of Justin, and also those of subsequent Fathers) did not commend itself to the defenders of the humanity of Christ. But the apocryphal material was more attractive to Clement of Alexandria, who used the teaching mentioned above for purposes of illustration merely, while his successor Origen went so far as to commend the reasonableness of it, and Hippolytus accepted it outright. Thus a third source entered to influence the church's interpretation of the virgin birth; and this source (in all probability the gospel of James) remained as a potent factor at the close of the period. The remarkable fact concerning the almost numberless heretical attempts to discredit the virgin birth—on the one hand, by a thorough naturalizing of it, and, on the other, by a thorough Docetic treatment—is that the heretics of either sort are shut up to a use of the canonical sources as the authoritative point of departure and the only recognized basis of appeal. There is some evidence<sup>138</sup> that the Jewish heretics were influenced by the infancy stories of Pseudo-Matthew, and that the Manichæans were influenced by the gospel of James, but, on the whole, the defenders of the Catholic faith were more subject to the infusion of apocryphal thought than were the heretics; while both fell back upon the canonical writings alone as the standard of authority.

<sup>137</sup> The Nicene Creed reads: "We believe . . . in one Lord Jesus Christ . . . who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate and was made man."

<sup>138</sup> ORIGEN, *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408).

2. What has been said about the sources has, of course, its direct bearing upon the theories that were entertained as to the origin of him who was born of Mary; and, with one barely possible exception (that of Arnobius), the theories are uniformly dominated by the doctrine of the pre-existence. Justin and Tertullian may break away from the incarnation theory for a moment,<sup>139</sup> but never in such a way as to renounce it, even though its retention necessitates an inconsistency in their thinking. Predominantly, their theory is that of the incarnation of the Word, the Son, or the Spirit of God. With Tertullian and some of the subsequent Fathers, such as Novatian and Peter of Alexandria, there is an attempt to harmonize the theories of the pre-existence and the virgin birth by representing the Spirit or power of God as bearing to Mary at the time of her conception the Word who dwelt within her and from her assumed flesh; while Archelaus goes still farther in his harmonization by making the pre-existent Son of God become utterly devoid of his divinity in the virgin birth, and to be, apart from the miraculous conception, born as other men, being consequently thoroughly human prior to the descent of the Spirit upon him at baptism.

But even in the most elaborate attempt at harmonizing the two ideas, that of the prologue of John was still the dominant theory, and in the record of the post-apostolic thought placed the virgin birth in a light which it could not possibly have assumed to any reader unacquainted with the Johannine philosophy. There were then two theories present, but the one (that of the begetting of a new being by the miraculous exercise of divine power upon Mary causing her to conceive apart from intercourse with man) always subservient to the other (that of the incarnation of the inconceivably begotten and eternally pre-existent Word, Spirit, or Son of God).

3. Whenever the virgin birth frees itself for a moment from the doctrine of a pre-existence and an incarnation, it invariably appears as explaining the dual nature of Jesus. This is true in Ignatius and Irenæus, where the divine nature is thus explained, and in Tertullian especially, and Cyprian, Lactantius, Methodius, and Victorinus (probably), where the humanity of the divine Christ is made dependent upon the virgin birth. The doctrine of the virgin birth was from the first only one factor in the evolving theology, and it was natural at the beginning, in so far as it could at all be kept distinct, that it should lend its influence to a substantiation of the divinity of Jesus; and this

<sup>139</sup> JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apol.*, I, 21; TERTULLIAN, *Answer to Jews*, 13.

it did. But another and more potent factor was very early present to accomplish the same result, and so effectual was the Logos doctrine in securing this end that as early as the time of Tertullian it became necessary to use the virgin birth for the distinctly opposite purpose—that of insuring the real humanity of Jesus.

Several forces were militating against all that was natural and human in Christ. The profound conviction of his deity, the high estimate of asceticism, and the prevalence of various forms of Gnostic belief, which ever widened the impassable gulf between God and man, were not only relegating Jesus into a sphere beyond the reach of the church, but at the same time constituting the demand for perfect purity on the part of his mother, and such purity as in the minds of the orthodox themselves could be met only by perpetual virginity. Thus it is probable that the apocryphal inventions which reflected back upon Mary the purity and exaltedness of the Savior were only devout, though superficial, attempts to meet the need which a dominant trinitarianism and a profound belief in the sinfulness of human generation had awakened in the consciousness of the church.

It has been pointed out that the church began, not with one, but with two, opinions concerning the beginning of the earthly life of Jesus, and these two opinions such as were not easy of harmonization. Hence the confusion, and sometimes absurdity, into which those inevitably fell who endeavored to be faithful to the irreconcilable and early accepted interpretations of the two accounts, and the heresy which became the portion of those who, taking one or the other conception, pushed to the extreme limit the tendency therein represented. On the one hand were the Gnostics and the Docetics, true to the philosophic spirit out of which the Logos doctrine took its rise, but ignoring the all-important link which John welded in vs. 14 of his prologue, and consequently holding to an advent that was unaffected by humanity, or, in the more extreme and Docetic type of thought, was nothing more than a semblance or an apparition. On the other hand were Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and others, who, taking the infancy sections, gladly accepted all that would contribute to the real humanity of Jesus, but denied the miraculous conception because used by others to prove the divinity of his nature. Between these limits were the great company of the orthodox who accepted literally the infancy sections and the prologue of John; and almost uniformly adhered to the virgin birth as the explanation of the dual nature of Jesus, first (and most nearly in accord with pagan thought) as an

explanation of his divinity, and afterward (for safeguarding the reality of his body) as an explanation of his humanity. As has already been implied, the *chief* theological use to which the ante-Nicene Fathers put the doctrine of the virgin birth, was that of substantiating the doctrine of the dual nature of Jesus; and such a use is an explanation of the relatively great importance attaching to the theory of the virgin birth throughout that early period. The fact of this cardinal use of the virgin birth cannot be overemphasized, and should be amplified by a further definition of the important corollaries which the Fathers deemed deducible from such an understanding and use of the doctrine.

In the first place, the virgin birth, being the currently accepted proof of the dual nature of Jesus, was used to prove consequently his complete fitness as a mediator between God and man. His ability to mediate was based neither upon his knowledge nor his character as such, but upon his dual nature as secured by a virgin birth. In the second place, the virgin birth served as an explanation of the sinlessness of the human nature of Jesus. All human beings from Adam down had been conceived and brought forth in sin. Not only did the taint of inherited sin rest upon them, but human procreation was in itself evil. By the virgin birth, however, Jesus was wholly freed from the latter, for he was not "stained by human generation;" while, as to the former, the sin that might be inherited through Mary, that the early church blinked at until the devout and well-meaning apocryphal writers invented for her birth and upbringing such stories as would most effectually minimize the possibility of lust or impurity (as they conceived them) in the inception and entire course of her life. These stories the Fathers came to receive, and, with a miraculous conception and a birth that did not impair the virginity of Mary (who was chastely born of very aged and devout parents, and during her whole<sup>140</sup> life free from all knowledge of men), the purity of the human nature of Jesus was for all practical purposes, and in what seemed to them a practical way, thoroughly assured. In the third place, the fact that the virgin birth constituted him a perfect mediator and insured the sinless perfection of his human nature, made him the only savior of lost humanity. He was the new Adam, the first of a new race, and this antithesis is the constant and pertinent refrain throughout the entire patristic literature.

4. In concluding the study of the ante-Nicene Fathers, and in

<sup>140</sup> TERTULLIAN, *Monogamy*, 8 (IV, 65), *contra*.

pointing out the significance of the investigation offered in the foregoing pages, it is desirable to emphasize the distinction, referred to at the outset, viz., the distinction between the historical criticism of the Scripture narratives of the virgin birth and the use made of these narratives by the ante-Nicene Fathers. It is with the latter investigation only that this essay has to do, and for the present purpose questions as to the historicity or invention of the infancy sections are waived, for it is our present concern to interpret and to trace the history of the interpretation of these accounts, which, whatever their origin, very early came to be important sources for Christian theology. Whether the church feels bound to abide by the interpretation which the Fathers placed upon the virgin birth will, in the long run, depend upon its confidence in their ability and method as interpreters. From them alone has the church received its interpretation of the virgin birth. Nowhere outside of the infancy sections do the Scriptures contain any reference to it, either predictive or argumentative. If the method and culture out of which the accepted interpretation sprang have not been improved upon, if the allegorical method still suffices and a scientific culture which believed that certain animals, such as the vulture,<sup>141</sup> conceived without intercourse, or that others conceived by the wind,<sup>142</sup> and that the Son of God could enter the womb in the form of a serpent—<sup>143</sup> if these suffice for a time when there is at least some knowledge of the inevitable sequences of nature and of the value of historical interpretation, then the understanding and doctrinal import which the Fathers attached to the virgin birth need no revision.

But if, on the other hand, the Fathers were by the very nature of things incapable of interpreting correctly either the infancy sections themselves or the philosophic preface of the fourth gospel, it follows, not only as the privilege, but as the duty, of the interpreter to view independently and with the most and best light available those portions of the New Testament which by tradition alone have been made to carry what they did not originally contain. It is of some value to the theologian to know the history of the beliefs which are put into his hands for arrangement and ultimate verification. If this history of the interpretation of the virgin birth has succeeded in revealing the source

<sup>141</sup> ORIGEN, *Against Celsus*, I, 37 (IV, 412).

<sup>142</sup> LACTANTIUS, *Divine Institutes*, IV, 12 (VII, 110).

<sup>143</sup> HIPPOLYTUS, *Refutation of All Heresies*, X, 7 (V, 143). This conception, not of the orthodox, but of the Sethians, is nevertheless of value in indicating the scientific culture of the time.

and character of that interpretation, it may well leave its results, though meager, in the hands of the theologian to whose task this effort is but tributary.

### III. THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.

The New Testament apocrypha in their treatment of the virgin birth differentiate themselves very clearly from the canonical and the patristic writings. The canonical accounts are chaste, brief, and unphilosophical; the patristic productions are more theological and inferential because of apologetic and polemic necessity; but the apocryphal writings are gross and prolix in the invention of details and the fabrication of a more exhaustive story. Just how impoverished and palpable these inventions are will best appear from an examination of those false gospels which in their original form at least belong to the period under consideration. Such an examination of the Gospel of James will suffice to give a correct idea of the more important apocryphal gospels in their relation to the virgin birth, for the Pseudo-Matthew and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary are but recasts of the tradition earlier embodied in the Gospel of James, while the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy comes from the same source, augmented perhaps by some elements from the Gospel of Thomas.

*The Gospel of James.*—To ascertain exact dates for the New Testament apocrypha is next to impossible. Comparative and relative dates must suffice. We have proof of the presence of some such story as the Gospel of James in Justin's *Dial.*, 78, and, while this would not be conclusive for the existence and influence of the whole gospel in its present form, it would suffice to show that some of the elements of such a gospel existed prior to 166. Tischendorf places the original of the Gospel of James in the first half of the second century. The gospel as we have it has in all probability been worked over, but that the story in its present form is essentially the Jewish Christian work attributed to James and extant in the time of Justin is more than probable. An expression in Justin's *Dial.*, 101, is thought to be a quotation of the original of the Gospel of James: *καὶ χάραν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος*. Protevang.: *χάραν δε λαβοῦσα Μαρία*.

But these gospels seem to have been for a long time in a more or less nebulous state, seldom condensing into a rigid form, often reappearing in modified, abbreviated, or lengthened forms, but never securing sufficient recognition or esteem by the church to make Christians jealous of their exactness or preservation. So that the Gospel of James as we have it probably dates not prior to the latter part of the third century. Harnack<sup>244</sup> thinks that it is

<sup>244</sup> HARNACK, *Gesch. altchrist. Litt.*, II, 1, p. 725. "Das Protevangelium des Jacobus hat erst nach Origenes und vor der Mitte des 4. Jahrh. seine jetzige Gestalt

a compilation of three stories<sup>145</sup> and that it assumed its present form after the time of Origen and before the middle of the fourth century; but that the part treating of the birth of Jesus belongs perhaps to the second century, and the childhood history of Mary shortly before the time of Origen.

The substance of the gospel is as follows: Joachim, a rich Jew, possessed of a generosity similar to that of Tobit, wished to offer a double portion in the temple, but was rebuked because he was the father of no children. Having retired to the desert, he fasted and prayed for forty days, while his wife Anna mourned over her supposed widowhood and bitter childlessness. But as she sat in a garden lamenting, an angel came to her and announced<sup>146</sup> that she should conceive. About the same time an angel announced to Joachim the same fact, and two other angels came to tell Anna that Joachim was returning. In due time Anna brought forth a girl, and said, "'My soul has been magnified this day.' And she laid her down. And the days having been fulfilled Anna was purified and gave the breast to the child and called her name Mary."

When Mary was six months old she walked seven steps. Her mother made a little sanctuary for her in her own bedchamber and "allowed nothing common or unclean to pass through her." When she was a year old her father made a feast and invited "the priests and the scribes and the elders and all the people of Israel." The priests blessed the child. At the age of three her parents took her to the temple to be brought up, "and the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her saying 'The Lord has magnified thy name in all generations. In thee, on the last of the days, the Lord will manifest his redemption to the sons of Israel.'" "And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel." When she was twelve years old an angel directed Zacharias to assemble the widowers of the people, and to whomsoever the Lord should show a sign, his wife should Mary be. The lot fell to the aged Joseph out of whose rod their came a dove. And the priest said to Joseph, "Thou hast been chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of the Lord." Joseph went away to build a house for his new charge, and

erhalten; der Abschnitt über die Geburt Jesu (Joseph-Apocryphum) gehört vielleicht dem 2. Jahrh., der Abschnitt über die Jugendgeschichte der Maria (der Hauptabschnitt des Buches) kann erst kurz vor Origenes entstanden sein; der Zachariasabschnitt hat seine jetzige Form wohl erst nach des Zeit der Origenes erhalten."

<sup>145</sup> (1) The history of the conception, birth, and life of Mary up to the period covered by the canonical stories; (2) the story of the birth of Jesus narrated by Joseph and therefore in an apocryphum of Joseph; and (3) an apocryphum of Zacharias.

<sup>146</sup> In the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary nearly all of the subsequent history of the child to be born is made known to the mother in the annunciation, and the sinlessness of Mary's manner of conception is strongly emphasized. Chap. 3 of the Gospel of the Nativity throws considerable light upon the objective and subjective sources out of which these apocryphal traditions took their rise.



when he returned found that Mary was six months with child. He was greatly distressed, fearing that his guardianship had been criminally lax. Mary asserted her innocence, and in Joseph's perplexity as to what he should do an angel appeared to him with substantially the same message as that recorded in Matthew. The priests discovered Mary's condition, and both Joseph and Mary were brought up for trial and acquitted by their own protestations of innocence and the test of Numb. 5:11 ff. "And there was an order from the emperor Augustus that all in Bethlehem of Judea should be enrolled." Before reaching Bethlehem Mary's time was fulfilled. Attended by Joseph's sons she entered a cave; Joseph went in search of a midwife and fell into a sort of trance in which he saw all the creatures of the earth awestricken. A midwife coming down from the hill-country met him, and after Mary had given birth to her son testified to Salome that Mary was a virgin.<sup>147</sup> Salome, disbelieving, examined Mary and found it to be so, whereupon her hand was stricken with a deadly disease, but by the instruction of an angel she placed her hand upon the child, who immediately healed it. Then follows the story of the magi, the rage of Herod, Mary's concealment of Jesus in an ox-stall, the earth's opening to protect Elizabeth and John, Zacharias's refusal to tell where John was hidden and his consequent murder. "And I James wrote this history in Jerusalem, a commotion having arisen when Herod died, withdrew myself to the wilderness until the commotion in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord God who had given me the gift and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory to ages of ages. Amen."

The primary purpose of this religious novel is to assign to Mary such a manner of birth and upbringing as befits the virgin mother of the Lord, and secondarily to further substantiate, by citing the details of an alleged examination, the fact of Mary's virginity, not only before, but after the birth of Christ. The strenuous emphasis upon the divinity of Jesus had, as we have seen, inevitably exalted the standing of his mother, and, as the historical theologians have pointed out, this overemphasis became almost equivalent to robbing the church of a Christ capable of sympathy with the merely human. Hence the turning to Mary. But by what method could the exalted position of Mary be supported? The fact was that the church saw her, as it were, in midair, half-way between the Christ deified beyond men's grasp and the church on earth largely destitute of a sense of the approachableness of God. Some visible superstructure must be erected to support Mary in her serviceable but precarious position—something forsooth to keep her from falling to the level of the sin-conscious world, and something perhaps to keep her from vanishing into heaven whither the thoroughly deified Christ had withdrawn.

<sup>147</sup> Pseudo-Matthew (chap. 13) goes even farther, claiming that Mary underwent none of the experiences of parturition but became a mother in a painless and mysterious way.

The material and the details for such an undertaking were not far to seek. Greatness, even that of Jesus, depended upon lineage; and most of the notables of heathen myth and Old Testament story were designated as such by extraordinary features attending their births. Not only in extra-canonical myth, but in the Jewish Scriptures, giants and heroes were thought to be the offspring of gods and women, Gen. 6: 2-5. Isaac was the son of a barren woman of ninety years by a father a hundred years old. Jacob was the son of a barren mother, and his strange action at the time of his birth was, so Yahweh said, prophetic of his assured greatness. The mother of Joseph was barren until that great patriarch was given in answer to prayer. The babe Moses had a wonderful deliverance. The birth of the mighty Samson was announced to the barren wife of Manoah by an angel. Samuel was given to the barren Hannah in answer to prayer and to take away her shame from the eyes of the people; and John the Baptist came as the child of the barren Elizabeth advanced in years, and the aged priest who had ceased to hope for offspring. Our composer was directed not only by these regulation requirements for the production of a notable character, but he had also the full benefit of a developed angelology such as was contained in the Old Testament and elaborated in current thought. Angels are always convenient in such narratives. He also possessed the canonical story of the virgin birth. This was his starting-point.

Accordingly the story is wrought out chiefly upon the model of that of Samuel, great care being taken to emphasize the purity of Mary in her food, surroundings, and occupation.<sup>148</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out the use of the canonical New Testament in the account of Joachim's retreat into the desert and his forty days' fast, or in the blending of the Lucan and Matthæan stories in the annunciation to Joachim (§ 4), or in Mary's visit to the temple at the age of three and her utter lack of desire to return home with her parents (§ 7). These, together with many other items and the almost literal use of Matt., chap. 2, in §§ 11, 12, 13, 21, and 22, prove beyond a doubt that the protevangeliū is simply a purposeful, though not deeply serious, elaboration of the canonical infancy sections; and it is equally clear that the author's aim is so to reflect upon Mary the miraculous circumstances attributed to the birth of Jesus as to give her advent a purity and a glory in keeping with her exalted position.

A different conscience from that exhibited in the patristics is at work. They, with slight exceptions subsequent to the time of Clement of Alexandria, made a strenuous and dogmatic use of the canonical material. Nor did they resort to invention even in apologetic and polemic stress. The literary conscience of the apocryphal writers, on the contrary, was not satisfied with the most advantageous use of the accepted sources, but under false names attempted to add to the sources just those elements which would best explain

<sup>148</sup> For the acme of this effort, see the Sahidic fragment, *Texts and Studies*, IV, 2, p. 15.

the religious situation in which it found itself. From such a conscience, confronted by a practical theological problem, but devoid of the required skill, and also destitute of the deep seriousness of the canonical and patristic writings, sprang the teaching of the perpetual virginity of Mary.

The Gospel of Thomas and the History of Joseph the Carpenter differ from the Gospel of James and its derivatives in that the former adopt the point of view of the Johannine philosophy and find the idea of an incarnation<sup>40</sup> more in accord with their Docetic purpose. But the Gospel of James is practically sufficient to indicate the contribution of the so-called New Testament apocrypha to the study of the virgin birth. In a word, they push back a step or so farther, and hence wholly past the point of credibility, the remarkable features of the canonical infancy stories.

<sup>40</sup> See also *Pseudo-Clementina*, "Two Epistles Concerning Virginity," Ep. I, VI (VIII, 56, 57), and "Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena," chaps. 14, 15 (IX, 209). And for spurious material purporting to be ante-Nicene see *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book V, 16 (VII, 446); VI, 6; VII, 36, 37, 41; VIII, 1; *Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God*, I (IX, 169), IV, V, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX; *Apocalypse of Paul* (VIII, 579); *Book of John Concerning the Falling-Asleep of Mary* (VIII, 587-91); *Vision of Paul*, § 41 (IX, 162) and § 46; *Acts of Philip* (VIII, 502); *Acts and Martyrdom of Andrew* (VIII, 512); *Martyrdom of Bartholomew* (VIII, 554); *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Part II, chap. 12, first Latin version (VIII, 453); *Mar Jacob, Homily on Habib the Martyr* (Syriac), (VIII, 712); *Liturgy of James*, 6 (VII, 538), 29, 35, 44.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

### DO WE NEED DOGMA ?

THE answer to this question depends upon our view of what dogma really is. It is a most depressing reflection that two of the finest prophetic spirits of the century that has just closed have arrived at diametrically opposed conclusions on the subject of this paper. Martineau preaches an undogmatic Christianity, a spiritualized and Christianized theism; Newman knows no time when religion presented itself to him in any other guise save that of dogma. The former charges the latter with want of immediateness of religion, with failure to pierce to the primitive roots of faith, where, apart from any distracting media, the divine and human mingle; the Catholic, on the other hand, can scarce detect in the face of the Unitarian even a fugitive gleam of Christian light.

It is evident that our ideas about dogma need to be cleared up. As a provisional attempt to meet this necessity, let us ask: (1) What is dogma? (2) How does it stand related to religion? (3) What of its future?

1. *What is dogma?*—Harnack's view, as is well known, is that it is the scientifically formulated expression of belief, considered as having behind it the authority of divine revelation, and imposed by the church as necessary to salvation. More particularly, it is an amalgam of the original teaching of Jesus with Greek metaphysics made by the church into a belief binding on all men on pain of eternal loss. If this theory be sound, then—*quaestio cadit*. Christian dogma is not truth springing immediately out of the inner essence of the religion of Christ, but rather, as Pfeiderer says, a progressive obscuration of the truth, a progress of disease in the church produced by the sudden irruption of Hellenic philosophy and other secularizing influences. In so far as dogma merits Harnack's description it stands self-condemned and intellectually bankrupt. What, then, is dogma? An analysis of the idea will be found to yield three elements: (a) truth to be believed; (b) the reasoned form or articulated expression of the truth; (c) the authority which imposes the dogma. Now, in the sense of truth to be believed, it is clear that all thinking men, whether they call them-

selves dogmatists or anti-dogmatists, have dogmas. Emerson and Carlyle are theologically most undogmatic, yet the calm and serene optimism of the one, the troubled and turbulent pessimism of the other, rest on dogmas backed up by the sternest sanctions. Not here, then, is the quarrel with theology. Nor should there be much dispute about the second point, at least among those who have gained the modern intellectual standpoint. All genuine Christian dogma can lay no claim to infallibility, because it is not the absolute, unadulterated truth of God; rather is it the truth refracted and colored by the human media of reflection, reason, elaboration, through which it passes. Every expression of the Christian faith incloses within itself what Coleridge calls "a transcendent element," an inscrutable residuum that defies the analytical understanding, however subtle and penetrating. Hence it follows that all dogma must be imperfect, fragmentary, and relative. But it is when we hit upon the idea of authority that the crux of modern contention comes into view. The popular notion is that dogma is differentiated from all other kinds of truth in that it appeals, not to reason, but to authority, whether embodied in the church, or in the early Fathers, or in the *ipsissima verba* of the Bible. But were any one of these theories sound, then, paradoxical as it may seem, our theology would rest on a philosophical skepticism which would cast discredit alike on the inherent and convincing sovereignty of divine truth and on the moral reason of man. It is one of the curious and pathetic weaknesses of a certain type of mind that it feels as though there was a serious risk in allowing truth, robbed of all external supports, in its bare and naked essence, to stand face to face with the human spirit. The soul is so weak, or depraved, or distorted by prejudice that some coercive power must be summoned to reinforce the energies of truth, to engift it with something of the compulsory quality of a scientific generalization. Is not this to forget that it is only in the lower and less important spheres of truth that demonstrative certainty is gained; that, the higher we go, our certitude depends on our apprehension of our moral and spiritual needs, and on our attitude toward the objects of faith? The authority which lies behind dogma, then, is ethical and inward. The divine revelation is not something fixed in stark and rigid outline to be imposed on the intellect by any authority, ecclesiastical or other; it is a living process whose grandest products may be found in Holy Scripture—a process which for us culminates in the person and work of Christ who offers himself to each succeeding age for fresh interpretation, for a profounder

apprehension of the saving message which he has brought into the world. But it may be said, in thus depriving dogma of all authority from without and simply leaving it alone with the individual consciousness, are you not cutting religion loose from its moorings and sending it adrift on a boundless sea of speculative doubt and uncertainty? If there be no organum of truth, no court of appeal by which this or that dogma can have its claims tested, approved or disapproved, does it not follow that skepticism is as justifiable as faith, and religion resolves itself into a play of subjective fancies which have no footing in reality? Now, such a court of appeal exists, and is indeed the only genuine doctrinal standard. The ultimate standard in religious matters is the religious consciousness in which all men share, enlightened, penetrated, and shaped by the teaching of Christ in the gospels, in the history of the church, and in the illuminating influences of his spirit. Each age has its own vision of Christ. He grows in the individual soul; he also grows in the soul of an age. Before his bar all dogmas must be arraigned. Whatever stands the criticism of an age formed by the vision of Christ, justifies its right to be; all else is temporary and accidental.

2. *What is the relation of dogma to religion?*—Dogma is not religion; theology is not faith. "Not the astronomical system," says Schleiermacher, "but the glance directed to the starry heavens is the highest and most appropriate symbol of religious contemplation." Religious intuition grasps truth as a whole; dogmatic reflection analyzes it, dissects it into its component parts, and seeks to show the links of connection, the inner consistency, that binds them into a unity. In this process of reflection a certain element is lost—the infinitude in which the experience of faith lives, moves, and has its being. The popular mind, confounding theology with some given traditional system, the incompetence of which to embody adequately Christian experience it vividly feels, falls into the misconception that dogma is inimical to religious freedom, and in the interests of faith denounces systematic thinking about divine truth. Herein lies an antinomy of the religious life. Dogma can never fully express the contents of the life, yet must ever seek to do so. Here as elsewhere the schoolmen's maxim is true: *Omnia exeunt in mysterium*. Though a final dogmatic can never be reached, yet are we compelled by a necessity of nature ever afresh to attempt the task. Why? Because it is an absolute demand made upon us in the interests of the integrity of our moral and intellectual life; it satisfies our reflective needs. We cannot rest in religious

impressions merely ; we must ask : Do they point to a spiritual reality as their origin and goal ? The answer is dogma. The impression which Christ makes upon us is at first so overwhelming that all curious thoughts are lost in spiritual rapture, but reflection awakes later and asks : Who is this Christ ? and the answer, in whatever form, is dogma. Every attempt to cut religion from its metaphysical roots has proved and must forever prove abortive. Whether it be Kant's moral law in the conscience as the voice of heaven, or Fichte's subjective mysticism, or Jacobi's faith as an inward sense of the divine presence in the heart, or Ritschl's historical realism which confines us to experience, but permits no question as to its ultimate validity, we are doomed to a dualism that cuts to the foundations of our rational life, and we can but echo the despair of Jacobi who felt himself by turns pagan and Christian. Further, we have moral and practical as well as reflective needs. Popular religion, with its revivals, conventions, evangelistic activities, and so forth, is a prey to weakness and folly simply because it is without the guiding and directing influence of theology. With the exercise of reason in religion there comes a certain largeness and balance of mind which acts as a preservative against a shallow sentimentalism or an acrid fanaticism. History teaches that every great and permanent spiritual uplift of humanity has been the fruit of noble ideas working like a ferment in the spirit of the age. And if our generation is to be saved from the impotence of despair in face of the grave intellectual problems set it for solution—the difficulties raised by an agnostic *Weltanschauung*, on the one hand, and by the pressure of sociological study, on the other—it can only be by a doctrine large, rich, generously human, which, while not breaking in revolutionary wantonness with the past, will yet prove loyal to the supreme claims of the present.

3. *What of the future of dogma?*—For the traditionalist and the agnostic alike there is none ; to the mind of the former, theology is a fixed quantity, eternally unchangeable ; its existence is a death-in-life ; in the view of the latter, it is slowly but surely advancing to the grave dug to receive it. Neither position will stand the test of criticism. It is sufficient to reply to the traditionalist that, however divine the content of theology may be, as a science it is earthly and makes advance like all earthly forms of knowledge from less to more adequate conceptions and principles. But the agnostic, by a curious myope, sees in every advance of religious thought a sign of disintegration, decay, and death. The supreme reality is the unknowable, and as religion

professes to know what cannot be known, it is to be rejected as a colossal imposition. Now that agnosticism has been shown to be incapable of statement without involving a contradiction in thought, religion is coming to its own, and theology is free to reveal God as the living Father of spirits made in his image and crowned with immortal hopes. Even Huxley toward the end of his career uttered a kind of palinode in his famous *Romanes* lecture, in which a protest was made against the de-spiritualizing of man, and the lecturer, as a reviewer said, "made an approximation to the Pauline dogma of nature and grace." Materialism, which threatened a few years ago to swamp the spiritual life of man, is now everywhere discredited. When, in the hands of men like Green and Dr. Caird, matter itself is subjected to critical examination, it is discovered that there is not an element in it, or aspect of it, which is not dependent throughout on spiritual conditions; the apparently invincible dualism of matter and spirit has been resolved; spirit has come off victorious and is disclosed as the only and ultimate reality. Historical criticism, too, which has done so much to purge theology of accidental accretions, has also contributed very materially to its substance and strength. It used to be said that our knowledge of Jesus of Nazareth was very dubious, that it was impossible to discover what he really did say and do, and how much that is attributed to him is the embroidery of the various factions which formed the primitive communities. Whether he ever prayed the Lord's Prayer, or delivered the Sermon on the Mount, has been declared exceedingly doubtful. It is a reassuring reflection that now, after the critical labors of such men as Wendt, Weiss, Weizsäcker, and Harnack among the German, and of Hort, Westcott, Sanday, and Bruce among the British divines, this agnostic despair of history is no longer possible. Professor Harnack being witness, the fire of criticism has failed to dissolve such facts as these: (1) that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, (2) that the Logos doctrine of John is not borrowed from Philo, (3) that the supernatural cannot be eliminated from the records without destroying them. These positions established, consequences flow from them in the light of which we see theology to be, not, as some think, a more or less dexterous manipulation of abstract notions, but a sympathetic interpretation of the realities of history. They give a fulcrum for the constructive endeavor which is the mighty task the new century imposes on Christian piety and scholarship.

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### "ADAM" IN THE REVISED VERSION.

IN the English language "Adam" and "man" are distinctly separate words, differing in sound, in meaning, and in general classification. "Adam" is a proper name; "man" is a common noun. In the Hebrew, אָדָם is one of the two or three chief words used to denote man or mankind, and the term is found in the general sense between 400 and 500 times in the Old Testament. It usually refers to man, generically, and is not found in the plural. An examination of the first five chapters of Genesis shows that the word אָדָם is a common noun, which should be translated uniformly "man" or "the man;" the word becoming the proper name of the individual in the genealogical table in Gen. 5:3 ff.

In the Elohist account of creation (Gen. 1:1—2:4a) the word is used once without the Hebrew article (1:26), and once with the article (1:27). In both instances mankind is signified, including both male and female. The blessing, commands, and gifts are addressed to a plural or generic "Adam," in 1:28, 29. In the Authorized Version and the Revised Version the word is properly translated "man" in these two instances.

In the second Elohist summary of creation (Gen. 5:1, 2) the word אָדָם is employed three times, always without the article. Here again the generic sense is required, as the term includes male and female ("called their name Adam"). Both A. V. and R. V. transliterate the term as "Adam" twice, and translate it once as "man." Both versions speak of the "generations of Adam." When the word recurs, four words later, both versions change to "man" ("In the day that God created man"). The reason for the change seems to be the reminiscence of Gen. 1:26, 27. Both A. V. and R. V., in the next verse, use the somewhat awkward phrase "blessed them, and called their name Adam."

In the Jehovistic creation record (Gen. 2:4b—4:26) the word אָדָם occurs twenty-six times. The Hebrew article is clearly absent in only two instances (2:5 and 4:25). Both A. V. and R. V. read "a man" in 2:5, and "Adam" in 4:25. Three times the Hebrew word has the preposition לְ prefixed (2:20; 3:17; 3:21). Here the massoretic pointing indicates the absence of the article. The R. V. follows the A. V., in 3:17 and 3:21, in transliterating as "Adam." In the first instance (2:20), the R. V. changes the "Adam" of the A. V. to "man," with the margin "or, 'Adam.'" Schrader, Dillmann, Kautzsch,

and others oppose the massoretic reading, and assume the article in these passages (Dillmann on Gen. 3:17; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 36; *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. I, p. 60, note 3). Dillmann says: "Since the author elsewhere without exception writes אָדָם, we must rather in these three passages also point אָדָם." These three passages, with their uncertain vowel-pointing, are the only instances, in the Jehovistic account, where the R. V. retains the "Adam" of the A. V. (twice in the text and once in the margin).

The R. V., however, changes "Adam" of the A. V. to "the man" ten times in the Jehovistic account. This is an important change, and is undoubtedly in the line of consistency. The R. V. translates אָדָם uniformly as "the man," except in 2:7, where it is twice rendered as "man" without the article, here following the A. V. If the Revisers had not availed themselves of the uncertainty of the massoretic reading to retain "Adam" in the text, the R. V. would have had, in the Jehovistic account, a uniform translation of אָדָם in all its forms by "man" or "the man," down to 4:25.

While the R. V. is consistent in always rendering אָדָם as "man," or "the man," there seems to be no rule that governs their translation of אָדָם without the article, except a preference for the readings of the A. V. For the A. V. and R. V. alike render אָדָם without the article as "man" in 1:26; 2:5, and 5:1, and both versions transliterate as "Adam" in 4:25; 5:1; 5:2; 5:3; 5:4, and 5:5. As has been noted, the R. V. follows the A. V., in the three cases where the article is doubtful.

The Septuagint originated the transliteration of the Hebrew word. At the verse Gen. 2:16, the Septuagint changed from *ἄνθρωπος* to *Ἀδάμ* and thence on, through the creation accounts, transliterates the Hebrew word, both with and without the article, as *Ἀδάμ* or *ὁ Ἀδάμ*, uniformly, except in 2:18, where the Septuagint preferred the more general assertion, "It is not good for the man to be alone," to what would have been for them the more consistent rendering, "It is not good for Adam to be alone." In 5:1, also, the Septuagint translates אָדָם, putting the word in the plural: *βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων*.

In Gen. 5:3 begins a genealogical list, with specific dates and years. "Adam" occurs in this list in exact analogy to Seth, Enos, Cainan, and the rest. Gen. 4:1 and 4:25 are closely connected with this usage of the word, no doubt.

After the fifth chapter of Genesis the Hebrew word אָדָם is distinctively "Adam" only in the genealogy in Chron. 1:1, in the Old Testament. Other passages in the Old Testament where the reading "Adam" is suggested are Deut. 32:8; Job 31:33, and Hos. 6:7. The A. V. reads "Adam" in the text in the first two instances, and as a marginal reading in the third passage. The R. V. changes, in Deuteronomy, "sons of Adam" to "children of men." In Job, both A. V. and R. V. read "Adam" in the text and "men" in the margin. In Hosea, the R. V. places "Adam" in the text and "men" in the margin, reversing the preference of the A. V.

While in the creation accounts no personal name is given to the man, the man is said to give two names to the woman, one a general term, the other a more personal name. In 2:23 the man says: "She shall be called Ishah, for from Ish (man, husband) was she taken." In 3:20, "The man called the name of his Ishah, Havvah" (Life, Septuagint Ζωή). The three words "Adam," "Ishah," and "Havvah," all seem to be connected with an etymological explanation: Adam, in 2:7, with "Adamah," "ground;" Ishah, in 2:23, with "Ish;" and Havvah, in 3:20 with "Havah" or "Hayah," "to live."

This examination of words has an important application in the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis. In the first chapter the word indicates the human species, as contrasted with the rest of creation. The personal individualities of the "protoplasts" are not emphasized. In the more detailed Jehovistic account "the man" and "his Ishah" are undoubtedly represented as individuals. The use of the article aids in specifying the individual. But the literalistic interpretation of the second and third chapters suffers from the fact that the Hebrew name for the chief actor is the most generic term in the language for mankind. Even if the name, and the record of the name, be held to antedate the general literature of the nation, there is no indication that the general usage of the term was the result of the specific personal use. The early narratives imply the opposite, that the personal use of the word as a proper name is derived from its use as a common noun.

"Man" is the subject of the creation stories; man, naked, nameless, ignorant of all the arts, struggling with the rudiments of speech, before he gains the knowledge of good and evil. "Man" is depicted in graphic, simple words, which give us both a marvelous summary of human progress from the lower life, and a secret process in every

human soul. "Each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul" (Apocalypse of Baruch, 54 : 19). And so we can come back with a new meaning to old theological formulæ. Adam is truly "a public person ;" he is truly "the representative head of the race ;" all men "sin in him," for "Adam," according to Genesis, is "man."

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA. A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Prepared by more than four hundred scholars and specialists under the direction of the following editorial board: . . . ISIDORE SINGER, Projector and Managing Editor, assisted by American and Foreign Boards of Consulting Editors. Vol. 1: *Aach-Apocalyptic Literature*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1901. Pp. xxxviii + 685 + 35. \$7.

A FAMOUS Arabic lexicon rejoices in the title of "The Ocean." It would be only a slight exaggeration to say that the same title would befit the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, of which the first volume lies before me. The aim of the work is "to give, in systematized, comprehensive, and yet succinct form, a full and accurate account of the history and literature, the social and intellectual life, of the Jewish people—of their ethical and religious views, their customs, rites, and traditions in all ages and in all lands. It also offers detailed biographical information concerning representatives of the Jewish race who have achieved distinction in any of the works of life." The preface gives full particulars as to the ways in which this aim has been, so far as was humanly possible, carried out. There are three main divisions of the work, which have been subdivided into departments, each under the control of a special editor, and these divisions are: (1) "History, Biography, Sociology, and Folklore;" (2) "Literature," including biblical, Hellenistic, talmudic, rabbinic, mediæval, and neo-Hebraic departments; and (3) "Theology and Philosophy." A very ingenious plan has been adopted for meeting the difficulty arising from the conflict of old and new methods of treating the Bible. The more important biblical articles are treated under three heads, viz.: (a) "Biblical Data," giving, without comment or separation of "sources," the statements of the traditional text; (b) "Rabbinical Literature," giving the interpretation placed upon biblical facts by the Talmud, Midrash, and later Jewish literature; (c) "Critical View," stating concisely the opinions held by the "higher criticism" as to the sources and the validity of the biblical statements. Occasionally a fourth head has been given, viz., "Phases

of Tradition" represented in the Koran and the traditions of Islam generally.

On the editorial board we find Adler, Deutsch, Ginzberg, Gottheil, Jacobs, Jastrow (father and son), Kohler, de Sola Mendes, Singer, and Toy—the last mentioned well known as an equally fair-minded, critical, and erudite Christian scholar; and in the list of contributors to Vol. I are the names of the following American and German Christian scholars (among others): Barton, Budde, Kent, Lyon, Lidzbarsky, W. Max Müller, McCurdy, Peters, Price, Prince, Schürer, Torrey.

The variety of the contents and the care taken not to go too deeply into purely critical matters make the book very interesting. Christian scholars will look chiefly at those parts which are specially Jewish, and among these at the contributions to history and theology. Among the noteworthy articles may be mentioned "Accents in Hebrew," "Acheron," "Aeshma," "Alexandria," "Alphabet," "Ahikar," "Allegorical Interpretation," "Æsop's Fables," "Akiba," "Al-Ḥarizi," "Altar," "Altruism," "Amos," "Amulet," "Anathema," "Anthropomorphism," "Anti-Semitism," "Apion," "Apocalypse," "Apocalyptic Literature." It stands to reason that some of the opinions stated will not commend themselves to all scholars. But in a book of this sort some decision of tone is necessary, and the position of each contributor is such as to entitle him to speak with some positiveness. Unfortunately, the study of Semitic antiquity is one in which mistakes are only too possible, and I not unfrequently find myself differing considerably from the writers, where difficult points of biblical lore are referred to. I cannot, for instance, believe that Solomon imported "apes," and that the Hebrew name *kōf* is a loan-word from the Tamil *kapi*, or that the two "ariels" of Moab which Benaiah is said in the traditional text to have smitten were pillars with fire-pans on them, or that the unsuspicious attitude adopted toward the present text of Tobit in the articles "Aeshma" and "Ahikar" is justified. In other words, it is not possible in a semi-popular cyclopædia to give any adequate idea of the present state of a constantly advancing study, and I am sure that the same remark applies to all branches of biblical research. That, however, is no argument against such an attempt as is here made to give a combined view of all the different departments of Jewish lore. I am myself most grateful for the articles which I am least able to control by personal research; such an article, for instance, as "Ab, Ninth Day of," "Ahabah-Rabbah," and the numerous articles in which specimens of Jewish music are given. In the biblical articles

the rabbinic additions to biblical facts are, for the history of religious ideas and of folklore, sometimes very interesting; see, *e. g.*, "Aaron's Rod." Lovers of English literature will be grateful for the tribute rendered to Addison and to his little-known but not undistinguished father. The numerous illustrations add greatly to the value of the book. Here students of English history will be gratified with the view of "Aaron's house" at Lincoln. But much greater rareties than these will be found among the many views reproduced in this interesting volume.

The effort made by the projector of this great work and his many coadjutors deserves to receive the encouragement of all who are interested in that Jewish race to which religion and civilization are under such deep obligations. The plan has been well thought out, and the faults which academic students may seem to themselves to find in it are perhaps only proofs of the practical insight of the projector.

T. K. CHEYNE.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.

THE STUDY OF RELIGION. By MORRIS JASTROW, JR. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1901. Pp. xiv + 451. \$1.50.

THIS number of the "Contemporary Science" series is an excellent introduction to the science of comparative religion. It is in three parts: (1) "General Aspects of the Study of Religion;" (2) "Special Aspects;" and (3) "Practical Aspects." Part I includes "The History and Character of the Study;" "The Classifications of Religions;" "The Character and Definitions of Religion;" and "The Origin of Religion." Part II discusses "The Factors Involved in the Study;" "Religion and Ethics;" "Religion and Philosophy;" "Religion and Mythology;" "Religion and Psychology;" "Religion and History;" "Religion and Culture." Part III has to do with "The General Attitude of Mind Required;" "The Study of the Sources;" "The Study in Colleges, Universities, and Seminaries, and Museums as an Aid to the Study." The whole concludes with an excellently "Selected Bibliography."

It is the best book for the beginner. Professor Jastrow is at once master of his subject and conversant with the needs of the student. The book might well be taken as guide, and the independent student would need no other teacher.

But the author by no means merely acts as guide to the beginner;

he sets forth a pretty thorough philosophy of his subject and indicates results of wide study and much vigorous thinking. In these parts of his book he would not anticipate complete assent. For the science of religion, if it be a science at all, is in an inchoate state. We can look for agreement only in some far-off future to be ever sought, if never found. Nor is this surprising, since the subject itself is by no means understood in a like fashion by all writers, for there is no definition of religion which has obtained wide acceptance. Professor Jastrow records a long list of varying definitions, and concludes with one of his own, viz.: "Religion consists of three elements: the natural recognition of a Power or Powers beyond our control; the feeling of dependence upon this Power or Powers; and the entering into relations with this Power or Powers." But this, like the rest, will scarcely stand examination; for it is not every power on which we are dependent, and with which we have relations, which man worships, nor is the sense of dependence invariably necessary to religion. The definition neither includes all that is religion, nor does it exclude all that is not religion. It has, therefore, like the other definitions, only a relative value.

The same must be said of the author's classification of religions. Again he sets in array the long list of classifications, and finds each, in turn, wanting. Over against them he places this: the religions of savages, the religions of primitive culture, the religions of advanced culture, the religions which emphasize as an ideal coextensiveness of religion with life, and which aim at a consistent accord between religious doctrine and religious practice. This classification may serve a certain purpose; but it is noticeable that our author uses other classifications when he comes to deal directly with his subject; for example, the division into natural and individual religions in the discussion of religion and ethics, and the division into theocratic and theanthropic in the discussion of religion and philosophy. The fact is, our classifications of religion are not scientific, but empiric, serving well enough for some immediate purpose, but by no means corresponding with all the actual facts.

This bears upon the theory of evolution as applied to religion. The author thinks that "scholars are pretty well agreed on two points—that the religious development of mankind proceeds in accordance with definite laws, and that this development is on the whole upward." But, as we have seen, scholars cannot agree as to the definition of religion, nor as to its classification, and least of all can they set forth any definite laws in accordance with which it develops. Professor



Jastrow classifies it according to man's varying degrees of civilization. Were this admitted—and it is extremely doubtful—still we have as yet no philosophy of history and no scientific description of the development of civilization. Yet this is presupposed if we are to classify with our author and are to set forth these definite laws in accordance with which religious development proceeds. Professor Karl Pearson, in his *Grammar of Science*, remarks: "We are not, in the present state of our knowledge, bound to pay much attention to those who are ever ready to 'explain' not only organic but social changes by a vague use of undefined biological terms." And in a note he adds: "More than one sociological work has in the last few years obtained considerable reputation by applying the Darwinian theory without the least quantitative investigation to human societies" (p. 372). This misuse of a scientific term results in an injury to our study; for religion becomes a kind of force or personification which does this and that, which must in such and such circumstances appear so and so, and a new mythology is formed. Evolution in this usage means nothing definite or scientific, but mere change, or progress if the subjective fancies of the individual investigator may be taken as guide to progress. The fact that scholars are pretty well agreed that the development of religion is according to well-defined laws, while they cannot define religion, agree upon its origin, classify its forms, or state its laws, is sufficient comment upon the actual condition of the study. We are still in the pre-scientific stage, and we shall do well if we accept, instead of this agreement of most scholars, the more sober program of our author: "The highest aim of the study of religions is to understand the meaning and purpose of religion in its varied manifestations" (p. 127).

One notable omission calls for attention: the religions of the far East, China and Japan, contain one-fourth, at least, of the human race; but our author gives no place to them either in his text or bibliography. Confucius is mentioned once and Lao-tse once, but there is no real consideration given to a portion of the subject as well worthy of consideration as any other, and as fruitful of results. And as to Japan, while in the bibliography room is found for some articles and booklets of minor consequence, the Ko-ji-ki is as unmentioned as if Chamberlain and Satow and their co-workers had not made Shintō accessible. Nor is there any evidence that the want is felt, for in the list of works on the "History of Religions," edited by the author (p. 401), China and Japan are left out.

But we would not end with criticism. The book takes rank at once

as first in its class, scholarly, trustworthy, judicious, to be recommended to all who desire an introduction to the study of religion by an author who writes with competent learning and the authority of an independent investigator.

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LA LIBERTÀ RELIGIOSA. Vol. I: *Storia dell' Idea*. Da FRANCESCO RUFFINI. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1901. L. 5.

IN about eighty pages the author gives a luminous account of the idea of religious liberty to the sixteenth century. Beginning with a statement of the attitude of the ancient Greeks and Romans toward the worshipers of other than the state gods, he passes in brief review the principal church fathers, such as Tertullian and Lactantius, who wrote in defense of the fullest religious liberty. But the victory of the church under Constantine was soon followed by a retrograde movement, St. Augustine and others favoring the punishment of both heretics and pagans. Among the enlightened heathen the cause of religious liberty found able supporters in Themistius of Paphlagonia, Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and Symmachus. Their efforts were, however, in vain. For, under the influence of St. Ambrose and other churchmen, the emperors Gratian and Theodosius initiated a long course of legislation which was meant to destroy all freedom of religious thought. The ideas of the humane Theodoric could not prevail, and from his time to the days of Marsilius of Padua no voice was heard in favor of religious liberty. The appeals of Erasmus and other humanists for such liberty were not heeded. The principles of the Reformation inaugurated by Luther lead logically to religious liberty; but, in fact, nothing was farther from the thought and practice of the reformers, Zwingli excepted, than such freedom.

To the Socinians belongs the distinction of having developed the principle of religious freedom and of demanding it for all without any limitation. The body of the book is devoted to a study of the growth and spread of the idea in each of the countries of Europe and in America. This is well done, although at times too much is sacrificed for the sake of brevity. But it must be said that the author seems not to understand completely the situation in America. Like most Europeans, he thinks that complete separation of church and state, such as exists in America, cannot be a good thing. He thinks that the state

should have jurisdiction over the church, and points to Prussia as a country in which the relations between church and state are almost ideal. He attributes too much importance to certain heresy trials which have taken place in America, and he seems ignorant of the real character of certain recent repressive measures and efforts on the part of the government in Prussia. He has nothing to say about the efforts made in that country both in the beginning and end of the nineteenth century to use the altar as a support for the throne.

But in spite of a few defects the book is, on the whole, written with great discrimination. Vol. I treats of the growth of the idea of religious liberty as found in the writings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A second volume is promised which shall deal with its realization, that is, with the legislation touching the same subject. The second volume will be enlivened by a full discussion of the present status of religious liberty in Italy. The author states with great positiveness that intolerance is an official doctrine of the Catholic church, and as proof quotes from various encyclicals of Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and Leo XIII. He does not conclude, however, that the Catholic church would therefore persecute if it should come to power. He pays a high tribute to the clear and fearless utterances of Cardinal Gibbons in favor of the fullest freedom of religious thought.

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THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUSHTRA (Zoroaster) in Meter and Rhythm.  
By L. H. MILLS. New York: Frowde, 1900. Pp. 20 + 196.

A DICTIONARY OF THE GĀTHIC LANGUAGE OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.  
First issue, A to C. By L. H. MILLS. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1902. Pp. xviii + 200.

THE Gāthās, or Psalms, of Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran, deserve attention because they are the oldest part of the Avesta in its present form, but more especially because they present in rhythmical language the more direct words of Zarathushtra himself. These direct expressions of thought are combined into metrical stanzas that seem to have served as texts embodying his teaching and preaching. Exhortation to follow Ormazd and his religion is their burden, and the promise of a new order of things and a future reward in the life to come, whereas ruin and destruction await those who are misled by the devil, or Ahriman, Angra Mainyu, and Druj, literally "Falsehood." The

Gāthās are seventeen in divided into five groups of the Avesta, and they a special interest for a l or resemblance which tianity.

It is to studying th devoted the greater pa particular stress on th in the Pahlavi version well as in the Parsi-P ing of Dr. Mills is in the Gāthās published mical version he mac a word-for-word tran comparison. As the sitions in verse foun specialists will diff Dr. Mills has done sion which serves a tradition, as embodi have seen a proper Dardāns of the Ar provinces who neg better not to depa rearrange them su popular in its pre the Parsis.

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COLUMBIA U.  
New York

Gāthās are seventeen in number, and, like the Davidic psalms, they are divided into five groups. Their dialect differs somewhat from the rest of the Avesta, and they are very difficult to interpret; but they possess a special interest for a biblical student, owing to the points of likeness or resemblance which Zoroastrianism shows to Judaism and Christianity.

It is to studying these Gāthās that Professor Mills, of Oxford, has devoted the greater part of his life. In his exegesis he has rightly laid particular stress on the importance of the Asiatic commentaries found in the Pahlavi version and in the Sanskrit rendering of this latter, as well as in the Parsi-Persian paraphrase. The present metrical rendering of Dr. Mills is in a measure an abridgment of his larger work on the Gāthās published in 1892-94. From this he has culled the rhythmic version he made of the stanzas, and he has supplemented this by a word-for-word translation from the original Avestan, for the sake of comparison. As the Gāthās are regarded as the most difficult compositions in verse found in any Aryan literature, it is needless to say that specialists will differ widely on many points; but all will agree that Dr. Mills has done well to draw so much attention to the Pahlavi version which serves as a scholion. He might safely have followed this tradition, as embodied in the apocalyptic Pahlavi book *Ardā-I Virāf*, and have seen a proper name in *davās-cinā*, Ys. 31, 10, as the anathematized *Davānōs* of the *Ardā-I Virāf*, 32, 1, 5, the governor of three and thirty provinces who neglected his religious duties. It would also have been better not to depart from the traditional order of the Gāthās, invert or rearrange them subjectively, especially in a work designed to be semi-popular in its presentation and intended for wider circulation among the Parsis.

The lexical work to which attention is also called above will form, when completed, the third volume of Dr. Mills's *Study of the Five Zarathustrian Gāthās*. There are evidences enough of painstaking use of the Pahlavi again in the preparation of this special dictionary. The scope of the work is very comprehensive, and the task which the author has assigned himself is a heavy and laborious one. Kind wishes go with him for its successful fulfilment. It must be largely a labor of love.

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BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC STUDIES: Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. xii+330. \$2.50, net.

THE papers contained in this volume are the outcome of the proceedings of the Semitic and Biblical Club of Yale University. The present brief notice confines itself to the essays on Old Testament and Arabic themes.

The contribution of Professor E. L. Curtis, "The Tribes of Israel" (pp. 3-37), deals with (1) the mention of the tribes in the Old Testament, (2) the genealogical origin of the tribes, (3) the separate tribes, (4) the settlement of the tribes in Canaan. These themes are treated with the accuracy of statement and soberness of judgment characteristic of the author. On account of the necessity of dealing with a multitude of questions in small space, he has been obliged to content himself for the most part with giving a summary of opinions. Many readers will be disappointed at the meagerness of the assured results, but for this the present condition of biblical science, and not the author himself, is chiefly responsible. Here only a few of the most important points of the discussion can be noted. As to sources of information, "the material found in the priestly writings (P and Chronicles) can be almost entirely ignored. Its significance is theological rather than historical" (p. 5). The deuteronomistic writings are of scarcely more value, since their "conception of the early organization and life of Israel is of the same general nature as that in the priestly writings" (*ibid.*). It is from the legendary materials contained in the prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch, and especially from the Song of Deborah, the Blessing of Jacob, and the Blessing of Moses, that the history of Israel's tribes must be constructed (pp. 5 ff.). As to this tribal history, the twelve tribes were probably first grouped together as Israel in the time of David (p. 12). Jacob is an older figure than Israel, which is the proper national name of the people, belonging originally, however, to the Northern Kingdom, the kingdom represented especially by the tribe of Ephraim. Israel, accordingly, is pre-eminently the father of Joseph. "Jacob actually represents an ancient tribe later incorporated or transmuted into Israel." Jacob-el was either a tribe or a place in Palestine in the sixteenth century B. C. (p. 13). Isaac may originally have been "Isaac-el," like Israel, Ishmael, Jezreel, etc. (p. 15). "The basis for the belief in the historical character of Abraham has always seemed sentimental rather than

scientific" (p. 17). "The truth is that Abraham is too early in the genealogy to have any claim for historicity as a real person" (p. 16). In connection with these remarks one might be tempted to cite the criterion of historicity suggested by the author on p. 32: "The story of the sojourn in Egypt seems to be too thoroughly imbedded in the Old Testament literature not to have some historical basis." In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that it is easier to account for the popular fiction of an ancestral hero than for the rise and persistence of a belief in an epoch-making national event.

In dealing with the origin and early history of the separate tribes, the author has fully availed himself of the suggestions that come from the Amarna tablets and the Egyptian monuments, *e. g.*, in the case of Asher (pp. 29 ff.). The whole discussion shows how much uncertainty still overhangs the times and places of Israel's manifold beginnings. The same remark may be extended to apply to the settlement of the tribes in Canaan, which forms the last topic treated by the author. On the whole, he inclines to the view that the general Hebrew tradition may be accepted, that "tribes came out of Egypt, sojourned and consolidated as worshippers of Yahwè in the pasture lands south of Judah, and then gained their territory east of the Jordan, . . . whence they crossed to western Palestine, the first attempt having been made by Judah, Simeon, and Levi. The last two of these tribes, if not the three, suffered a defeat at Shechem, and they [then ?] turned southward and there dwelt quite by themselves. The second attempt, whose tradition underlies the story of the book of Joshua, was made by the other tribes, especially Joseph, Issachar, and Zebulon, and was more successful" (pp. 35 ff.).

Of scarcely less importance for the great subject of the history of Israel is the timely and luminous contribution of Professors Kent and Sanders, "The Growth of Israelitish Law" (pp. 41-90). Fortunately this is a theme which may be treated with a large measure of certitude. The essential conditions are that we are able to distinguish, in the surviving codes and usages, between what is pre-Israelitish in origin, proceeding from the long antecedent Semitic civilizations, what is due to the contemporary influence of neighboring peoples, and what is of independent native development. Now, the chief biblical value of oriental research is not so much that it has confirmed the Scripture narratives of later Hebrew history as that it has thrown light on the internal evolution of the people of Jehovah. It has shown us, with more or less clearness and fulness, what is specifically Babylonian or

Arabian or Canaanitish, and has thus made all the more evident what Israel owed to a special inspiration and revelation. Nay, it has brought us a long step farther toward a right apprehension of what inspiration and revelation really are. It is a conspicuous merit of this essay that it makes these distinctions fundamental. It sets forth (1) Israel's original heritage of customs and laws; (2) influences which led to the revision and expansion of the law; (3) conditions before the establishment of the kingdom; (4) Israelitish law in the making; (5) the growth of the written law; (6) the growth of the oral law; (7) conclusions.

We must take space to quote a sentence or two from the "Conclusions" (pp. 87-90), so as to indicate at least the drift of the discussion:

"The laws found in the Old Testament came, not from one author, but from a myriad; not from one generation, but from not less than eight centuries of generations." "The prophets were the precursors and inspirers of the law-makers." "The priests, as guardians of the sanctuary, teachers of the people, judges of important causes, and the mouthpieces of Yahwe's will, were the real law-makers of Israel." "Beginning at an early date, all primitive laws were attributed to Moses, precisely as proverbs were attributed to Solomon and psalms to David." (The remainder of this paragraph is a splendid justification of the Mosaic "fiction.") "Later codes, like the Deuteronomic, the Holiness legislation, and the Priestly Code, were prepared privately, and existed for some time before they were submitted to the nation." "While the Israelites retained ancient laws on the statute-books, they usually enforced those of the latest code whenever this (as in the case of the law regarding sacrifice) invalidated ancient custom and regulations."

In the detailed discussions there is scarcely anything to be censured as inaccurate. It was twenty-five shekels ("half a mina"), and not "fifty" (p. 66), that, according to ancient Babylonian law, a husband had to pay his divorced wife as an indemnity. It is at least premature to call the code to which this law belongs "Sumerian" (pp. 42 and 66). Its linguistic usage is Semitic throughout, and at the most the "Sumerian" form is a translation from the Babylonian.

Professor C. C. Torrey contributes the last essay of the volume, "The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa" (pp. 279-330). It is a translation, with a few explanatory notes, of an important Arabic work of the ninth century A. D., written by a native of Egypt, Abu'l Qâsim 'Abd-er-Rahmân. The work itself is unpublished, and the present translation is made from the four manuscripts now known to exist. The extract constitutes about one-tenth of the whole history,

and treats of the fortunes of the Mohammedans in Egypt and North Africa between 642 and 705 A. D.

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THE New Testament portion of these studies is given to a discussion of the "Significance of the Transfiguration" and to an examination of the "Argument and Doctrinal Relationship of Stephen's Speech." Both studies are worthy of careful consideration, not only because of the conclusions reached, but also as examples of critical method. Dr. Moulton prefaces his actual inquiry into the meaning of the transfiguration by a review of the accounts as given by each evangelist and in 2 Peter, and by a brief discussion of the several theories which have tried to explain the scene itself. Some facts of much interest and importance come to light in the presentation of the variations of the different accounts, as, *e. g.*, the differences of conception regarding the order and significance of the events on the mount, modifications consistent with the purpose of each writer. The author concludes rightly for the comparative originality of Mark, and gives us many suggestive comments in his estimate of variations. It is, however, in the discussion of the "theories" of the transfiguration scene that we are made to feel the real difficulties that center about this supreme hour in Christ's later ministry. Was the transfiguration an objective reality, was it a vision, or are we to explain it as an apocalyptic construction, setting forth great realities in forms of the imagination? The last theory has had strong seconding in German criticism, and with much plausible ingenuity it changes what the church has always looked upon as an actual experience in our Lord's life into a structure of the imagination. Dr. Moulton's own view, stated after a fair consideration of the themes referred to, is that the transfiguration had "its place in the course of real history," and that "we are here in the domain of fact, and not in that of the imagination." The third section of his discussion comes directly to his theme, the significance of the event, and this part of the essay is full, comprehensive, and satisfactory. The historical situation is given with marked clearness, and the necessity and purpose of the "transcendent glory" are equally well exhibited:

What is primarily set forth in the transfiguration is the sanction given to Jesus by the Law and the Prophets in this dark and threatening hour of his ministry. . . . There came a day which stood out from all others in this



northern sojourn when, in the mountain solitude, apart from all that could bind their hearts to earth, he unfolded to them the mystery of God's word. He showed to them that, along with the promise of the future realization of their noblest aspirations, there was also shadowed forth the impending suffering of him who should come as the Messiah.

In other words, the scene is critical in the development of the honored disciples. It belongs just where it is placed historically. It is a necessity of experience, not a later imaginative interpretation of experience. It both confirms and anticipates. It sets its seal to the reality of a suffering Messiah, and prefigures the glory to which that suffering should lead. The whole scene is thus "primarily significant in marking the time and experience when this new conception first gained lodgment in the minds of the apostles."

The second paper, by Professor Bacon, can have but scant justice done it in the space at our disposal. Its keen analysis, broad learning, and strong argumentative grasp make it a formidable criticism of the generally received view of Stephen's speech. To begin with, this is not Stephen's speech, "for he who places this splendid piece of rhetoric in the mouth of the proto-martyr looks forth himself upon a wider audience than Stephen's." Nor is it the composition of the author of the Acts. The speaker is in line rather with the Alexandrian tradition. He takes the anti-Jewish Alexandrian point of view, and his whole line of argumentation comports with this. According to Professor Bacon, the speech, as it is now placed, is not in its proper setting. Removing it, therefore, from its present forensic setting, he finds that it deals with three institutions: (1) the Abrahamic inheritance, *κληρονομία*; (2) the Mosaic revelation, the *λόγια ζῶντα*; (3) the Davidic presence of God in Zion, *σκήνωμα*. The speaker, in his review of the three periods of sacred history, has a twofold object, viz.: (a) "to prove that the institutions of the former dispensation were not ultimate, but typical, foreshadowing those of the messianic age; and (b) to prove that its theocratic leaders and prophets were analogously types of the Messiah himself in their efforts for redemption, as well as in the rejection they suffered at the hands of the people." Before entering upon the method of interpretation or argumentation the linguistic affinities of the section are carefully examined, and the speech is found to be of "the type of Hellenistic Greek framed on the model of the LXX." Each division of the address is then looked into to discover its doctrinal conceptions and their literary affinities. In each case the conceptions and method of presentation are Alexandrian.

"The effort to spiritualize the promise to Abraham from *κληρονομία* to *λατρεία*, from a territorial to a religious sense, is characteristic of the Alexandrian writers" (p. 238). In 7 : 42, *i. e.*, in the second part of the speech—

"We have as sharp a distinction as in Barnabas and Justin between the *λόγια ζῶντα* originally delivered to Moses for the people in fulfilment of the promise, whose time for fulfilment had now come, that they should serve him in the appointed place, and the ceremonial law" (p. 264). "Our author agrees with the Clementine writer that the temple-building of Solomon was an act of tyrannous ambition, perverting a place of prayer into a display of royal magnificence. Herein he is followed, as we know, by Barnabas, etc." (p. 272).

These are but sentences taken from a carefully welded argument which aims to prove that we have in this speech a kind of thinking and reasoning which lines up with the efforts of the great apologists, and which is inspired by Alexandria. A reply to all this involves a step-by-step consideration of the exegesis involved. The speech, according to Professor Bacon's interpretation, cannot be historical, and in that assumption he is confronted by some of the best students of these very chapters of the Acts. Whether, however, one agrees with the conclusions of the paper or not, he must be grateful for the masterly, suggestive, and stimulating discussion which it offers. It compels one to examine once more this part of the Word, and one can but feel that the serious objection to all that is given us lies, not in the possible Alexandrianism of the speech, but in the doubt which is cast upon its historicity.

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OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. By G. WOOSUNG WADE. With three maps. London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. vi + 532. 6s.

In this handy volume Dr. Wade surveys Old Testament history from the creation of the world to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, including the Maccabean period for the sake of the book of Daniel. The author is clear in style, concise without meagerness or loss of vividness, and progressive in the development of his theme. He has a standpoint from which to view the Old Testament records, is ever conscious of that position, and consistently carries his general conception through his work, interpreting, disposing, and relating his material in accordance with his opinion of the nature of his sources. He

discerns very little history in the book of Genesis, and regards the early narratives as naïve conceptions. Beginning with the book of Exodus, he finds abundant historical material, very whit as much as, if not more than, does Kittel, and he often has a happy explanation of perplexing statements, situations, and events. In his treatment of the Hebrew records for the period subsequent to the descent into Egypt, he undertakes a series of reductions. The biblical narrative is relieved of the supernatural, and reduced as far as possible to the providential. The remnant of the supernatural, that refuses to yield to this process, is removed by the assumption that it is poetic description, or "providence magnified," or tradition developed by the religious imagination. In the natural account thus secured uncertainties remain, due to the remoteness of the recorder from the events and to apparent conflict between the authorities. The attempt must, of course, be made to reduce uncertainty to certainty. This theory is thoroughly intelligible, and has its legitimate place in careful, scholarly criticism, provided that the investigator does not rule out the possibility of the supernatural in history—which Dr. Wade disclaims the intention of doing—but considers its attestations. Despite his disclaimer, the miraculous seems to be, in the mind of the author, always a condemnation of the record; and the method in general, as practiced by him, is rather too easy and its application too forceful. Apart from this, the author shows a certain weakness as a historian in his failure, after the elimination of the supernatural, to sift the remaining material critically and separate the true history in his sources. He constantly leaves his readers to do what he should have done for them, or have assisted them in doing. Such clauses abound as "probable on the whole," "if the account has a historical foundation," "depicts more or less faithfully." He impresses the attentive reader as giving narratives for what they are worth.

It is interesting to notice that Dr. Wade interprets the Meneptah stele so far in accord with Dr. W. W. Moore as that he regards the attack upon the Israelites as made while they were at Kadesh.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

PRINCETON, N. J.

ISRAELS GESCHICHTE VON ALEXANDER DEM GROSSEN BIS HADRIAN.  
VON A. SCHLATTER. (= "Reiche der alten Welt," Band  
III.) Calw und Stuttgart: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1901.  
Pp. 342. M. 3.

THE object of the historical series, "Reiche der alten Welt," is to  
"present chiefly those states of antiquity which are of especial interest

to readers of the Bible." Certainly the period of the history of Israel treated in the present volume is of extreme interest to the specialist and layman alike, for directly out of the life and thought of this period, as modern New Testament criticism has come to recognize fully, grew primitive Christianity and the thoughts and tendencies mirrored in the New Testament. Unfortunately, however, the author has not succeeded in adapting his history to the needs of the general reader; for not only has he failed to present things lucidly and in their proper sequence and perspective, but—and herein lies the most serious objection to the book—instead of aiming principally to give the results already securely established, or, in default of such, to state the most probable theories, the book contains a number of wild conjectures and groundless hypotheses, and these stated in such a way that the general reader does not suspect the existence of any other theory on the point in question. Obvious legends, too, are treated as authentic history, and, on the other hand, significant facts are passed over entirely, or are not given due prominence. The result of all this is that the picture presented of the period is, in many respects, unreliable, even fantastic. A few examples will be necessary to illustrate this. In the sketch of Simeon b. Shetach (pp. 115-19), which is based altogether on rabbinical legends, the statement of the Mishnah that "Simeon b. Shetach had had eighty women hanged in Ashkelon, in one day" is accepted as authentic, together with the comments of the Talmud on the alleged occurrence, although the mere fact that Ashkelon was a Greek town, and that the Jerusalem Synhedrium could therefore have had no jurisdiction over the Jewish community there, shows that no historical worth can be attached to the narrative. Regarding the period in which Judea was governed by Roman procurators, it is stated that "the rabbis [*sic*!] expressly reserved for themselves the right of inflicting capital punishment upon such as seduced the community" (p. 223); the account of Jesus' condemnation given in the gospels, however, shows that, even in such a case, the power of sentencing to death rested in the hands of the procurators. Schlatter regards the Jewish Hellenists Demetrius and Aristéas as contemporaries, because they "were that according to the legend about the origin of the Greek Bible" (our author coolly disregarding the fact that the Aristéas letter refers only to the translation of the Pentateuch, see p. 47); for, he argues, Demetrius and Aristéas of the Aristéas letter are, in very fact, no others than the two Hellenistic historians, inasmuch as, in the legend, the two "that exploited the Bible" are represented "as having

translated it and as having related" about the translation, respectively. Demetrius, later, "became confused with the Demetrius famed among the Greeks of the time of the first Ptolemy," and then "Aristeas had to become a heathen too." That "the legend ascribes the greater glory to Demetrius, and not to Aristeas," would go to show that "the work" of the former was "the older and more celebrated" (p. 35). A number of such examples of fanciful conjectures being represented as self-evident facts might be enumerated. In representing the influence of Hellenism on the intellectual life of late Judaism, Schlatter goes so far as to assume such influence even when the dependence upon or the natural development out of older Old Testament ideas is clearly evident. For instance, he finds that the explanation in Daniel of the seventy years of Jeremiah as meaning seventy year-weeks, "shows" both the Pythagorean "idea of number as the key to all things" and the significance attached to the number 7 in the Pythagorean physics (p. 83); and the description of God in the apocalypse of Abraham as "immeasurable fire" (in reality it is the heavenly throne which is so described) he traces back to the influence of the Stoic philosophy (pp. 173 and 269), although the dependence upon Ezekiel I and upon the corresponding description in the Ethiopian book of Enoch is unmistakable. The author even maintains that the "*Rabbinat* [his name for "scribism"] had its roots in Hellenism" (pp. 110, 61 f., etc.).

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EINLEITUNG IN DIE BÜCHER DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Von  
WOLF WILHELM BAUDISSLIN. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1901. Pp.  
xviii + 834, with indices of Scripture references, subjects,  
and of persons. M. 14.

THIS volume differs from the ordinary German book in not using abbreviations for the pentateuchal documents, and in relegating the Scripture references to the margin. The author does not expend his strength in combating the views of others, but presents his own clearly and fully. He occupies a position in regard to the age and succession of the documents in the Pentateuch quite different from that held by the majority of Old Testament critics, and of which he has already given indications in earlier writings. In this respect Dillmann has found in Baudissin a worthy successor.

The author first gives a brief survey of the field of "General Intro-

duction" (pp. 1-54), in which he furnishes a sketch of the history of Old Testament introduction, the form and transmission of the Old Testament, the canon, and the text. In this treatment there is not much that is new, though all is well arranged. Passing now to the Pentateuch, he considers E the oldest writer, and so earlier than Y. He affirms that E is far simpler in his mode of narration than Y, hence betrays greater age, and is nearer the head-sources of the legends of the patriarchal period. E is less influenced by Amos and Hosea than Y. He assigns Y to the first half of the eighth century and E to a slightly earlier period. LH was written before the exile, and the command to slay at one sanctuary must be from a pre-deuteronomic age. In like manner Baudissin sees evidence of a pre-exilic period in the warnings against Canaanitish idolatry, especially against the worship of Moloch, but he thinks there is no doubt that LH is younger than the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20 : 23-23 : 19), which was written at the beginning of the eighth century, or in the ninth.

The book of Deuteronomy, composed of various parts, was ascribed to Moses with the knowledge that he was not its author, in order to secure currency for ideas which were characteristic of the Jeremianic age. Baudissin does not speak of it as a "pious fraud," but evidently his view of the method by which it was promulgated does not differ essentially from that expressed by Kuenen. Critics sometimes do not distinguish sufficiently between the oriental and the occidental type of mind in the matter of authorship. It would be quite possible for an oriental writer, who was familiar with the *Torðth*, known as "Moses," to be unconscious of radically modifying the ancient ideas and usages which he employed as his materials. The idea of *meum* and *tuum* in literary work among orientals is at a minimum. With such a habit of mind the deliberate intention to deceive or to take advantage of a great name may well have been absent. All legal usage was known as "Moses;" each writer, therefore, would consider his interpretation of law as entirely in accordance with the great lawgiver, as embodying his very words.

Baudissin nowhere exhibits a trace of a tone which rejoices in the perplexities of the traditional school. It is interesting to see that he claims that the *Torðth* of PC are pre-deuteronomic, and that the paragraph in Deuteronomy about the preparation of Moses for his death clearly originated in PC.

Whatever may be thought of Baudissin's argumentation, it seems clear that much ancient usage must be embodied in PC, so that we are

not to suppose that the origin of many of the laws is post-exilic. The reviewer counsels caution, in view of his studies among Arabs and Syrians, in holding that we have abrupt changes in the *Torah* of ancient Israel which would thus be the product of a few generations.

Baudissin's personal discussion of the various books seems to be unusually full; *e. g.*, he devotes thirty-four pages to the book of Daniel. The work seems to be designed for the practical purpose of aiding students in their mastery of the subject of Old Testament introduction, and for this purpose it is to be highly commended.

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MOSES AND THE PROPHETS. By MILTON S. TERRY. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1901. Pp. 198. \$1.

THE object of this book by Professor Terry, according to the preface, is "to furnish a much-needed statement of some of the rights and reasons of modern biblical criticism." It "aims to be *constructive and conservative*," the preface further declares.

A brief "introductory" section treats of the formation of the Old Testament canon. Chap. 1, "Divine-Human Lawgiving," deals with the composite character and the different codes of the Pentateuch, presenting well and briefly the reasons for thinking that the Pentateuch was a gradual growth, only completed after the exile. In chap. 2, "Books of Prophetic History," our author discusses the character and the mode of composition of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; then calls attention to their most notable characters, and points out their principal lessons. In chap. 3, "Books of Prophetic Oracles," no attempt is made to set forth the contents and character of all "those books of prophecy which preserve for us the words of the great Hebrew seers," but certain selected books, which "best represent the distinctive types of prophecy," are considered, and their contents and chief lessons are presented to the reader. These books are those of Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In chap. 4, "Compilations of Prophetic Oracles," the unity of the books of Isaiah and Zechariah is discussed, and the reasons are clearly and, in the main, happily, given which have induced many students of these books to conclude that each of them is a collection of prophecies by more than one author. During the discussion of this chapter Professor Terry seeks to show that the references made by Jesus and the New Testament

writers to the books of the Old Testament, in connection with their citations from them, do not give us ground for concluding that the authorship of these books has been authoritatively determined. Criticism has, therefore, a right to seek to determine by relevant evidence this question. Nor can anything of value be lost from any book of the Bible by a correct determination of the matters of authorship and date, but very much will be gained for a right understanding and appreciation of the book. In chap. 5, "Parabolic Prophecy," it is claimed that the books of Jonah and Daniel are shown by their contents not to be historically true; but the first is a prophetic parable, and the second an "idealistic" narrative. By both of these literary forms, however, important religious truths are taught; and it is for criticism to determine the literary form which has been used. Finally, in an "Appendix," there are given answers of representative educators in relation to the question whether the New Testament references to the Old Testament books commit our Lord or his apostles to an authoritative judgment about the authorship or the historical character of these books.

In all these ways Professor Terry endeavors to make it evident that there are rights and reasons belonging to modern biblical criticism—the higher criticism—on account of which it may justly claim a place in the true and proper study of the Bible. The argument is presented in a popular form, so that any reader of ordinary intelligence and education may easily understand it; but the book is the work of a scholar, and shows a scholar's knowledge of the subjects discussed. It cannot fail to give to those for whom it is designed, the Christian public at large, a better idea of the real character of the higher criticism, and of the nature of the results which it does and, on the other hand, does not seek to secure.

It should be said, however, that chap. 3, "Books of Prophetic Oracles," valuable as is its presentation of the nature of the prophetic literature, does not contribute anything to the author's aim to show the rights and reasons of the higher criticism, and is therefore somewhat out of harmony with the other chapters of the book. This imperfection, however, if it is an imperfection, is one of form, and not of substance.

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EINE JAKOBITISCHE EINLEITUNG IN DEN PSALTER. In Verbindung mit zwei Homilien aus dem grossen Psalmenkommentar des Daniel von Ṣalaḥ. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet von G. DIETRICH. Giessen: Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1901. Pp. xlvii + 167. M. 6.50.

THE "Introduction" is printed from a unique MS. in the possession of Professor Harris, of Cambridge University, which was written in 1754 A. D. and contains in addition a commentary on the Psalms. The latter is identified by Dietrich as a shorter recension of the work of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ (Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 159 f.); the abridgment dates from 1264-86; it is independent of an older abridgment alluded to by Wright, *ibid.* The evidence furnished by the Harris MS. leads Dietrich to assume that introduction and commentary were copied from separate sources. The author of the introduction cannot be ascertained; he lived between the tenth and twelfth century. The work contains much that is interesting, especially on liturgical matters; its aim is practical. It is certainly not to be placed on a level with a modern or, as Dietrich strangely expresses himself, "a Protestant" introduction. The anti-Nestorian position of the author is evidenced by the emphasis placed on allegorical interpretation; it may be still more specifically defined as the genuinely Syrian position within monophysite theology, as is shown by the preference given the Peshitta above the other translations of the Old Testament, notably the Septuagint. Appended are the two first homilies from the greater commentary of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ (MS. British Museum Add. 17,187). Dietrich hopes that some scholar may be induced to publish the entire commentary from the MSS. in London and Rome. Let us hope that Dietrich himself will be the editor.

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THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE REDEEMER. By various authors. Illustrated. London: Cassell & Co., Ltd.; New York: Dutton & Co., 1901. Pp. 340. \$2, net.

THE editor of the *Quiver* in an introductory note explains the genesis and the character of this book. It is the outgrowth of a series of articles written at his suggestion by some of the leading devotional writers of England and America; it is thus avowedly a series of devout meditations or homilies, rather than a contribution to biography or to

biblical theology. Of the twelve authors, five are eminent officials in the Anglican church ; five are well-known preachers and teachers of England and Scotland outside the Church of England ; the remaining two are Americans. It is impossible to pass a general criticism on a book so varied in its character and in its critical attitude as this one ; the chapters would have to be treated each by itself. In some of them the practical meditations are evidently derived from an objective consideration of the gospel record ; some show dependence rather on conceptions which have been imported from other sources. Some seek to form our ideals by bringing them under the influence of Jesus ; some seek to deepen our devotion to Jesus by exhibiting his conformity to our ideals. In not a few instances historic or homiletic imagination has carried an author beyond the limits of probability in his effort to picture vividly the scenes under contemplation. The reading of the book by believers will quicken devotion and enthusiasm for their Lord. It will not answer many questions for the inquiring. It doubtless made this no part of its aim. The articles which are fullest of value for the student of the life of Jesus are Dr. Lyman Abbott's on "Jesus Christ as a Missionary ;" Dr. James Stalker's on "The Betrayal of Christ"—his companion chapter on the "Denial" is fanciful and overdrawn ; Principal Fairbairn's on "The Cross and Passion ;" and Dr. Alexander McLaren's on "The Resurrection." The proofreading has been rather carelessly done.

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THE ANNOTATORS OF THE CODEX BEZÆ. With some Notes on Sortes Sanctorum. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. Cambridge: The University Press; London: Clay & Sons, 1901. Pp. 184, 2 plates. 6s.

HERE is the famous Codex Bezae (D) of the gospels and the Acts again made the subject of a careful study by a renowned scholar, who had already published another study on it (1891, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II). It is not Professor Harris's intention to clear up the main point of interest, namely, the origin of the many peculiar readings of D, especially in Luke and Acts. We may, indeed, as I think, safely assume that Clericus's solution of this problem alone answers all its conditions, viz.: Luke had written his Acts (and gospel) not once but twice, and D is, together with Irenæus of Lyons and many others,

a witness for one of these two forms, probably the form in which Luke had written his books for the Romans. But even those who (like Professor Harnack) oppose this view are nevertheless compelled by the close agreement between D and Irenæus to carry the origin of the form in D back to the outset of the second century. At that time, not long after Luke, somebody (according to the said eminent scholar) remodeled the Acts with great liberty, being anxious to repress the aspirations of women, which had been tolerated during the first years of the church. He therefore changed in Acts 19: 25 Luke's order *Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας* to *Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα* (D, etc.).

Now, Beza himself gives in his codex the statement that it had come from the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons. Of course, having been written in the sixth century, it cannot be the copy of Irenæus, but perhaps a remote descendant of it. A Gallic origin, at least, was formerly maintained for D by Harris himself, who now inclines to abandon his former opinion and to accept the assertion of some Oxford scholars, that it was written in Italy. How can this be ascertained? Only by dint of such vast and manifold learning as Professor Harris is master of; for the way leads into the obscurest periods of church history and into the history of paganism dying out and partly absorbed into Christian ritual; moreover, a linguist's learning is required, both in Romance languages and in mediæval and modern Greek; and, last not least, the "Sortes" come in, calling for a study of pagan and Christian superstition. The MS. bears the traces of about twenty possessors or readers, the so-called "annotators." They wrote mostly in Greek, although the codex itself is bilingual, and annotated the ecclesiastical lessons for each Sunday or feast of a saint, and even (at the margin of Mark) a number of oracles (the "Sortes") for the use of pious and, at the same time, inquisitive readers, who got answer to their questions by a combination of the oracle (the "sors," for instance, *μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας γίνεται*) with the sacred text. Professor Harris tries by all possible means to ascertain the locality where the different annotations may have been written, and comes to the result stated above. Can we adopt his view? At least not with greater confidence than the author himself exhibits. The book is extremely instructive and, moreover, well written. The reader profits in learning and is, at the same time, amused; but, as for the matter at issue, one feels rather bewildered than enlightened. This is not the author's fault; he has done his best, and "his best" means very much in this case.

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ZUR GESCHICHTE UND LITTERATUR DES URCHRISTENTHUMS. III,  
1: *Untersuchungen über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer.*  
Von FRIEDRICH SPITTA. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 193. M. 5.

THE fact that scholars, irrespective of their dogmatic position, still differ regarding the purpose, the integrity, and the readers of the letter to the Romans, is Professor Spitta's justification for this volume. He presents certain novelties in explaining the structure of the letter, but at the same time claims that the best previous investigators have prepared the way for his conclusions.

Briefly stated, his position is this: The epistle to the Romans consists of two letters, a longer, complete one, and a shorter, incomplete one. The letter is made up of chaps. 12:1—15:7 and 16:1—20. This shorter letter, which presupposes an acquaintance with the Roman church, was written after the imprisonment spoken of in Acts 28:30. In view of Acts 16:16, it is thought that Paul was making a general tour of the gentile churches when he wrote the letter. Since the first Roman imprisonment was not later than the spring of 63, and since the letter in its references to rulers makes no allusion to the Neronian persecution, its composition is to be placed in the period 63–64 A. D. To this period we are also led by the fact that 1 Peter is dependent upon this short letter, and 1 Peter antedates the Neronian persecution.

Spitta's view of the longer of the two letters that constitute our epistle to the Romans is still more novel. Starting from the difficulty of determining whether the readers were Jews or gentiles, he reaches the conclusion that this letter (1 Romans) is an adaptation to gentile Christians of a writing intended for believing Jews. The object of this writing was to justify his preaching to the gentiles a free gospel. It belongs in the time when Paul was founding the gentile church. The most important additions to this writing for Jewish believers are chaps. 11:11–36 and 15:8–13.

Spitta's hypothesis of 2 Romans plainly has more to commend it than has the hypothesis that 1 Romans is an adaptation of an earlier writing which was intended for Jewish Christians. It seems, however, questionable whether the phenomena which he seeks to explain are really as difficult as are the hypotheses which he offers for their explanation. The book is a good specimen of acute and minute literary analysis, and contains many significant remarks on the origin of Romans entirely apart from its main contention.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

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INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. Edited by ORELLO CONE, D.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.<sup>1</sup>

THE EPISTLES TO THE HEBREWS, EPHESIANS, AND PHILEMON; THE PASTORAL EPISTLES; THE EPISTLES OF JAMES, PETER, AND JUDE, TOGETHER WITH A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By ORELLO CONE. 1901. Pp. 396. \$2.

THE series, of which this is the third volume, is intended "to meet the wants of the general reader, and at the same time present the results of the latest scholarship and the most thorough critical investigation." Particular stress is laid, in the general preface, on the purpose of the writers to be free from dogmatic prepossessions. Possibly there are prepossessions other than those usually called dogmatic, which have not been so sedulously avoided, but this is a matter in which even reviewers are liable to err. Those who have read Dr. Cone's earlier books, *Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity*, *The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations*, and *Paul: the Man, the Missionary and the Teacher*, will not need to have his point of view in the present volume explained, or the methods by which its conclusions have been reached.

The probable dates assigned to ten out of the eleven New Testament documents mentioned in the title above are as follows:

Hebrews, "between A. D. 80 and 90."

Colossians, "at the end of the first century or in the first half of the second."

Ephesians, later than Colossians, "possibly as late as A. D. 140."

The epistles to Timothy and Titus, "between A. D. 118 and 140."

James, "in the early years of the second century."

First Peter, "in the first decade of the second century."

Second Peter, "as late as the middle of the second century."

Jude, "in the second century, but before 2 Peter."

Philemon alone is considered to be from the hand of the apostle Paul.

In the successive "Expositions" there is much excellent work. The notes on terms and sentence-connection are helpful and to the point. The chief defect, in the judgment of the present reviewer, is that the critical process absorbs too much attention. A book like this, intended for the general reader, should mainly occupy itself with interpretation. One notices, particularly in the epistle to the Ephesians, this disproportionate emphasis of the critical element. Admit, if we must, that it is not from Paul, but from a Christian of the second cen-

<sup>1</sup>See this JOURNAL, Vol. V (1901), pp. 148-50.

tury; admitting also the defects of style referred to in the introduction, here is certainly a notable writing that has left its stamp upon the religious life and literature, not to say the doctrinal thought, of all the subsequent centuries. As such, it is entitled to a really appreciative interpretation, with less attention to what is, and is not, Pauline, and more effort to show to the reader, at its best, the work of this unknown writer. Literary critics like Coleridge, theologians like Sabatier, have recognized the sublimity of its conceptions, the coherence and vigor of its logical grasp. An eternal purpose, progressively realized in history, the universal church as the organic expression of the new life imparted to the race by an exalted Christ, the glimpse of

. . . one far-off divine event,  
To which the whole creation moves

—whatever view be taken as to the historical or metaphysical validity of these conceptions, they have a moral value sufficient to justify special effort on the part of the interpreter to set them forth with vividness and force.

The historical sketch of the New Testament canon which closes the volume is substantially an abridgment of the second chapter in *Gospel Criticism*, Dr. Cone's earlier work, widely known and quoted among biblical scholars. "Fourth century," in the last paragraph on p. 356, was, of course, meant to be "first century."

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ST. PAUL AND THE ROMAN LAW, and Other Studies on the Origin of the Form of Doctrine. By W. E. BALL. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1901. Pp. x + 218. \$1.50, *net*.

THE essay which gives this volume its main title treats of St. Paul's metaphorical use of terms derived from the Roman law of adoption, inheritance, and guardianship. The author finds in Rom. 8: 14-16 and Gal. 4: 4-7 allusions to the Roman ceremony of adoption, which differed from that of sale into slavery only in the substitution of the word "son" for the word "slave;" and to the function of the witnesses in the Roman adoption, who testified that the word "son" had actually been used. The metaphor "heirs of God" is referred, not to Hebrew, but to Roman heirship, by which all children shared alike and were regarded as heirs from their birth and as copartners with the father, in right, though not in possession, during his lifetime.

The double meaning of *διαθήκη*, "covenant" and "testament," is explained by the fact that the Roman will was a contract *inter vivos*. *Διαθήκη* is a covenant, but a covenant relating to an inheritance; it is a testament, but in the sense of a contract by which a bequest is made. In Gal. 4: 1-2 the "tutors and governors" are the Roman guardian and his steward. The guardian of the nation, the Mosaic law, holds absolute sway until the advent of the Messiah, as the guardian did during the minority of the child. Dr. Ball's lucid and convincing use of well-known features of the Roman law, in the explanation of difficulties in the Pauline epistles, illustrates the value of a knowledge of civil jurisprudence in the first century on the part of interpreters of the New Testament.

Under the title "Roman Law in Church Formularies" the author shows that the form of contract known as *stipulatio* has been imitated in the baptismal service and in the office of matrimony. In the essay on "Roman Law in Ante-Nicene Theology" he traces the use of the word *persona* in reference to the Trinity back to Tertullian, who used the term in its legal sense, as denoting, not the individual as such, but the particular status or condition of the individual. In "St. John and Philo Judaeus" the limits of the evangelist's indebtedness to Philo are defined with much exactness. "New Testament Quotations from (1) Canonical, (2) Deutero-Canonical, and (3) Uncanonical Scripture" is an interesting study. Among passages quoted from the Septuagint, interpolations, mistranslations, and intentional variations from the Hebrew text are recognized. Quotations from the book of Enoch are treated most fully. The use of the phrase "Son of man," in Enoch, with reference to the Messiah, suggests to Dr. Ball the possibility that Jesus, in applying that title to himself, is to be understood as asserting his messiahship rather than his humanity.

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DIE EINSETZUNG DER HEILIGEN EUCHARISTIE IN IHRER URSPRÜNGLICHEN FORM, nach den Berichten des Neuen Testamentes kritisch untersucht von WILHELM BERNING. Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1901. Pp. viii + 260. M. 5.

THIS volume is critical in form, dogmatic in spirit. Thus, *e. g.*, it seeks to restore the original text of the report of the Lord's Supper, not only the original Greek, but also the Aramaic back of the Greek;

but, at the same time, the author thinks it "self-evident that he who does not regard Christ as true God must reject the literal interpretation of the words of institution."

The book enters the domain of the higher and the lower criticism, discussing questions of authorship and of the originality of various texts, which it does with ability, but it enters this domain of criticism under heavy bonds. The Roman Catholic doctrine of the eucharist is tacitly regarded as above criticism. The volume is rather a critical apology for the Catholic doctrine than a critical study of the text.

Dr. Berning's positions may be briefly illustrated. Thus he decides against the reading of Codex I in Luke 22: 19, 20. The shorter text (favored by Westcott and Hort) is regarded as a copyist's abbreviation.

Dr. Berning leaves us in doubt as to what Paul received from the Lord in regard to the supper. At one time he says that "Paul received from the exalted Savior the facts on which the teachings, and therewith also the significance of the holy eucharist, are based;" and, again, he speaks of "the dogmatic teachings and facts concerning the holy eucharist which Paul received," and distinguishes from these "the exact knowledge of the separate parts of the ordinance and the verbal report."

The author regards it as certain that Jesus explicitly commanded the repetition of the supper.

The surest witnesses of the apostolic form are Matthew and Mark. Luke's report is of secondary value. The four oldest liturgies are thought to have some confirmatory value in determining the original text.

The words of 1 Cor. 11:25, "This do," are held to contain the apostle's authorization to present the same "sacrifice" which Jesus presented.

These details may sufficiently illustrate the character of the book before us. It should, however, be added that Dr. Berning's work is free from all polemic against Protestantism. Its tone throughout is sober and dignified.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

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NEW TALES OF OLD ROME. By RODOLFO LANCIANI. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 348. Illustrations. \$5 net.

IN his *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, and in *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Signor Lanciani has already shown what



can be done with Roman topography and Roman remains, as themes for popular lectures and essays of the better class. The author's splendid enthusiasm for his subject, his intimate familiarity with all the minutiae of archæological discoveries at Rome, and the literary skill that manifests itself in picturesqueness of phrase and in the *vivida vis* of his narrative, make a rare combination in these days when, on the one hand, the term "popular," as applied to an essay or a lecture, so often opens up a vista of superficiality and even of ignorance, while, on the other, so many of the truly erudite, overloading their treatises with learned quotation and recondite reference, have ceased to be interesting because they feared to be popular.

The book before us has all the good qualities of its predecessors. Yet, excellent as it is, many of the theories advanced are hardly substantiated by the evidence adduced. There are few scholars who will not feel that the author, when he claims (p. 12) that the Heroon Romuli in the Forum is "the joint offering of all the elements of the Roman population dwelling on the Septimontium after their amalgamation into one body by Numa and Servius," is somewhat dogmatic. Nor can it be said with certainty that "the small figurines of clay, bone, bronze, and amber found in the layer of votive offerings are real *εἰκόνες ἀγάλματα*—images of the dead—indicative of human sacrifices." The whole question of human sacrifice among the Romans is an exceedingly obscure one, and the stiffness of the figures is due rather to the crudity of primitive art than to any desire on the part of the artist to represent the dead.

The chapter entitled "The Truth about the Grave of St. Paul" is still more open to criticism. The account given tends to be diffuse, and is not at any time convincing. It is, of course, true that churches were often dedicated to saints whose names bore some resemblance to those of the pagan deities to whom the buildings had originally been consecrated. Many examples of this are at hand: temples of Jupiter were dedicated to St. Jovinus or Juvenalis, temples of Saturn to St. Saturninus, temples of Apollo to St. Apollinaris, etc. But surely, to base on this any connection between the Basilica Pauli Apostoli outside the walls and the Basilica Paulli (Basilica Æmilia) in the Forum is hardly within the range of probability, and to see there any indication that the former was in part constructed out of material taken from the latter implies a sadly astigmatic archæological vision.

In the section devoted to the worship of Diana of Nemi, no notice,

curiously enough, is taken of Frazer's theory of the ritual as the survival of a form of tree-worship.

GORDON LAING.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY. By TERROT REAVELEY GLOVER. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Pp. xvi + 398. 10s.

ONLY a few of the Christian writers of the fourth century are widely read, while the pagan authors of that period are scarcely known even by name. This is owing, perhaps, to the absence in that age of those heroic and uplifting elements which always attract, and to the presence of those elements of decay which always repel. Knowing, in general, that it was a century of civil discord, of cruel misrule, of Gothic invasion, of social unrest and religious rancor, of exhaustion in art, literature, and philosophy, of a secularized church and a collapsing empire, incentives to further inquiry and acquaintance are weakened and well-nigh destroyed. It is to the life and literature of this sterile and dying age that Professor Glover solicits our attention. At the outset the odds are against him, but apathy and prejudice cannot withstand his kindly persuasions. The life of the fourth century had many phases. There were forces and tendencies at work whose influence was strongly felt in both the pagan and Christian worlds. Their interplay and effect can be best illustrated by a critical study of "the lives and writings of a series of typical men." The age itself is depicted, and the modern student is brought into immediate and living relations with those times, in the careers of representative historians, poets, philosophers, rhetoricians, and public functionaries, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian, Symmachus, Claudian, Synesius, and as many more. While the book is thus biographical in form, it is not biography in any superficial and aimless sense that is here presented. We are made to see the real import of these lives, their bearing on the age, and their illustrative value. An inlook is given us from the very sources into the narrow, dogmatic, fanatical, arrogant, persecuting, and utterly unchristlike character of the Christianity of that age, and also into the inherent weakness of paganism, its lack of union, independence, and moral influence, and its utter unfitness to bring either comfort or life to an unhappy and dying world. On neither the Christian nor the pagan side were the conditions wholly bad, and the elements of good and of worth, of pathos and of power, are not left unnoticed. These critical

biographical studies throw a flood of light into regions that were hitherto obscure, and are an exceedingly valuable contribution to our understanding of both pagan and Christian society in the Roman empire in the fourth century.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE MINISTRY OF GRACE.** Studies in Early Church History with Reference to Present Problems. By JOHN WORDSWORTH. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Pp. xxiv + 488. \$3.

By way of introduction the first hundred pages are devoted to biographical notices of ancient church orders, kalendars, and liturgies. The first three chapters trace the gradual unfolding of the major and minor orders of clergy—the bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, reader, etc. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of asceticism and celibacy, and the ministry of widows, presbyteresses, deaconesses, and virgins. The last three chapters describe the origin and development of the holy days of the church—Easter, Lent, Pentecost, Christmas, Epiphany, and the festivals of the blessed Virgin, the saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, etc.

While *The Ministry of Grace* traverses much the same ground as the well-known works of Hooker, Bingham, Pelliccia, and Duchesne, to all of which the author acknowledges his indebtedness, it differs from them in that it seeks “to sift what is really catholic and permanent . . . from what is local and transitory,” and in that throughout it is written with special reference to present problems in the Anglican church. The bishop’s mood is amiable. He writes in an irenic spirit. In his own communion, moderates will feel that he has sought the happy mean, but extremists will feel that too much has been conceded or that too much is still retained. Outside the bishop’s communion his book will possess chiefly an antiquarian interest. Among people not fettered by tradition and antiquity the wonder will be that the mooted points propounded and discussed in these pages can seem to serious minds of present significance and vital moment. Remembering the distracted state of the Anglican church on grace and its due and proper ministry, and noting that most of these “studies” were originally addressed to the clergy of his own diocese, one can easily believe that the good bishop was making an honest attempt to

pour oil on the troubled waters and to bring his subordinates to a sweet reasonableness.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

EIN MARTYROLOGIUM DER CHRISTLICHEN GEMEINDE ZU ROM AM ANFANG DES V. JAHRHUNDERTS. Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der römischen Märtyrer. Von AUGUST URBAIN. (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*. Neue Folge, VI, 3.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. 266. M. 8.50.

FOR the contemplated edition of *Acts of the Martyrs* in the series of the early Greek Fathers now appearing under the direction of the Berlin Kirchenväter Commission, it has been found useful, among other preliminary studies, to reproduce, as well as may be, the essential elements of the Roman calendar in the first half of the fifth century. Dr. Urbain, a disciple of Professor Harnack, has undertaken this difficult and delicate task. The materials at his disposition were the Hieronymian Martyrology, the Chronographer of 354, the calendars of other communities, certain liturgical texts like the "Liber Comitis" and the Sacramentaries—all valuable in the absence of the original calendar. The Christian burial places of Rome offer certain subsidia for the "days" of the martyrs buried in their respective precincts; so, too, does the miscellaneous literature of the "Passiones," "Acta," "Gesta," "Vitae," that abound after the year 450, and some critical account of which may now be read in the work of Dufourcq, *Les Gesta Martyrum Romains*.<sup>1</sup> If we add to these the materials furnished by the activity of local Roman archæologists, and by the Bollandists, both in their *Analecta* and in their catalogue of printed Latin "legendæ," we have an almost complete enumeration of the sources now available for the most tangled chapter in the history of early ecclesiastical institutions—a chapter that not even the master intellects of De Rossi and Duchesne felt fully able to cope with in their edition of the "Hieronymianum." There are some very useful pages in the work of Dr. Urbain: an inventory (pp. 27-77) of the known manuscripts and printed sources for the history of the Roman saints (martyrs) in the first four centuries; an alphabetical catalogue (pp. 218-66) of all the names of Roman saints (martyrs) mentioned in any of the written or monumental sources; and (pp. 211-16) a

<sup>1</sup> See this JOURNAL, Vol. V, No. 2 (April, 1901), pp. 366, 367.

reproduction of what Urbain thinks was the condition of the Roman calendar about the time of Leo the Great (440-61). The editor says rightly (preface, p. iii) that whoever enters the domain of the "Legendae Sanctorum," even for purposes of edification, runs the risk of soon floundering in a perilous morass. The volume of the materials is positively astounding, were it only for their endless shadings in point of age, authenticity, integrity, and the like. Curiously enough, it is always to such forlorn hopes that are attracted the masters of erudition and criticism. *Nitimur in vetitum cupimusque negata*. A Mommsen must catch the last faint echoes of the imperial period, a Duchesne must imprison the fluid and receptive text of the earliest papal history, and a Harnack must uncover the first faint pulsations of the life of the "Grosskirche," whether in belief or discipline. Doubtless, great good will come of it all; but synthetic minds await impatiently, if not the end, at least a halt in all this splintering analysis.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

SHORT LIVES OF THE DOMINICAN SAINTS. By a sister of the Congregation of St. Catharine of Siena. Edited, with introduction, by the VERY REV. FATHER PROCTOR. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros., 1901. Pp. xxiii + 352. \$1.75, net.

"THIS book is an album of Dominican pictures," which are pronounced by Father Proctor to be "lifelike, faithful, and true."

More than one hundred saints are described, from one to three or four pages being devoted to each subject. Nearly all the saints were extraordinary characters—workers of miracles and recipients of marvelous heavenly visions and revelations. For example, it is gravely stated that angels were often seen present when the blessed Ambrose Sansedonia celebrated mass. "Often, when he preached, his body was miraculously raised from the ground and his head was seen surrounded by a circle, not of glory, but of birds of various and brilliant plumage." As wonderful incidents are to be found on almost every page of this book of miracles.

To our mind the most profitable part of the volume is the introduction, because it lays stress on a fact, the significance of which is not realized by Protestants.

Father Proctor commends this volume because it sets forth Christianity, not in the abstract, but in the concrete. He says:

It does not tell us what *ought* to be done; but it reveals to us what *has been* done. Synthetically it shows what *can* be done. It becomes more practical still—it proves what *we* may do.

The really effective argument for Christianity is to be found in biography. Here, too, is inspiration for the young Christian who cannot be reached by dry printed sermons, or such dogmatic literature as is often relied upon by Protestants to develop faith.

Do Protestants realize the value of biographies of Christian heroes?

ALFRED W. WISHART.

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QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES PAPSTTUMS UND DES RÖMISCHEN KATHOLIZISMUS. VON CARL MIRBT. Zweite, verbesserte und wesentlich vermehrte Ausgabe. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. Pp. xxii + 482. M. 8.50.

THIS second edition of Mirbt's *Quellen* is made up of 508 original documents, entire or fragmentary, that illustrate the history of the papacy and Catholicism from their earliest days down to our time. In the former edition only 155 documents were printed. This notable increase is largely made up from documentary material of the nineteenth century. The scope of the author remains the same, viz., to provide a volume in which students of theology shall find collected certain desirable materials for the study of church history that are often inaccessible to the ordinary reader. As the mass of original materials is quite vast, some principles of selection had to be adopted; these are stated to be the great lines of development and the principal events and situations in the history of ecclesiastical life. Historical tables of the Roman popes, chronological and alphabetical, and an alphabetical list of all the herein printed *Quellen*, add to the utility of the book. The latter list is so constructed that the student can go directly, not only to the page, but to the lines that contain the pertinent document. The original sources of every document are regularly indicated; likewise the more important works in which it has been used or discussed. In many documents the *leitende Idee* is brought out by spacing. As the collection is primarily destined for non-Catholic students of theology, it is only natural to expect that in several ways the compiler should make known his tendency in the grave questions that are illustrated by the documents he reprints. It may be that thus the youthful student is tempted to consider the original materials from the view-point of his master, and to read into

them or out of them something more or less than they contain. Cardinal Newman once said that Horne Tooke worked his peculiar views even into the science of English grammar. It is perhaps morally impossible for most men to approach the great documents that chronicle the deepest lines of divergency without some bias or prejudice. In general the work is a serviceable one, though in the hands of a Catholic compiler the selection of materials would have been carried on along different lines.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

LES INSTITUTIONS COMMUNALES DE ROME SOUS LA PAPAUTÉ. Par E. RODOCANACHI. Paris: Picard, 1901. Pp. 424.

RODOCANACHI has added one more to his long list of works, and in this volume has returned to the field of Roman history. This is the ninth volume of considerable size published by him since 1894. Such rapid work is generally associated with carelessness, but we do not find it so in this case. In this work he claims only to give in outline the communal history of Rome, without any attempt at clearing up the many obscure details. It is a valuable study of a very obscure subject. While in general the city government and organization at Rome were like those of other Italian cities in this period, there are striking differences. There are the frequent periods of tumult and revolution which we find in other cities, but the results are not the same. This book explains why some family like the Colonna or Orsini did not occupy the same position of influence in Rome which the Medici family held in Florence. No one powerful family could gain supreme power, because of the presence of the pope. Conditions are now so different that the Roman experience does not give us much help on present-day municipal problems. One valuable suggestion might be the careful watch over expenditures and the searching investigation made into the official acts of each ruler at the close of his term of office. A marked characteristic was the short period of office-holding, many being for two months, rarely one for more than a year. The writer takes up the government of the city by epochs. After a brief survey of the organization of the city in the early Middle Age, the period from the ninth to the twelfth century is studied more carefully, and the conclusion is reached that, while there was a senatorial class, it was no longer an assembly, but an order. The statutes of 1363 and 1469 are studied carefully, and the later ones of 1519-23 compared with these. The

later chapters are taken up with an account of the decline of the communal rule. The book has a good summary at the end of each chapter and is well indexed.

C. M. GEER.

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DIE NEUBESETZUNG DER DEUTSCHEN BISTÜMER UNTER PAPST INNOCENZ IV., 1243-1254. Von P. ALDINGER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1900. Pp. iv + 196. M. 6.

THE conflict between the papacy and the emperor Frederick II., inaugurated early in the reign of the latter and resulting from the determination of his guardian, Pope Innocent III., to exercise absolute control in civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, was somewhat assuaged during the pontificates of Honorius III. and Gregory IX.; but under Innocent IV., who possessed many of the qualities of his illustrious namesake, was reawakened and raised to its pristine intensity. The popes insisted that the choice of bishops and archbishops should be absolutely free from imperial interference and claimed the right to adjudicate on every election. Under the successors of Innocent III., Frederick had been able to keep on good terms with most of the German prelates without bringing them into antagonism to the papal authority. Under the latter the conflict broke out afresh in 1239; but the aged pope was not in a position effectively to withstand the interference of the emperor in episcopal elections or to coerce insubordinate prelates. In 1241 the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz entered into an offensive and defensive alliance and gave their support to the political opponents of the Hohenstaufen. The death of Gregory IX., and the papal interregnum of nearly two years, caused by dissension in the college of cardinals, prevented the papacy from utilizing fully the opportunity that had come for the realization of its aims. Innocent IV. gave an opportunity to Frederick to make peace on terms involving a recognition of traditional papal claims; but Greek had met Greek, and it was war to the knife. The author divides the reign of Innocent IV., as regards his attitude toward the German episcopate and the emperor, into two periods: the first, in which the ordinary means of papal warfare were employed and extending to the year 1246; and the second, in which extraordinary measures were employed, extending to the close of his career. Frederick had grown great through the co-operation of the bishops and



had bestowed such favors on the episcopal cities as to attach them somewhat firmly to his cause. The alienation of the bishops, largely through papal interference, weakened his hands and precipitated the downfall of his dynasty.

Under the two periods mentioned the author has given in detail the papal transactions in relation to the individual bishoprics, and has brought to light many interesting facts illustrating ordinary and extraordinary methods of procedure in the efforts of the papacy to control the German bishoprics. No pope ever understood better how to reward obedience and subserviency or to punish disobedience and insubordination. Having once gained the upper hand in the struggle with the Hohenstaufen, he utilized his advantages to the utmost and became a chief means of the overthrow of the house and the inauguration of a new political era. Aldinger's work seems to have been done with the usual German thoroughness and exhaustiveness.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

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GESCHICHTE DER REFORMATION DES KLOSTERS UND STIFTLANDES WALDSASSEN, bis zum Tode des Kurfürsten Ludwig VI. (1583). Nach archivalischen Akten und Urkunden bearbeitet. Von GEORG BRUNNER. Mit 15 Beilagen und 1 Karte des Stiftlandes. Erlangen: Junge, 1901. Pp. viii + 214. M. 2.60.

DR. BRUNNER limits himself to a small territory, because the Lutheran reformation there is typical of the movement everywhere. He limits himself to a brief period of time because, after 1583, the terminus of his story, Calvinism came in. The territory is about seventy-five square miles in extent. It lies between the border-lines of Bavaria, Bohemia, and Saxony, where they draw together most nearly. It is so beautiful that Goethe praises it in his *Italian Journey*. Here, from an early period — how early no one knows — one of the richest of the imperial abbeys flourished and ruled until the Lutheran reformation. Dr. Brunner first examines the religious and moral condition of the abbey and its territory before its reformation. He then narrates the events attending the reformation itself. In his third chapter he considers the influence of its reformation on its ecclesiastical, moral, spiritual, and social condition. His purpose in the entire discussion is to show that it was greatly improved by the reformation, against certain Roman

Catholic writers who have maintained that its people were in a worse state after its adhesion to Lutheranism than before. He makes a separate study of the pastors, the churches, and the schools, before the change, and then after it, as exhibited in the records of the three visitations of 1557, 1579, and 1583, and shows that a vast improvement was effected. Half the book is devoted to a reproduction of the documents relating to the discussion, so that the reader is enabled to weigh the argument for himself. Dr. Brunner writes for a controversial purpose, but not in a controversial spirit. Indeed, he has not needed to indulge in feeling, for the facts which he has adduced speak for themselves.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A VANISHED ARCADIA. Being Some Account of the Jesuits in Paraguay (1607-1767). By R. B. CUNNINGHAME-GRAHAM. New York: Macmillan, 1901. Pp. 294. \$2.50.

To THE bulky literature on the Jesuit "Reductions" in Paraguay, Mr. Robert Cunningham-Graham, a Scotchman long engaged in cattle-raising in South America, has added a very entertaining volume. He relates succinctly and clearly the events and situations in the Spanish settlements of Paraguay from 1526 to 1610, when two Italian Jesuits, Maceta and Cataldino, brought together in permanent habitation a number of savage Guaraní on a tributary of the great Paraná river. From that time their direction commended itself so well to these Indians that no less than thirty similar settlements were eventually founded, with a population variously estimated at from 140,000 to 180,000. Mr. Graham's account of the stubborn opposition of Cardenas, the Franciscan bishop of Paraguay, culminating in his well-known charges against the Jesuits, emphasizes the domestic opposition that the Fathers had to encounter at the very outset. And though this rivalry abated with time, the angry feelings it aroused in both the Old and the New World never entirely passed away. In Spain they were handed down through the eighteenth century, and were responsible for a considerable share in the monumental injustice of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay (1768). More immediate obstacles were the aversion and lawlessness both of the Spaniards in Buenos Ayres and Asuncion, and of the motley population of San Paolo in the Portuguese territory of Brazil. The fertile soil of South America could not be worked without a multitude of hands. The Guaraní and other Indians

seemed to the degenerate successors of the Conquistadori a proper God-given supply of "unreasoning people." Hence raids without number were made on the defenseless villages of the Guaraní neophytes, especially by those *âmes damnées*, the Paulistas or "Mamelucos." After the shameful man-hunt carried on by the latter (1629-31) among the Guaraní, Fathers Montoya and Truxillo led some 12,000 souls out of the reach of the Paulistas, down the Paraná to the neighborhood of the great cataract of La Guayra (1631). In 1639 as many more, not including women and children, were guided by Father Christobal Arenas to a rich and fertile territory, some twenty-five miles in width, between the Uruguay and the Paraná. The missions now gradually extended till they ranged from Santa Maria la Mayor in Paraguay to San Miguel in what is now Brazil, and from Jesus upon the Paraná to Yapeyu upon the Paraguay.

Mr. Graham writes like a *Weltmann*, slightly wearied at the sight of a general injustice, literary and otherwise. His temper is tinged with a cynicism that lends occasionally a sour and declamatory note to his narration. But he has lived on the rolling plains of Uruguay, and is well acquainted with the complete desolation that has followed the destruction of the savage utopia which the state-building Jesuits of the seventeenth century imagined, and in a measure executed. Mr. Graham is very sympathetic to the Jesuits.

Leaving upon one side the system of administration, and discounting their unalterable perseverance, there were two things on which the Jesuits appealed to the Indians; and those two things, by the very nature of their knowledge of mankind, they knew appealed as much to Indians as to any other race of men. Firstly (and in this writers opposed to them, as Brabo and Azara, both agree), they instilled into the Indians that the land on which they lived, with missions, churches, herds, flocks, and the rest, was their own property. And in the second place, they told them they were free, and that they had the king of Spain's own edict in confirmation of their freedom, so that they never could be slaves. Neither of these two propositions commends itself to many writers on the Jesuits in Paraguay, but for all that it seems to me that in themselves they were sufficient to account for the firm hold the Jesuits had on their neophytes. (P. 212.)

The book is a remarkable one, not only for the excellent politico-historical summary of a fascinating episode in the constitutional history of the New World, but also for many descriptive passages of singular beauty, and for some vivid snapshots of the actual condition of the Guaraní. It must take its place among the "little classics" of modern travel, and will always be cited by writers on the "Reductions" as second in

interest only to the famous *Historia de Abiponibus* of Father Dobrizhoffer (1784), and superior to the modern works of Demersay (1862) and Bourgade de la Dardye (1862). On p. 109, "Council of Trent" should read "Congregation of the Council of Trent." Father Enis (or Henis), concerning whose nationality Mr. Graham is in doubt, was a Bohemian; Backer and Sommervogel give the date of his birth as October 20, 1711, and say that in the catalogues of the Bohemian province he is called Enis.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

DAS BILD DES CHRISTENTUMS BEI DEN GROSSEN DEUTSCHEN IDEALISTEN. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christentums. Von C. LÜLMANN. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901. Pp. xii + 229. M. 4.80.

THIS work adds to the steadily accumulating evidence that the progress of scientific investigation is producing a felt need to restate the essence of Christianity—a new apologetic and a new philosophy of religion. The author's aim is really to furnish an impetus and a contribution to this work. His list of great German idealists—Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher—represents, in his view, a progress in the apprehension and definition of Christianity. A comparison of this list with Pfeiderer's—Kant, Herder, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—illustrates the contrast in their views.

The book opens with a quotation from P. Rosegger—"Today, at the beginning of the twentieth century after Christ, we do not yet know what Christianity is"—as an instance of that apparently clever but superficial view now so common, namely, that it is self-evident that the essence of Christianity can be expressed in some formula that will be sufficient for all time. His own view is that a study of the great idealists sets forth plainly the fact that "Christianity refuses to be limited to any single form and apprehension. It is for all times and for all minds."

The author's method is to give, first, an exposition of the view of the Christian religion held by each of these philosophers and, as far as possible, in their own words, and then to offer a critical estimate of each of their contributions to the historical knowledge of Christianity. He shows how the philosophical principles held in each case and the spiritual (mental) atmosphere in which they lived determined the form of their apprehension of Christianity, but that, at the same time, their recognition of its supreme worth reacted upon their philosophical views.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a brief review, to set forth intelligibly the whole course of the discussion in outline. The author's view of the historical progress in the apprehension of Christianity by these great writers may be rudely indicated by a reference to the first three of them. Leibnitz lived at the time of the commencement of the strife between reason and tradition. Resting his view of religion upon the principle of pre-established harmony, he considered Christianity as the highest revelation and, accordingly, as synonymous with the highest development of reason. Whenever the inner light of reason impels men to love God and their neighbor, *there* is the Christian church. This harmonizing of revelation and reason, of faith and knowledge, helped to free theology from the bondage of the letter; but this kind of supernaturalism opened the door to the rationalism and deism of the illumination.

Wolff's attempt to interpret the whole content of the revealed doctrines of the church, in terms of human reason, led to a denial of revelation and to utilitarianism. But Lessing, by his conception of development in religion, contributed to the overthrow of this position, and secured to Christianity a recognition of its historical character and of its essential distinction from any or all of the historical forms in which it was manifested, and by his *Humanitäts-Prinzip* he secured recognition of the value of the ethical personality and of personal experience.

Kant links on here, identifying religion with subjection of the will to the moral law; but, at the same time, by his view of the disharmony between the human will and the supreme law, he was enabled to present Christianity as the religion of redemption, though to him that redemption was self-wrought; and, in this connection, he again enforced a recognition of the distinction between faith and knowledge.

Thus the author exhibits a growing apprehension of the nature of Christianity till it culminates in Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*, which is itself the spring of a new movement. His own closing words are worth quoting:

Christianity itself is something much greater and more universal than all the particular forms of faith and life in which its spiritual nature has given and still gives itself a manifold stamp corresponding to the manifold conditions and needs of different times and peoples. It stands reflected in the flow of historical development. It lives in its confessors.

The book is well worth a translation into English.

GEORGE CROSS.

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DAS APOSTOLISCHE SYMBOL. Seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte. Von FERDINAND KATTENBUSCH. Erster Band: *Die Grundgestalt des Taufsymbols*, pp. xiv + 410. Zweiter Band: *Verbreitung und Bedeutung des Taufsymbols*, pp. viii + 1061. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. M. 23.

THIS is the culmination of a long series of investigations, begun by Erasmus, carried forward by Vossius, Ussher, Voetius, and King, among the older scholars, and completed by Caspari, Zahn, Foulkes, Swainson, and Harnack. The traditions of German thoroughness are well preserved in this elaborate treatise of almost 1,500 pages on a document of fifty-eight words! One shudders to think of the possible results, if German erudition shall thus wreak itself in turn upon all the documents of Christian antiquity. The industry of the author is overwhelming, his familiarity with details is bewildering, and he has woven about his sufficiently prolix text such a mass of notes and dissertations and appendixes that even a diligent student frequently loses his way altogether. As for a casual reader, if there were any danger that such would ever look into the book at all, he would simply be unable to make head or tail of it.

The first volume is devoted to an examination of the origin of the creed. Beginning with an introductory critical survey of the history of research, and the literature that has gathered about the creed, in which he is careful to give due praise to the labors and discoveries of his predecessors, Dr. Kattenbusch then sets forth the method he purposes to follow in his own investigation. The first step, he says, is to seek among the numerous transmitted forms of the creed an original form. The next is to arrange the other forms of the symbol in groups, smaller or larger, and then establish the relations of the various groups with the stem-type or mother-symbol.

Having thus cleared the way, the author addresses himself to the first great question, the ground-form or type of the Apostles' Creed. This he finds in the ancient symbol of the Roman church, and, as a standard or norm of comparison, he takes this as given in the commentary attributed to Rufinus. He wastes little time or space in discussing the authenticity of this work, in which he is quite right; for his purpose it makes no difference whether the commentary is rightly ascribed to Rufinus, or was written by another; it is, at any rate, a document of the fifth century, and gives a symbol in use in the Church

of Rome in the fourth century. But one could wish that it had not been so easily assumed that this is the original form of the creed. That is not to be granted without strong proofs, and proofs Kattenbusch does not trouble himself to give. This is the weakest feature of his book. A tithe of the industry and learning that he has bestowed on points of far less importance would have been sufficient to establish or disprove his assumption. Probably it would have been disproved, for it is difficult to reconcile the references to the creed, and the quotation of some of its clauses, by Tertullian and Irenæus, with the theory that Rufinus gives the earliest form.

The first main division of the first volume is given to a comparison of the old symbol (R) with other Western versions of the creed, and with great ingenuity and considerable conclusiveness it is shown that R is the original of all these recensions. The second division is devoted to a similar examination of the Eastern forms. Here, too, the author finds conclusive (to him) grounds for holding these forms to be dependent on the Roman symbol. There is room for more difference of opinion on the real conclusiveness of Dr. Kattenbusch's investigations at this point. He confesses himself to be frequently at odds with Harnack on points of detail, and his entire results are disputed by Zahn and Caspari. Close comparison shows, however, that here he has really investigated; while Zahn, at any rate, has taken things for granted, and Caspari has passed over the question lightly. On the whole, therefore, one is inclined to accept, as fairly proved, our author's view that these Eastern recensions began in Syria and Palestine, and that there is no existing form in the East that can be regarded as the original type. By a process of exclusion, therefore, we reach the conclusion that all the Eastern recensions were derived from R.

The second volume considers the circulation and importance of the symbol, in eleven chapters and a conclusion. First the legends relating to the composition of the creed are discussed; then four chapters are devoted to a most thorough and exhaustive examination of the testimony of the ante-Nicene Fathers. Chap. vi discusses at great length, including various appendixes, the circulation and acceptance of the creed in the East. Chap. vii is one of the most interesting of all, being given to the tracing of the creed back to its origin. This the author finds, as to substance, to be the New Testament; and, as to form, he holds that a baptismal symbol, essentially identical with the historic creed, was in use in Rome from the year 100. This is pushing back the date a half-century farther than most scholars would probably be

willing to admit. In saying that the origin is, as to substance, the New Testament, Kattenbusch means that R is an expansion of what was probably the earliest of all baptismal symbols, Matt. 28:19; these three clauses being filled out with a statement of facts from the gospels. These additions, he holds, were made for a practical, didactic purpose, rather than a dogmatic—to instruct converts and confirm faith, rather than to antagonize heresy. To this theory Dr. McGiffert has recently taken exception, and ingeniously argued that many of the clauses bear evidence of having been added to contradict the heresy of Marcion. Chap. ix is the longest and the most elaborate of all, being a commentary on the historic sense of R, each of the twelve clauses being subjected to a critical exegesis that leaves nothing to be desired in minute thoroughness and multifarious learning.

Chaps. x and xi are devoted to the history of the creed and the development of the *textus receptus* (T). Here Dr. Kattenbusch follows pretty closely in the footsteps of Swainson, who has indisputably shown that the added clauses are of Gallic origin. The indefatigable industry of the author, however, has enabled him to make additions to our knowledge of substantial value, even here where there seemed little to be accomplished by further investigation. Each of the added clauses or phrases or words also receives the same critical study that was earlier bestowed on the original text.

It must be plain that to make a really critical examination of a work so extensive in plan and so crammed with detail would involve the writing, not of a notice, but of a book. Instead of attempting the impossible, one will do better to add a brief résumé of the author's general conclusions:

(1) R is the source, type, mother-form of all the baptismal symbols. This follows from an inductive study of all existing forms. The only doubtful case, as already noted, is that of the Eastern group. (2) He has made it a chief object rightly to value R in its form and content. That symbol is a historically defined, qualified summary of the nature of Christianity. This interpretation excludes a dogmatic purpose, such as produced the Nicene creed. (3) R originated at Rome as early as the year 100, as is shown by the quotations made by Marcion and Justin.<sup>1</sup> (4) The line of circulation was: through West by way of Gaul and Africa; in the East by way of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, and lastly Egypt. (5) Where R was not received, shorter or longer baptismal confessions were used, either merely Trinitarian, or with additions concerning the church and the Christian hope, possibly at

<sup>1</sup> Dr. McGiffert maintains that there are no quotations in Justin, and those of Marcion prove something quite different from this conclusion of Kattenbusch.



the close a clause on the value of baptism. (6) In the West R and its variations were known as the *regula fidei*, a term that is applied in the East only to Scripture. (7) Generally the symbol was regarded as a *sacramentum*, and hence an especially sacred character was attributed to it. (8) and (9) T assumed its present form in the West, through the general use of the Carolingian Psalters, in which it was inserted.

Of these conclusions all but (2) and (3) may be said to be all but universally accepted, and nearly all scholars accept (2). Of course, there are many questions of detail, which there is no space here even to mention, on which there would be much contention. What no scholar will do is to withhold his admiration for a work so comprehensive and exhaustive. It takes at once, and is likely long to hold, the place of the great monograph on the subject.

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THE APOSTLES' CREED. Its Origin, its Purpose, and its Historical Interpretation. A Lecture, with Critical Notes. By ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT. New York: Scribner, 1901. Pp. vi + 206. \$1.25, net.

MCGIFFERT ON THE APOSTLES' CREED. A Paper Read before the Lutheran Society for New Testament Study, New York. By JOHN A. W. HAAS. Philadelphia: Lutheran Church Review, 1902. Pp. 18.

DR. MCGIFFERT's work is always marked by careful, exact scholarship; and it is needless to say that these qualities distinguish every page of this book, which is not a popular homiletical treatise, but a historical study. The lecture is only a statement of main conclusions, the reasons for which are given in the critical notes occupying fully five-sixths of the whole treatise. Dr. McGiffert's conclusions are, in the main, as follows: The current Apostles' Creed is an enlargement of the old Roman Symbol, used in the Roman and adjacent churches in the fourth century. This Symbol was originally written in Greek, at Rome, about 150-75 A. D. Not known to Justin Martyr, it was well known to Irenæus and Tertullian. It originated in the desire to specially emphasize points of the common Christian faith, which were called in question by heretics, particularly Marcion. Its general outline was determined by the baptismal formula, which had then been long in use. The original text of the Roman Symbol was somewhat briefer

than the text current in the fourth century, since the temptation was always present to add expressions in view of current theological conflicts. Dr. McGiffert has thus entered into a controversy in which such men as Caspari, Kattenbusch, Harnack, Zahn, Swete, and Sanday have participated. On several important points he is bold enough to disagree with them all. As against Caspari, Zahn, and Sanday, Dr. McGiffert considers Rome the place where the old Roman Symbol was written. In this he is at one with Kattenbusch and Harnack. But altogether his own is his view that the Symbol was directed specifically against Marcion's views, and that it was unknown to Justin Martyr. This, in fact, is the author's main contention, and on this point he has expressed himself most fully and emphatically. We have sought to weigh his arguments carefully, and are compelled to say that we remain unconvinced. Each one of Dr. McGiffert's three questions (p. 173), viz.: (1) Why are so many essential elements of the church's faith at the time omitted? (2) Why are all the most offensive of Marcion's views opposed in the Symbol? and, (3) Why was the church compelled to use a Symbol *c.* 150-75 when it had not needed one before? may be answered satisfactorily without necessitating the acceptance of his view. In particular, the contention that up to about 150-75 A. D. the churches had no baptismal confession does not appear to rest on satisfactory evidence. It is the *argumentum e silentio* that is mainly depended upon, as in the author's appeal to the Didaché. Altogether, the evidence is of too uncertain value and too limited in quantity to justify Dr. McGiffert's most positive, unconditional statements.

Mr. Haas's paper is a severe and somewhat impatient criticism of Dr. McGiffert's main position. It is of value, notwithstanding its animosity, as pointing out the weakness of the evidence for the hypothesis that the creed was framed in opposition to Marcion's teachings, and as noting that the existence of numerous credal formulæ in the East about and before 150 A. D. is of far greater significance than Dr. McGiffert allows. The author, as he himself admits, depends largely on the work of Kunze, *Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss*.

EDWARD E. NOURSE.

BERLIN, CONN.

THE COSMOS AND THE LOGOS. Being the Lectures for 1901-2 on the *L. P. Stone* Foundation in the Princeton Theological Seminary. By HENRY COLLINS MINTON. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1902. Pp. xii+319. \$1.25, *net*.

THE theme of the book is, in the main, the cosmos, viewed as a mean between God and man. Corresponding to the second term of the title, there is only a brief enforcement of the thought that the divine revelation contained in the cosmos has an appropriate climax in the incarnated Logos.

In respect of philosophical predilections the author indicates that he is on terms of fairly good fellowship with Professors Bowne, Ladd, and Andrew Seth. His point of view is that of a qualified idealism. While he says, with Bowne, "the world of things is so completely a world of ideas as to have no meaning except in relation to mind and consciousness," he says also :

Truth is not in the thing only ; it is not in the thought only ; it is in the thing as the expression of the thought. Matter is more than "coarsened thought," as Amiel called it ; but there is thought there first of all, and it is because of that thought that we can cognize matter and study it.

In harmony with this conception of the world as the embodiment and expression of thought, the author vigorously antagonizes the agnostic platform. He repudiates the notion that the reason in man can do no better than to lead up to such a *cul-de-sac* as the antinomies of Kant. He thinks of Dean Monsel as slaying rationalism at the expense of slaughtering reason. "He threw out the child with the bath ; he burned the barn to get rid of the mice." Benjamin Kidd's concession of ultra-rational sanctions to religion earns also from our author very scanty thanks. With Iverach he sees in ultra-rational sanctions nothing else than the irrational.

Right reason must be perfectly consistent with true faith. . . . To throw away reason for the sake of faith is to pay too high a price for the spurious faith which we get in the barter. . . . No sane man can accept by his faith what he rejects by his reason.

In all right knowing of the world Dr. Minton contends there is a harmonious blending of the inductive and the deductive. Empiricism has its place, but it must go to school to metaphysics before it can be safely licensed to do business. As the world presents itself to our inspection, it is characterized by order, harmony, and beauty. But with these are mingled opposing characteristics. While the dark and enigmatic features do not cancel the testimony of nature to a wise and

beneficent author, they do disfigure the fair face of the world and call for an explanation. That explanation is found in the fact of sin.

The king fell, and the kingdom fell with him. . . . The world we see is not God's world as God made it. Weeds and thistles, killing frosts and blighting mildews, venomous rattlesnakes, cyclones and earthquakes, wasting disease and death—all these belong to a world which the blight of sin has cursed.

As to the nature of sin, it was rightly described by Tertullian as "the great interloper." "We abhor any philosophy which openly or covertly denies the truth that the sin which our moral consciousness unqualifiedly condemns is that which *ought not to be*." At this point evolutionary thinking is frequently a transgressor, in that it assumes to dispose of sin as an incident of human progress. In general, the fault of the more radical evolutionary theorist consists in stretching beyond measure his hypothesis and attempting to make it cover that which it can never explain.

In the interpretation of man as a factor in the cosmos, Professor Minton finds occasion to score the monistic theory, as attempting to force us to let go of a contrast—that between matter and mind—which cannot be relinquished without reducing our thought to a meaningless blank. He emphasizes also the fact that human personality is to be regarded as essentially homogeneous with the divine, and therefore as furnishing an authentic mirror of the same. With the inordinate dread of anthropomorphism which leads to a description of God as suprapersonal he has no sympathy. "We pay our highest possible tribute to God when we conceive of him as a person. . . . To call God more than personal is to make him less."

Strongly emphasizing the damaging effects of sin both upon man and upon his environment, the author naturally places much stress upon the function of special revelation. Among the four possible views as to the relation between special and cosmical revelation—namely, that the former is identical with the latter, or antagonistic to the same, or a substitute for it, or supplementary to and interpretative of it—he evidently favors the last.

The book is eminently readable, being rich in pithy and quotable sentences. As to subject-matter, its treatment is rather broad. Well-worded affirmation is a more prominent element than close argumentation. In a few instances the affirmations are not adapted to carry conviction to all sorts of readers. We find ourselves, for instance, put into an interrogative mood by the picture which is given of the deteri-

oration of the cosmos as a result of the Adamic trespass—a deterioration assumed to have been wrought, or at least initiated, at a particular point of earthly history, since Bushnell's idea of the "anticipative consequences" of sin is rejected. We had supposed it to be the common conviction of scientific investigators that the world never presented a more amiable aspect than at present, and that eras of extraordinary rigor and ruthlessness preceded the advent of man. Again, we are somewhat puzzled by the author's judgment that a special advantage pertains to the Reformed theology, inasmuch as it attributes to God a facile control over human minds, and so provides for the thought that the sacred writers were made the vehicles of an inerrant message. We had believed that the course of scholarly investigation for the last two or three generations had been compelling the recognition of the truth that personal points of view on the part of the sacred writers were not fully vanquished by the divine afflatus, that these writers required educative expedients, as well as inspirations, to lead them on toward the divine standpoint, and that one and another of them gave expression to sentiments that needed to be improved upon, and unmistakably were improved upon at a later stage. Either we have mistaken the verdict of biblical science, or that verdict, instead of affording a basis of self-gratulation on the part of the champion of the Reformed theology, places upon him a specially onerous task to prove his proposition that divine agency, while maintaining due respect for the human constitution, can easily and fully control human thinking. The proper induction would seem to be that even God encountered great obstacles to the communication of his perfect truth, and needed to overcome them by the combined use of specially noble and receptive personalities and of age-long processes. Once more, we observe what looks like an uncanceled antinomy. The author stoutly maintains that sin is an interloper, something that ought not to be. But, on the other hand, he defers to the Reformed standpoint sufficiently to affirm that "the cosmical program, as divinely purposed, embraced Adam's fall." For God to purpose *what ought not to be* makes at least an appearance of an antinomy. Thus there is an opportunity to challenge some items, especially on the part of those whose eyes have not been well anointed with the genuine eye-salve of the good old Reformed theology. The book, nevertheless, gives admirable expression to many important truths, and may well claim a wide circle of appreciative readers.

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THE ATONEMENT AND INTERCESSION OF CHRIST. By the late PRINCIPAL DAVID CHARLES DAVIES. Edited by D. E. Jenkins. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1901. Pp. xxvi + 237. \$1.25.

THE author of this treatise, while a brilliant, original thinker, is little known outside of Wales. He received his preliminary training at Bala College, but graduated from University College, London. In the latter institution he won several prizes in mathematics and physics, and one in Hebrew. He pursued post-graduate studies both at Edinburgh and London. After short pastorates at Newtown, Builth, and Liverpool, he took charge of Jewin Crescent, a Welsh church in the heart of London, where he preached for twenty-three years, from 1859 to 1882. He had marked success, but was known to very few but the Welsh. He was an indefatigable student. He laid under tribute the London libraries. He kept himself abreast of scientific, philosophic, and theological thought. What he acquired he used to enforce the truth that he preached. He wrote profound theological essays for Welsh periodicals. The most intelligent of his church he organized in classes that he conducted in the study of Butler's *Analogy* and the epistles of the New Testament. He resolutely refused repeated calls to take charge of institutions of learning in Wales. At last, however, he accepted the principalship of Trevecca College, and awakened such enthusiasm for study among the students that all observers regretted that he had not given his whole life to educational work. But, after a brilliant career of three years, he died, and all Wales mourned his departure.

The book under review is made up of essays written, during his London pastorate, for *Yr Arweinydd* (the "Leader" or "Guide"). In these discussions he does not follow beaten paths. His expositions of the great passages in the New Testament pertaining to atonement, propitiation, and the priestly office of Christ are unusually fresh and suggestive. And, while he often radically differs from recognized authorities, he never, perhaps from native modesty, parades the fact. But, just because he thinks both reverently and fearlessly, he can hardly fail to be helpful to all who wish to understand what the Bible teaches concerning the most profound and important of all subjects—that of the atonement.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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THE PERSONAL LIFE OF THE CLERGY. By ARTHUR W. ROBINSON.  
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. lx+163.  
\$0.90, *net*.

THIS is the first of a series of "Handbooks for the Clergy" to be edited by the author of this "preparatory volume." The aim of the series is to render clerical work more efficient; but such efficiency depends above all else on the life of the clergy.

The book treats of the duties and dangers of the clerical life. Its great duties are penitence, prayer, and devotion to our Lord. There has been a change in public opinion and preaching in reference to sin and penitence. Religious teaching is not as searching and profound as it once was. There has been a reaction from the old severity of doctrine. The fatherhood of God divested of firmness has been eagerly received. Love has been terribly wronged and degraded by being represented as merely good nature. This has tended to laxity. So that Gladstone said: "Ah, the sense of sin—that is the great want in modern life; it is wanting in our sermons, wanting everywhere." There must be a reaction from this reaction. Two conceptions of God's character, that of Father and Judge, must be harmonized. Greater stress must be laid on the judgment day and the joy of forgiveness. Only when the preacher becomes a penitent and forgiven sinner can he plead effectively with his fellow-men. But it is also his duty to pray. Prayer is high and hard work; not a preparation for work, but work itself. Coleridge says: "Of all mental exercises earnest prayer is the most severe." Still, to penitence and prayer the preacher must add devotion to Christ, devotion to his cause and to his person. This, in distinction from the other duties, makes one exclusively Christian.

The dangers to be avoided: (1) Secularization. A clergyman may become secular by giving too much time to the study and discussion of great social problems, and also by throwing himself too freely into superficial society life. (2) He is in danger from over-occupation. Often he would do more if he did less. (3) He is in danger from depression. This may arise from lack of bodily health, or from a mind wearied by long, uninterrupted tension, or from a lack of money; and, whatever be its cause, it unfits a minister for his great duties, and sometimes ends in despondency, which, someone has said, "is self-confidence which has failed."

This book is written in a simple, clear, forceful style. Each chapter is supplemented with notes which are mainly extracts from the

writings of noted clergymen. The author recognizes the fact that the life of the clergy is a hard one, but he endeavors to awaken within them a holy courage; and, while he writes for English churchmen, his practical suggestions are equally applicable to ministers of all denominations.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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OUTLINE OF A HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. By GUSTAV WARNECK. Authorized Translation from the Seventh German Edition. Edited by George Robson. With portrait and twelve maps. Chicago: Revell, 1901. Pp. xiv + 364. \$2, *net*.

THE history of this book, as given in the editor's preface, is briefly this: Dr. Warneck's *Outline History of Protestant Missions* was published twenty years ago. It went to a second edition, and was translated into English by Dr. Thomas Smith in 1884. Eleven years later it was entirely rewritten, and very considerably enlarged. Since this third edition of 1895 Dr. Warneck has four times revised it and brought it down to date. The volume now in hand is a translation of the last revision and seventh edition.

A place has been waiting for it; and its claim to acceptance as the standard history of missions will not be disputed by any other book in the wide range of missionary literature. Nothing else is within reach so scholarly, so comprehensive, so sober, as this. Dr. Warneck has not written in the interest of any party, or in the advocacy of any "theory" of missions. He has no "watchword" to justify, no eschatological dogma to defend. "I understand by missions," he says in the author's preface to the seventh edition, "the whole operations of Christendom directed toward the planting and organization of the Christian church among non-Christians; that is, their Christianization." No such distinction as that commonly made between "foreign" and "home" missions, however, is recognized. The Indians and the negroes of North America are "non-Christians," though they dwell in Christian lands. On the other hand, Protestant attempts to proselyte Roman Catholics do not properly constitute a missionary undertaking in Dr. Warneck's use of the word.

The great theme of modern missions is considered from two points of view. Part I describes "Missionary Life at Home" in an admirably compact and suggestive historical survey, chapter by chapter,



of the "Age of the Reformation," "The Age of Orthodoxy," the "Age of Pietism," the "Present Age of Missions," the "Foundation and Growth of Missionary Societies." Part II treats of the "Field of Evangelical Missions" in its great geographical boundaries, and contains a great mass of missionary information sifted, digested, systematically arranged, and readily accessible.

This logical arrangement of the contents of the book is adapted both to protect and propitiate the general reader, and to invite and satisfy the specialists. There are persons, otherwise intelligent and open-minded, who are instantly repelled by the very sound of the word "missions." They protest that their alarm is justifiable, since experience has taught them that, when "missions" does not mean an emotional appeal for money to meet the frequent emergency and the annual crisis, it stands for a barren and tedious setting forth of names and dates and figures, under the guise of instruction. These fearful readers may shun Part II and its offered information, if they please. But the book will still have value; for, if they will give attention to Part I, abundant matter of interest will present itself in such discussions as that of the attitude of the Reformation leaders to foreign missions, and the explanation of their extraordinary indifference or of the hindrances to the growth of the missionary spirit furnished by the dogmatic orthodoxy of the next generation, or of the Moravian prelude to the great awakening of the church to its missionary obligation, and the influence of the Methodist revival upon the leaders of the modern movement of world-evangelization. These are not trivial themes, and the Christian man is without excuse who professes himself indifferent to them.

There are persons, on the other hand, who can never have enough of missionary statistics. They are greedy of the plainest, the least-adorned, facts and figures. Give them facts and they will formulate their own principles and arrive at their own conclusions. Dr. Warneck's Part II will furnish to this appetite facts collected by a cautious and diligent inquirer—classified, set in order, disposed for service.

This is not saying, of course, that omissions and errors are nowhere discoverable. It might be expected, too, that these faults would occur most frequently in the pages dealing with the western continent. Here the reader comes at once upon curiously antiquated statements: "Even today, when the red man is no longer feared, that is reckoned the best Indian policy which proclaims the principle, 'The only good Indian is the dead Indian'" (p. 163). It might be inferred that this brutal

saying actually describes an "Indian policy" once generally and deliberately accepted throughout the United States. And is there anywhere in North America "a heathen remainder" among the colored people awaiting conversion to Christianity? Can the evangelization of the colored people of the South be properly regarded as a mission to the heathen?

But in particular the section entitled "British North America" (pp. 157-62) needs careful revision. It might have been written a century ago. There are no "colonists" in British North America today, no "forts and factories," no "Hurons and Iroquois upon the Great Lakes," no "Lower Canada." It is not true that "even today the Catholic element predominates" anywhere outside of Quebec. And what a jumble of geographical misstatement is contained in this paragraph:

In 1763 England conquered French Canada, and in 1869 the English crown acquired also the Hudson's Bay territory, so that now the whole of America lying north of the United States, with the exception of Alaska, is a British colony under the name of the Dominion of Canada, though it is only loosely connected with the mother-country. Politically, it is divided into Canada, *Hudsonia*, and British Columbia, each of which falls again into various provinces. (P. 158.)

Very curious, too, in a history of Canadian missions is the frequent use of the alien term "diocese"—"the diocese of Rupert's Land," "the diocese of Selkirk in *Hudsonia*." This, with the omission of all reference to the important mission work of the Presbyterian church in British Columbia, and the description of the Protestants in that region as "Anglicans and Methodists" (p. 161), arouses the suspicion that Dr. Warneck has depended too exclusively upon Church of England sources of information.

But these blemishes, after all, do not seriously mar the value of the book. So palpable are they that the readers whom they most concern will easily correct them.

The last chapter of the book, a brief one, presents an "Estimate of Results of Evangelical Missions," a topic too often discussed in a partisan and intemperate spirit. Its closing paragraph deserves to be quoted as an expression of the spirit of the whole work:

There is a missionary rhetoric which overestimates the results attained by missions up to the present time, and there is a missionary hypercriticism which undervalues them. In the foregoing work the attempt has been made to avoid both the one extreme and the other and to present the actual facts as a sober apology for missions.

Precisely this Dr. Warneck has accomplished. By means of the scientific historical discussions of the opening chapters, and the sifted and lucidly arranged material in the pages that follow, he has furnished the Christian teacher with a "sober apology for missions," the weightier and the more convincing because of its restrained and judicial tone. More inspiring far to all serious missionary workers than the current rhetorical fervors must these sober pages prove, lighted, as they are, by the steadfast expectation of the success of the missionary endeavor in the establishment on earth of the kingdom of Christ.

The book is well made—light, easy to handle, with a clear page, and well indexed, and furnished with a very complete table of contents.

A. K. PARKER.

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*Bibliographie der theologischen Litteratur für das Jahr 1900*, herausgegeben von G. Krüger (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902; pp. 344; M. 2), is a reprint, without changes, of the lists of books and articles prefixed to the sections and subsections of the *Theologische Jahresbericht*.<sup>1</sup> This bibliography partakes of the excellencies as well as the defects of the *Jahresbericht* itself; exhaustive almost to completion, yet omitting many articles published in America and of interest to Americans; and, on the other hand, abounding in lists of books and articles on practical theology and allied subjects of scarcely any significance to other than German readers. And for this reason, if for none other, the *Theological and Semitic Literature*, published annually in this JOURNAL, can safely maintain its right of existence by the side of the more bulky German output, which although more complete,<sup>2</sup> appears fully a year later. It is a great pity that the limited space allotted to this JOURNAL's bibliography compels the omission of much material, but its 108 pages contain about as much material as twice that many pages in the *Jahresbericht-Bibliographie*, which we hope will gain as wide a circulation as its merit and excellencies deserve.<sup>3</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

<sup>1</sup> See this JOURNAL, Vol. VI (January, 1902), pp. 101-3.

<sup>2</sup> There are twenty-three collaborators of the *Jahresbericht-Bibliographie* to one of the *Theological and Semitic Literature*.

<sup>3</sup> We take great pleasure in expressing to Professor Krüger our thanks for the high praise given by him, in the preface to the twentieth volume of the *Theologische Jahresbericht*, to this JOURNAL's bibliography, which, the great editor believes, is the only bibliography that can favorably compare with the *Jahresbericht-Bibliographie*.

*Theologische Revue.* In Verbindung mit der theologischen Fakultät zu Münster und unter Mitwirkung vieler anderer Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Diekamp. (Münster, i. W.: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung; 20 nos. a year; M. 10.) The first fifteen numbers of this new Catholic bi-weekly have been received, and they more than realize the expectations of those who knew the editor's high reputation and great scholarship. The reviewer has examined every page of this elegantly printed periodical and can testify to its being as truly "catholic in spirit" as are the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* and the *Theologische Literaturblatt*. The *Revue* fairly promises to become for the Roman Catholic church what the two older reviews have been for Protestant readers. The articles and reviews thus far published are written by eminent scholars, known here and abroad; they are impartial in spirit, elegant in form, and fine in diction. Some partake more of the nature of independent articles than of reviews; thus, *e. g.*, Nikel's "The Recent Literature on Isa. 40-66," in Nos. 3, 4; Dörholt's "Zur Symbolforschung," Nos. 5, 6; Peters's article on "Die seitherigen Ausgaben der Bruchstücke des hebräischen Ecclesiasticus," in No. 8; Hardy's "Jahresbericht über Arbeiten aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Religionsforschung und der indischen Religionsgeschichte," in Nos. 9 and 10. Of the greatest interest are reviews signed by the editor.<sup>1</sup> We congratulate the editor and his learned collaborators upon such an auspicious beginning; we sincerely thank the publishers for having brought out these initial numbers in such splendid dress and elegant form.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Great Religions of the World.* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1901; pp. iii + 301; \$2, net.) This volume contains a series of eleven articles, reprinted from the *North American Review*, setting forth the religious condition of the world at the close of the nineteenth century. Though all are by "eminent authorities," the articles are, for the most part, journalistic and of ephemeral interest. Some of them, for example "Confucianism," are already antiquated by the rapid march of events. One at least, "Buddhism," is marked by errors inexcusable in the most rapid of journalistic writing. Two or three, notably "Brahminism,"

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally one meets with an amusing statement, such as Holzhey's in a review of GIGOT, *Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament*: "Auf die Worttrennung (sec-ond, nat-urally u. ä.) hat sich die Aufmerksamkeit des Verf. nicht mehr erstreckt." Let Holzhey study English grammar and composition before he again reviews an English book.

have genuine value, while two, "Posivitism" and "Catholic Christianity," are sectarian tracts for the instruction of the unbelieving.—  
GEORGE WM. KNOX.

*Satan and Demons.* By L. T. Townsend. (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1902; pp. 131; \$0.25.) The author treats first of current incredulity on the subject, and then gives an exhaustive view of what the Bible has to say. In the next place he finds an analogy between demons and the ordinary pests of the natural world, and claims that the divine purpose in creating these pests is, in part, to teach that in the spiritual world there are harmful beings that have to be guarded against. He gives a chapter to "The Instinctive Beliefs of Human Nature" and one to "The Facts of Experience," and holds that certain forms of sin indicate demoniacal possession at this day. After giving the relation of God to demons and of demons to Christ, he expounds in terms of the new science of bacteriology the provisions that God has made for securing "immunity." The author interprets literally what the Bible says, and makes out a strong case. But his treatment is sometimes fanciful and wanting in gravity and strength.—GROSS ALEXANDER.

*Dodekaschoinos.* *Das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Aegypten und Nubien.* Von Kurt Sethe. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901; pp. 36; M. 5.) This essay is in the series of "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens," edited by the author himself (II. Band, Heft 3), and presents a definite and interesting result out of materials which have hitherto been largely misunderstood. The famous strip of Nile shore of twelve schoinoi in length, so often mentioned in classic sources, has hitherto been supposed to extend from Assuan (Syene) to a point opposite the city of Pselchis (the present-day Dakke). It has therefore been identified with lower Nubia, ruled by the Romans until relinquished by Diocletian. With the acumen characteristic of him, the author has shown that this strip of Nile shore really included only the five miles of the first cataract from Assuan to the island of Philæ. This gives a definiteness and unity to the Dodekaschoinos which it before lacked. One can understand how the first cataract, five miles long, might form the district which was originally donated to the god Khnum and later to his heir and successor in this cataract region, Isis. The author brings out many other points of interest hitherto overlooked in the documentary evi-

dence; in particular, the recognition for the first time of the mention of the Dodekaschoinos in the Sehêl inscription of the seven-years' famine, the document attributed to King Zoser of the third dynasty, and not impossibly embodying genuine tradition from that remote age. We are indebted to the author, therefore, for a solid contribution to the geography of ancient Egypt.—JAMES H. BREASTED.

*Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, mit den nach Handschriften berichtigten Texten und einem Wörterbuch.* Von Hermann L. Strack. Dritte Auflage. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901; pp. 100; M. 2.) Of the 100 pages contained in this booklet, 24 pages are devoted to the grammar,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to an enumeration of the verbal forms found in the biblical Aramaic, 41 to text, and 19 to dictionary. The author has consulted brevity and thoroughness, and his work bears the marks of wide research. A particular word may be given to the text, which contains passages in the following order: (1) Ezra 4:1-5; 4:24-6:18 (4:1-5 in Hebrew); (2) Ezra 4:6-23; 7:11-28 (4:6, 7; 7:11, 27, 28, in Hebrew); (3) Dan. 2:1-7:28 (2:1-4a in Hebrew); (4) (a) Dan. 3:12-15, 20-24, copied from a fragment MS. now in Cambridge, England (Codex G), provided with the *supralinear* (or Babylonian) vowel-signs; (b) Dan. 4:21-7:7, selected from a MS. now in Berlin (Codex J), likewise provided with the *supralinear* pointing; Gen. 31:47 (the two Aramaic words only); Jer. 10:11. The work will prove serviceable to beginners in Aramaic, and in the texts and textual notes furnishes a convenient exhibit of the general character of manuscript variations.—C. R. BROWN.

*Ist der zweite Dekalog älter als das Bundesbuch?* Von Sven Herner (Lund: Hjalmar Möllers Univ.-Buchhandlung, 1901; pp. 34; M. 0.80), is an attempt to show that the book of the Covenant is older than the second decalogue (Exod. 34:11-25). The author discusses the latest treatments, and with other arguments concludes, not only that the description of the offering of the first-born of animals, but that the vegetable offerings, point to the priority of the book of the Covenant. He combats, and it seems successfully, the position of Steuernagel that gives to the second decalogue the priority in time.—*Das Buch Jesaja*, übersetzt und erklärt von Bernh. Duhm; zweite verbesserte Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [Nowack's Handkommentar zum Alten Testament], 1902; pp. 446; M. 8), is practically a reprint of the first edition that appeared in 1892. By the use of

smaller type in the translation this volume contains twelve pages less than the first. Examination of several standard passages and a large number of pages shows that the author still maintains his former positions on almost the entire book of Isaiah. The few variations therefrom, and the new additions, are quite insignificant as compared with the whole. We are glad to see the reissue of such a standard commentary, even though we cannot always agree with the author in his handling of the Hebrew text. The non-encyclopædic character of his material appeals particularly to students who desire an up-to-date opinion put in an energetic, fresh form.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt.* Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Ausgabe mit sprachlichem Kommentar. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902; pp. 179; M. 6.) This is an excellent translation of Job into German, with a brief philological commentary. The sights and surroundings of an oriental city inspired the famous German Assyriologist, during a brief stay at Constantinople, to a renewed study of this truly oriental poem; and, with no helps beyond the Old Testament text and his Hebrew dictionary, he has produced one of the best translations, preserving the spirit and force of the original to a surprising degree. The text is arranged in three parts: (1) the tale of Job, the pious (chaps. 1; 2; 42: 2-17), pp. 7-12; (2) the poem of Job, or: pessimism's song of songs (chaps. 3-31: 37, omitting chap. 28); and the speeches of Yahweh (chaps. 38; 39 [omitting vss. 13-18]; 40: 1-14; 42: 1-6), pp. 13-92; (3) appendices, containing (a) the speeches of Elihu (chaps. 32-37); (b) the origin of wisdom (chap. 28); and (c) the descriptions of ostrich, hippopotamus, and crocodile (39: 13-18; 40: 15-41: 26). The translator finds that the text of the book of Job is very trustworthy and well preserved, calling for very few emendations and changes. The philological commentary (pp. 123-79) falls into a general and a special part. In the former is discussed the vocabulary and phraseology of Job, strongly Aramaic in nature. In the special part we find brief philological notes to the text in the order as rearranged by Delitzsch. Many illustrations are drawn from the rich storehouse of the Assyrian learning of the great lexicographer, and similar in character to the fine observations and additions in every new issue of the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, by the hand of the general editor of this well-known series.<sup>1</sup>—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

<sup>1</sup> Attention is here called to PROFESSOR JULIUS A. BEWER's review of Delitzsch's book, published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July, 1902, pp. 255-8.

*Outline of the Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature.* By Moses Bittenwieser. (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1901; pp. 49; \$0.50.) Students of apocalyptic literature will be thankful to the author for the brief outline of the rabbinical branch. He starts out with the thesis of the constancy of the main ideas in apocalyptic literature, "the same set of thoughts being handed down from generation to generation without undergoing any material modification." Under fourteen heads he discusses "The Hebrew Book of Enoch," "An Apocalyptic Fragment," "The Ascension of Moses," "The Assumption of Moses," "The Revelation of R. Joshua b. Levi," "The Alphabets of R. Akiba," "The Elijah Apocalypse," "The Apocalypse of Zerubbabel," "The Wars of King Messiah," "The Revelation of R. Simon b. Yohai," "The Prayer of R. Simon b. Yohai," "The Midrash of the Ten Kings," "The Persian Apocalypse of Daniel," and some minor eschatological descriptions. The writer confesses that, for want of *Vorarbeiten*, the time has not yet come for a detailed and exhaustive treatment of the various writings; hence only certain general points are treated. In the author's general remarks on the spirit and tone of Jewish apocalyptic literature, and hence also of early rabbinic Judaism, we find a marked leaning on late Christian authorities, like Schürer, Bousset, and others, rather than independence of judgment, which one should expect from one having direct access to Jewish sources, and certainly in touch with Jewish sentiment.—MAX L. MARGOLIS.

*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica.* Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism. By Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. V, Part II: "Texts from Mount Athos." By Kirsopp Lake. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902; pp. 91-185; 3s. 6d.) Mount Athos has still a large store of treasures for New Testament scholars. It is only a year since Professor Lambros brought out his second sumptuous volume cataloguing the Athos manuscripts, and yet it appears that some of the largest and richest libraries are still untouched and practically unknown. In the Laura monastery there yet remain 120 vellum manuscripts, earlier than the fifteenth century, which are as yet uncolated and uncatalogued. Messrs. Lake and Wathen, in a few weeks' visit to Mount Athos, in the summer of 1899, discovered and read several manuscript fragments of unusual interest, among them being Codex Ψ (Gregory)=172 (B 52) in the Laura catalogue; Codex Evang. 1071 (Gregory)=104A in the Laura catalogue; some chapters of the *Acta Pilati*, J=Δ 117 at the Laura; and a fragment of the



*Acta Thomae*, J, from Codex 476 in the library of Ivéron. Besides these they publish a catalogue and description of the 187 biblical manuscripts which they examined in the various monasteries.

Mr. Lake's studies of the text of Codex  $\Psi$  in the gospel of Mark make clear the peculiar value of this gospel text as to age, affinities, and ending, while those of minuscule 1071, especially in its relation to Codex Bezae, as seen in the *pericope adulterae*, are distinct and very timely contributions to New Testament scholarship. — CHAS. F. SITTERLY.

*The Greek Testament: A Resultant Text Exhibiting the Critical Text of Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort and Weiss.* Edited by Eberhard Nestle; with an introduction and appendix by R. F. Weidner. (Chicago: Revell, 1901; pp. xvi + 657; 52 + viii; \$1.) This is an American edition of the third German edition of Nestle's Greek Testament, which is much improved in its apparatus over the first edition (1898). This edition of the Greek Testament is one of the most convenient for general use, and it is well that an American publisher has been found for it. The slight additions made by the American introduction and appendix do not add materially to the value of the volume. A fourth German edition has already appeared, and the modifications which were introduced into that edition have been furnished in an appendix to the present work.—*Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, cum variae lectionis delectu.* Von Friedrich Blass. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901; pp. xviii + 110; M. 3.60.) Following his studies in the text of Matthew, previously published, Blass now gives the complete text of the gospel as he would reconstruct it from the evidence available, and on the principles which he has already applied to the text of Acts, Luke, and Mark. The preface to this brochure contains a valuable discussion of the classes of variation in the text of Matthew, and the extant witnesses in their relation to one another. Here as elsewhere Blass makes large use of, and gives greater weight to, the patristic testimony than has been customary, and his emendations are made with that free hand which has become recognized as characteristic of him. The number of variations which he has introduced into the text of the gospel are very many, as compared either with the Westcott-Hort or Textus Receptus standard. He does not claim to construct a strictly western text, and fundamentally his text agrees with the work of the modern textual scholars; but his text goes a way of its own, and will deserve attention. His text-critical apparatus is also of much importance. A

collation of Blass's text of Matthew with that of Westcott-Hort, Tischendorf, etc., may be seen in an appendix to the fourth edition of Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1902).—*Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles*. By Edward White Benson. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1901; pp. xx + 669; \$7, net.) This elaborate volume contains a series of popular expositions on the Acts narrative which were given before an audience of ladies during the years 1887-92, in Lambeth Palace Chapel. The volume makes no contribution to the historical or exegetical study of the book of Acts, but is a series of homilies which aim to reach the practical religious life of the present day, more exactly of Archbishop Benson's closing years. It would seem that the publication of these addresses was in the nature of a memorial to Dr. Benson on the part of his appreciative hearers.—*Die Lehre Jesu*. By H. H. Wendt. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901; second edition; pp. 640; M. 12.) Wendt has here compressed the two volumes of his first edition into one. Part I, which was published in 1886 and dealt with the gospels as sources for ascertaining the teaching of Jesus, has been reduced from 354 pages to 43 pages, becoming the first section in the single-volume edition. A portion of the material which is thus excised has been superseded by the author's *Johannesevangelium* (1900); but the section of 170 pages which dealt with the Matthaean *Logia* has been for the present practically abandoned, since the subject receives but 10 pages in the second edition. Although the author does not promise it, one may infer that a new work on this subject is in process of making. Part II, dealing with the content of Jesus' teaching, was published in 1890. In the new edition this portion of Wendt's work reappears in the same order, but shortened some 75 pages. The chief revision has been in the section which treats of Jesus' teaching concerning the kingdom of God. The many important works upon the teaching of Jesus which have appeared in the last ten years have been duly recognized. In its new form Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* is the more fitted to be, as it is generally acknowledged to be, the best single work upon the teaching of Jesus. We should now have an English translation of this second edition, published in one volume.—C. W. VOTAW.

*Études sur les évangiles*. Par V. Rose. (Paris: Welter, 1902; pp. xiv + 336; fr. 5.) This is a series of studies on the teaching of Jesus, though not a systematic and complete treatment of that subject. The occasion, too, and aim of the study, according to the author's

own confession, are apologetic rather than scientific or didactic. They were undertaken with the special object in view of solving the doubts of a young Catholic Frenchman whose faith, it appears, had been disturbed by a residence in Germany and contact with biblical criticism. The author undertakes to show that the essentials of the Catholic faith can all be derived from the synoptic gospels. To this end he investigates these gospels. It cannot be said that his effort is successful at every point. The deduction, for instance, of the church doctrine on sacrificial atonement from the few and obscure data in the synoptics puts that doctrine on a very precarious foundation. But, on the whole, Professor Rose's method of study is sane, and his results may serve as corrective to much that passes under the name of critical work on this subject.—*Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche*. Von Th. Trede. (Gotha: Perthes, 1901; pp. viii + 273; M. 4.) The main thesis of this book is that belief in miracles was common among Jews and heathen in ancient times. Christianity, springing up in the midst of an environment where no question was raised as to the reality of miracles and hardly a distinction drawn between the real and unreal, naturally grew up with miracles as its natural concomitant. At the present time Christians feel compelled to defend the historicity of biblical miracles, and are, consequently, heavily burdened in their apologetics. The proper ground to take is that the only real miracle in the case is that the tender plant of Christianity, growing in such unpropitious atmosphere, should have survived the unfavorable conditions. The author's investigation extends over a wide range of history and literature, and is quite minute and thorough. There is a discrepancy, however, between the evidence he produces and the conclusion he draws from it, in particular as to the unreality of biblical miracles. The value of the work lies, therefore, in the collection of materials and in the designation of a field in which more satisfactory work may be done from the logical and philosophical point of view.—*Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus*. Von Rudolph Liechtenhan. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901; pp. iv + 168; M. 4.80.) The questions which the author puts before himself are: What relations did the Gnostics believe themselves to sustain toward the revelations claimed by the various religions about them? and, With which did they find themselves in harmony? Which did they condemn? He seeks the answer to these questions through a careful and painstaking examination of the writings of the Gnostics as far as they have been preserved, either in complete form or in fragmentary quotations in the writings

of others. The work thus divides itself into three parts: the sources of revelation, the appropriation of revelation, and the content of revelation. On each one of these subdivisions the whole range of Gnostic literature is ransacked for whatsoever it may have pertinent and valuable. The conclusions reached by the author are that the Gnostics believed in revelation in general, that they believed in particular revelations given to themselves, and that they held more especially to the reality of biblical revelation, though they did not accept this always as authoritative, because they ascribed a portion of it to sources inferior to God. They were not rationalists, but supernaturalists. The essay, though not exhaustive, throws a flood of light on a most interesting subject.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Die Hauptprobleme der Leben Jesu Forschung.* Von Otto Schmiedel. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1902; pp. iv + 72; M. 1.25.) This essay, written for lay readers, presents to them a convenient and serviceable résumé of the main problems encountered in the investigation of the life of Jesus. The author's position is that of the advanced critical school. He allows the fourth gospel no value whatever as a source for the life of Jesus, and discovers some fundamental contradictions between the synoptists and the fourth gospel as well as among themselves. Those who repudiate this extreme position may at the same time sympathize with his decided emphasis on the ethical rather than the apocalyptic elements in Jesus' life and teaching.—J. W. BAILEY.

*Das Messiasbewusstsein Jesu und seine neueste Bestreitung.* Von Oscar Holtzmann. (Giessen: Ricker, 1902; pp. 26; M. 0.50.) In this lecture, delivered at Frankfurt on the Main last October, Dr. Holtzmann criticises certain recent German views regarding the messianic consciousness of Jesus: that of J. Weiss, because it virtually underestimates the importance of Christ's messianic consciousness; that based on the work of Usener, because it leads to the conception that Jesus was induced by Peter to assume the rôle of Messiah; and that of Wrede, because, in the first place, it assumes that the disciples did not recognize Jesus as Messiah until after the resurrection, and because it involves a violent handling of Mark's gospel. Dr. Holtzmann regards the messianic name as implying the finality of Christianity. A higher law than that of the Messiah is unthinkable.—GEORGE H. GILBERT.

*Die christliche Freiheit nach der Verkündigung des Apostels Paulus.* Von Johannes Weiss, Professor der Theologie zu Marburg. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902; pp. 33; M. 1.) The author discusses the relation between the Pauline and the Stoical ideas of freedom. He makes three divisions: freedom from the law; freedom from sin; freedom from the world with its joys and sorrows. Many parallels between Paulinism and Stoicism are pointed out; and the basis for the relation is assumed on the supposition that Paul picked up these teachings while attending the Grecian schools in his youth. Paul, however, transforms the Stoical ideas, interprets them in the light of the personality of Christ, and thus gives them a religious significance. Certain parallelisms between the ideas of Paul and the ideas of the Stoics do not necessarily indicate, however, that the latter were the source of the former. The dependence, if actual, should be capable of being traced more effectively.—LLEW. PHILLIPS.

*La prophétie des papes attribuée à S. Malachie.* Étude critique. Par Joseph Maître. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1901; pp. xii + 864; fr. 6.) In this bulky volume the Abbé Maître breaks a lance for the authenticity of the famous prophecies attributed to St. Malachy, bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland (d. 1148). Their authority is maintained on the hypothesis that the author's historical method and principles are sufficient to solve all objections to the contrary. The last three chapters deal with the end of the world, and the objections made to belief in its near coming on scientific, philosophical, and theological grounds. The work is capable of much condensation, and its historical spirit is more mediæval than modern. The author adds nothing to the old arguments for the authenticity of these curious forecasts made known to the world for the first time in the *Lignum Vitæ* of Arnold de Wion (1595). Until we know by whom and when these short and cryptic formulæ were drawn up, their authority must be null. The book, though filled with curious erudition, is chiefly valuable for a lengthy bibliography of the "Malachy prophecies" (pp. 46-141). Its basic thesis of the approaching dissolution of the world is scarcely more certain than it was when Gregory the Great enumerated the *signa temporum* that announced the crack of doom. In the bibliography are wanting the pages consecrated by O'Curry to the "Prophecies" of Irish saints in his *MSS. Materials for Irish History* (reprint, Dublin, 1875).—THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

*Henry V., the Typical Medieval Hero.* By Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. (New York: Putnam, 1901; pp. xxv + 402; \$1.50.) [= "Heroes of the Nation" series.] To attempt to write a book which shall be both a popular biography and a piece of minute and scholarly research is to invite failure. Mr. Kingsford knows all there is to be known about Henry V.; he has grubbed through the sources conscientiously as a scholar should, and has produced a book of much value to his fellow-scholars. Nevertheless, he has failed to produce either a popular biography or a satisfactory piece of scholarly work. The conditions insured failure, but there exist other reasons for it. He has too strong a predilection for his hero, and to justify or excuse his acts is perforce unjust to countless others. His judgments of the Lollards, of Lord Cobham, of the Duke of Burgundy, of the emperor Sigismund, and of the French are all too harsh. Fortunately, he gives the evidence, even when it fails to support his own conclusions. Another reason for failure lies in his want of a sense of proportion. The book is crowded with insignificant details, even to the color of Henry's beloved steed, and too much space is devoted to "battle, murder, and sudden death"—to a treatment of military events and military minutiae. The principal conclusions established, though the writer shrinks from them, are that Henry's attack upon France was utterly unjustifiable, and that in the end it was completely fruitless so far as England was concerned.—R. CATTERALL.

*Doktor Martin Luther.* Ein Lebensbild für das deutsche Haus. Von Georg Buchwald. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1902; pp. xii + 530; M. 6.) The author prepared this life of Luther for the German household. It is not especially for children, but rather for the entire family circle gathered about the evening lamp and listening while one reads aloud. It is admirably adapted to its purpose. The language is simple and yet select. The sentences are brief and clear. The materials are divided into short sections, so that a stopping-place may always be found. Anecdotes are abundant and well chosen, to illustrate doctrines, usages, and characters. There are more than a hundred engravings of genuine historic value, constituting a museum of Germany in the sixteenth century. Though it is designed for popular family use, the book is by no means uncritical. The author studied his subject for twenty years, and for four consecutive winters made it the theme of his Sunday evening sermons. There is always a great stream of Luther literature issuing from the press of Germany, the

larger part of it destined to speedy oblivion; but this book ought to find a permanent and useful place in the German family library. As it is designed for the German family, its tone of excessive hero-worship may be pardoned. One does not expect to find the rough and passionate side of Luther in a book prepared for the domestic fireside. The book may be commended to persons who are learning German, as it is not too difficult for beginners, and as it is sufficiently important and interesting to lure the reader on to the end.—*Luther als Kirchenhistoriker*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaft. Von Ernst Schäfer. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1897; pp. viii + 515.) Dr. Schäfer gives us a thorough discussion of his subject in three parts. The first deals with the interest of Luther in church history and his courses of study in this branch of learning. The second deals with the sources whence he drew his historical statements and allusions. The third brings together in an orderly collection all the historical statements and allusions found in his works, and arranges them by periods, beginning with the apostolic age.—*Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss 1519-1530*. Herausgegeben von Georg Finsler. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariats-Handlung, 1901; pp. xxv + 167; M. 5.20.) This book is the first of a series entitled "Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte," now being published by the Zwingliverein of Zürich. The chronicle of Wyss was published in 1749, but that was so long ago that the edition is out of print. Besides, the editing, by Füsslin, was wretched. The editor of this new edition cannot be accused; he has explained obscure and obsolete terms, and has supplied an elaborate historical and biographical apparatus in extensive footnotes. Indeed, his notes occupy a larger space than the chronicle itself, and give evidence of much minute care. Wyss, the author of the chronicle, came to Zürich shortly before the appearance of Zwingli there. At first he was a baker, but by diligence made himself a teacher of penmanship, the art of writing letters and official documents, and arithmetic. He was fond of military life, and always volunteered when there was fighting to be done. He was killed in the disastrous battle in which Zwingli also fell. His chronicle covers the entire period from the coming of Zwingli to Zürich till the outbreaking of the war in which he lost his life. It selects with happy pertinacity only those events which have a bearing on the Reformation, and, therefore, though brief, is important for the history of that movement. It gives a specially good view of Zwingli, whom Wyss idolized.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Der heilige Alfons von Liguori*, der Kirchenlehrer und Apologet des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Von Franz Meffert. (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1901; pp. 280; M. 7.50.) Dr. Meffert won the prize given at Würzburg in 1890 for the best essay on Liguori's literary activity, and so since then he has been interested in this saint. But the occasion of the present volume is the wide interest excited by Robert Grassmann's extracts from Liguori's moral theology, under the scornful title: *Auszüge aus der von den Päpsten Pius IX. und Leo XIII. ex cathedra als Norm für die römisch-katholische Kirche sanktionirten Moralthologie des heiligen Dr. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori und die furchtbare Gefahr dieser Moralthologie für die Sittlichkeit der Völker* (20th ed., Stettin, 1900). The trouble with Liguori's moral theology is that it is generally considered immoral on account of the loopholes it makes for escape from plain duties through its doctrine of probabilism. That this is so Dr. Meffert is obliged to confess, though he minimizes the danger as much as possible and asserts that the saint really cleared it of its objectionable features. He also analyzes, but more briefly, Liguori's dogmatic, ascetic, and apologetic writings. In two ways he decidedly pleased Pius IX.—he taught the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary by her mother Anne, and papal infallibility.

These literary studies are prefaced by a three-page list of books frequently cited—Grassmann is not mentioned—and a brief sketch of Liguori's uneventful life, and followed by a convenient chronological list of Liguori's numerous writings, which were in both Italian and Latin. But, unfortunately and inexcusably, Dr. Meffert or his publisher failed to provide an index, and thus much curtailed the usefulness of his well-written and scholarly book.—S. M. JACKSON.

*Paul de Lagarde*. Ergänztter Abdruck des Artikels von Eb. Nestle, aus Band XI der *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902; pp. 13; M. 0.20.) The "prophet of the twentieth century"—as Lagarde has been called—is gaining in influence from year to year since his death in 1892. The views and hopes of the great Semitist—*facile princeps* in his chosen work—in matters of religion, society, government, and politics, so persistently fought for, and, alas! often so bitterly and bitingly proclaimed, are gaining ground more and more, and are becoming realities in the morning hours of the new century. Many who bitterly opposed him while alive have become Lagarde's followers since his death, to whom a most loving tribute was paid by his widow, Anna de Lagarde, in her



book, *Paul de Lagarde, Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben* (Göttingen, 1894). In his theological views he was during his lifetime understood and appreciated by only a few, who considered him "one of the most godfearing men that ever trod this earth," while others proclaimed him the type of "the sin against the Holy Ghost." That the former view is gaining ground more and more is one of the most hopeful indications of the development and progress of a truly religious spirit.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

*Die religionsphilosophischen Prämissen der Schleiermacherschen Glaubenslehre.* Von Gottfried Thümmel. (Hanover und Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1902; pp. 88; M. 1.50.) This booklet, though its theme is becoming hackneyed, is nevertheless of considerable interest, especially in view of the commonly felt need of a reconstruction of Christian dogma. Schleiermacher was a pioneer in this field and attempted to erect a new dogmatic upon a new conception of religion. The author considers Schleiermacher's work as largely the outcome of a threefold conflict: (1) between practical utilitarianism and æsthetic idealism; (2) between rationalism and mysticism and intuition; (3) between formalism and individualism. After presenting the philosophy of religion underlying Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*, the author tests its consistency with his view of the problem of dogmatic, and his doctrines of God, Christ, and the church. The book is a more valuable aid to students of historical theology than some of the ponderous works on the same subject, but I think that the author, like most writers on Schleiermacher's theology, mostly overlooks the influence of the great theologian's personal history and experiences in the formation of his theological views.—GEORGE CROSS.

*Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale.* Edited by J. B. Reynolds, S. H. Fisher, H. B. Wright. (New York: Putnam, 1901; pp. 367; \$1.40.) After the introduction by President Cyrus Northrop follow fifteen chapters written by Yale men most competent to discuss the religious life of our ancient university. No brief summary can do justice to this profoundly significant story. Those who fear that devotion to scholarship is inconsistent with vigorous, sane, and sincere piety should gather courage from this volume. To those who have responsibility for the organization and stimulation of religious activity in younger institutions these chapters will prove very helpful and instructive, for they recite the unfolding of almost every form of

experiment which it is possible to try. The mistakes and failures are as frankly and honestly told as the successes. One does not need to be a Yale graduate, only a patriot, a lover of his kind, a scholar, and a Christian, to sincerely rejoice that such a history could be told. Pastors who wish to understand the spiritual wants of young men, especially students, will find this discussion richly suggestive. The historical student will see the successive phases of religious thought and life of the community reflected in the story of a college church and congregation. On the whole, the prospects of a rational and morally earnest Christian life were never more favorable than at present.—CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON.

*Der christliche Gottesbegriff im Sinne der gegenwärtigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche.* Von Georg Schnedermann. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1901; pp. xiii + 273; M. 5.) This is the second part of the author's *Darstellung des christlichen Glaubens*, the first part of which appeared in 1899. Four more parts are yet to appear. Schnedermann represents the aspect of Schleiermacher's method developed by Frank. His task, therefore, is to set forth the content of the historically conditioned religious consciousness of a typical Lutheran. His assertions concerning God are inferences from the personal judgment: "I have communion with God." The historic creeds and the teachings of Scripture and of Christ give confirmatory evidence. While rejecting the presuppositions of orthodox dogmatics, Schnedermann is decidedly conservative in his general conclusions. The book has the warmth and eloquence of a personal testimony; but scientifically it is defective in its failure to pass convincingly from subjective assurance to objective reality, while diffuseness and frequent repetitions make serious demands on the reader's patience.—*Zeitgedanken über die heilige Taufe.* Von Georg Stosch. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902; pp. 95; M. 1.20.) The author laments the growing tendency to depreciate the significance of baptism, and defends the orthodox Lutheran conception by appeals to Scripture and to history. If it is necessary to employ such fast and loose reasoning to sustain the author's position, the prevalent indifference, of which he complains, is a sign of greater common-sense than the book displays.—*Der Begriff der christlichen Erfahrung hinsichtlich seiner Verwendbarkeit in der Dogmatik untersucht.* Von H. Sogemeier. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902; pp. 80; M. 1.20.) No theology today can be written without assigning an important place to Christian experience. The author of this pamphlet attempts

a critique of the conception of experience. What does it mean? How is it to be employed in dogmatics? He criticises Schleiermacher and Frank, the former for his subjectivism, the latter for attempting to give to this subjectivism objective cogency by specious dialectic. He would correct the method of Schleiermacher by starting from the historic revelation of God in Christ. Experience is, then, not a mere "feeling of dependence," but the observed psychological results of this specific revelation. Unless we presuppose this objective revelation, we cannot be sure that our faith is not illusion. The pamphlet is a sober and scholarly piece of work.—GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

*The Christ of History and of Experience.* Third Series of Kerr Lectures. By David W. Forrest. Third edition. (New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. xx + 489; \$2.) In the January, 1899, number of the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY this able book was favorably reviewed by Professor Wenley. The high estimate which he then put upon it has been justified by the fact that it has now reached its third edition. It is in demand among earnest, progressive thinkers. The author has mastered the latest, profoundest discussions in interpretation and theology. He presents, with unusual fairness, clearness, and force, the positions that he combats. In all of his utterances he loyally maintains the deity of Christ, but, discarding old and familiar forms of theological statement, he clothes his thought in language consonant with the freshest and ablest philosophical enunciations of our day. In view of the earlier review of this work in the JOURNAL, it is not necessary for us now to set forth its contents, nor to indulge in favorable or unfavorable criticism. While we differ with the author upon some minor points, we cannot but commend his discussion as a whole. Those who preach the gospel in our churches would be greatly stimulated and helped by making the contents of this virile volume part and parcel of their own thinking.—*L'ordre surnaturel et le devoir chrétien.* Par Th. Bourgeois. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1901; pp. 380; fr. 3.50.) This book treats in popular style of the vital relations between the divine life imparted to the soul by Jesus Christ and Christian duty. The author, a Roman Catholic, maintains that grace comes from Christ to the soul through the channel of the sacraments, and is confided to the care of the Catholic priesthood. In the language of Isaiah, he calls the sacraments "the wells of salvation." Baptism saves. The bread that the communicant eats is grace. But amid all his errors the author clings tenaciously to the personal, living Christ, who imparts to men eternal life.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Divine Pursuit*, by John Edgar McFadyen (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902; pp. 213; \$1, net), is a series of devotional meditations. The series takes its name from the meditation on Ps. 23:6, the first clause, which the professor translates, "Goodness and mercy shall *pursue* me all the days of my life." Not all the short articles, however, are so closely connected exegetically with the texts which invariably precede them. Notably is this the case with the brief essay entitled, "He Is Worthy." Dealing with the worthiness of Jesus, the author takes his theme from Luke 7:4 and emphasizes "he" and "thou" and "this," as if the text referred to Jesus, whereas it relates to the centurion who asked that his servant be healed. Such accommodation of texts is not to be commended even in the lighter labors of a higher critic. As a whole, the meditations are scholarly, spiritual, helpful. They show poetic insight and imagination. They are suggestive. Many a preacher, reading them, will feel compelled to develop into themes ideas which Professor McFadyen outlines in one clear sentence.—IRA W. ALLEN, JR.

*Parables of Life*. By Hamilton Wright Mabie. (New York: The Outlook Co., 1902; pp. 110; \$1, net.) These *Parables of Life*, eleven in number, are very brief, the longest hardly exceeding one thousand words. The unusual literary form chosen is one which only an artist like Mr. Mabie could use with success. He has used it with a shaping touch at once delicate and firm, with a reticence which avoids sentimentality and yet leaves his meaning clear. In exquisite little symbolic pictures, as of "The Inflexible Guide," which is Love, "who has learned in heaven infinite tenderness and loyalty to truth;" of "The Waiting Figure," which is the New Year offering to every man a plastic opportunity for his making or marring; of "The Last Judgment," which is the inevitable and unerring verdict of self, old lessons are taught anew with winning beauty. They are the lessons every tempted and troubled man must needs learn if his life is to be worthy of the task and the hope set before him; and many a reader will acknowledge gratefully that Mr. Mabie's art has illumined truths which, in the commonplaces of religious exhortation, are merely trite and dull.—A. K. PARKER.

*Jesus Christus und das gebildete Haus unserer Tage*. Von Gustav Sorglich. (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902; pp. 54; M. 0.80.) The author expresses his conviction that the teachings of Jesus Christ have lost

their hold on the educated of our day. They have some meaning still, he thinks, for peasants, children, beggars, and old women; but even in these circles there is so much conventional lying that one turns away from them with feelings of disgust. It will not do to cry down this little brochure as rank pessimism, for the facts which the author adduces are correct so far as they go. The criticism we would pass on them is that the author's field of observation was limited to a few German cities like Berlin. There are many centers, even in Germany, in which the teachings of Jesus have as strong a hold on the educated as they have in England and America. With the earnest plea of the author for a more personal faith in Christ as the only true basis for vital Christianity, we are in entire accord.—A. J. RAMAKER.

*Die Berliner Stadtmission.* Dargestellt von Ernst Evers. (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Stadtmission, 1902; pp. 230; M. 4.) The imperial capital of Germany is a central battleground of evangelical Christianity in our time. Every tendency of thought, every social interest, every passion and aspiration may there be studied. The city mission, which Wichern himself regarded an essential factor of the "Inner Mission," has been developed in Berlin with a wealth of financial and intellectual resources. In the volume here noticed one may trace the development of modern methods of practical Christianity under urban conditions, and the account is highly instructive and inspiring. Among the topics discussed are: parish visiting, Sunday schools, societies, evangelistic assemblies, colportage, hospices, and other means of mitigating misery and giving effect to spiritual ministries.—CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON.

*Training the Church of the Future.* Auburn Seminary Lectures on Christian Nurture, with Special Reference to the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor as a Training School of the Church. By Francis E. Clark. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1902; pp. 225; \$0.75.) This book is made up of lectures, delivered first at Auburn Theological Seminary, and afterward repeated, at different times, before nine other prominent theological schools. The author maintains that all children, in order to be saved, must be converted, but that there is a marked difference between their conversion and that of adults. Attending the latter there is apt to be much sharp and painful mental conflict, and often a violent wrench is necessary in order to free the soul from crystallized habits of sin; while in the case of

children, nurtured in Christian households, conversion is often effected with little or no conscious disturbance of mind or heart. To the latter type of conversion the churches are at last awakening, and as a result constantly increasing numbers of children are being welcomed into their membership. But it is vastly important that these recruits from the young be trained for Christian service. This, however, cannot be effected simply by instruction; these converted children and youths must be given something definite to do, and in some way must be led to do it. Our author contends that the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor presents the best methods for the accomplishment of this. What the society is, what it has done and is doing, he fully and impressively sets before us. The main objections urged against the society are ably answered. In an appendix he shows that the society, by its organizations, already encircles the globe. He also gives a "Model Constitution" for a society, and presents much interesting matter concerning the organizations that have sprung out of the Christian Endeavor movement. Whether or not one agrees with the author in all his contentions, this is a live book; in it are discussed what confronts us all, here and now, and it should be read by every pastor, both old and young.—*Words of Faith and Hope*. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902; pp. viii + 212; \$1.25.) There are in this volume thirteen addresses and sermons, delivered in different places in England, and at various times from 1868 to 1899. In the first three discourses he urges families of the Church of England to devote themselves to a life of asceticism, to live in great frugality, to take upon themselves the obligation to poverty, to study, and to devotion. Still, he treats this subject tentatively under the headings: "A Ball," "A Suggestion," "An Opportunity." Among the ten sermons and addresses that follow, those on "Labor Co-operation," "The Congregation," and "The Sovereign Motive" seem to us the most weighty and practical. But none of them is commonplace. They deal with the great central truths of the gospel and Christian experience. When found among the author's papers they lose the mark that he himself had placed upon them as "Overflow Lessons from Work." They contain thoughts that issued from the depths of his spiritual life. No one can read them attentively without being incited to a more unreserved consecration to Jesus Christ. The style of our author is well known to scholars. Whatever he touched he adorned. We did not detect an obscure or slovenly sentence in the entire volume. The author had acquired the scholarly art of presenting the profoundest thought in clear, simple,

eloquent diction. The three discourses on "Disciplined Life," or asceticism, are of least interest to readers in the United States. To us the book would have been more attractive if they had been placed last or omitted. Taken as a whole they are hardly in accord with evangelical truth. To say, as our author does, that "the Christian found the remedy for overwhelming evil in the creation of a new life of the soul out of the completest subjection of the body" is to our mind an inversion of the gospel.—*Addresses on the Revised Version of the Holy Scripture*. By C. J. Ellicott. (New York: E. & J. B. Young, 1901; pp. 138; \$0.75.) These addresses form the charge of the author, the bishop of Gloucester, to the archdeaconry of Cirencester, in October, 1901. In them he gives a lucid history of Bible revision in England for the past fifty years, and cordially recognizes the co-operation of scholars on this side of the Atlantic in this great work. He notes the early revision of parts of Scripture by individuals, and shows how these isolated and preparatory efforts led to the more general and systematic work authorized by the convocation of Canterbury. He enumerates the principles by which the revisers were guided in their labors, shows the processes by which they determined the Hebrew and Greek texts from which their translations were made, and the manifest superiority of their renderings to those of the Authorized Version. At the close of his last address he pleads for the public use of the revised Scriptures in the services of the churches of his diocese. Our author bore a prominent part in the work of revision. He speaks from personal observation and experience. Anyone wishing to become acquainted with probably the most important religious movement of modern times will find this little volume quite indispensable.—*The Blind Spot and Other Sermons*. By W. L. Watkinson. (Chicago: Revell, 1902; pp. viii + 278; \$1, net.) In this book there are eighteen discourses which will take a high rank in sermonic literature. In kind they are topical; in character, fresh, popular, scriptural, evangelical. The author has evidently read widely and thoroughly. He uses plentifully the aptest illustrations drawn from the latest investigations in science and philosophy, nature, handicrafts, society, government, history, both secular and biblical. He quotes Scripture with rare pertinency. His style is vivacious, with suggestive, brilliant antitheses. Scattered through his discourses are quotable, epigrammatic sentences like these: "Of all dust thrown in men's eyes none is more blinding than gold dust;" "We are not waiting for God, God is waiting for us." The author's style is very clear, but these excellent sermons would

have been better if he had used a larger number of short, Saxon words, and had been more direct in address. The sermon entitled "Spiritual and Worldly Life" is overloaded with long words of Latin origin. While there is not a weak discourse in the book, thoughtful readers will find "The Splendid Isolation" and "Personal Responsibility" especially stimulating and helpful."—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

### BRIEF MENTION.

*Zum Kampfe der drei Weltreligionen.* (Buddhismus, Islam, Christentum.) Ein Katechismus für wahrheitssuchende Leute. Von R. Falke. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902; pp. 102; M. 1.—A brief presentation of the fundamental doctrines and facts of these three religions to the end of demonstrating the superiority and final victory of Christianity.

*Notes on the History and Text of Our Early English Bible.* By Geo. L. Owen. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.; pp. 80; 5s., net.—Is simply a collection of brief notes, descriptive of the chief early English and Welsh Bibles. There is no preface, no introduction, no table of contents, and no indices. While these notes are valuable as isolated statements, the reader who wishes to know the history of the great English translations must consult other and more connected and consecutive treatments of the subject.

*Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas.* Von Bernhard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901; pp. 694; M. 9.50 bound.—The last (eighth) edition of this volume in the *Meyer Kommentar* was published in 1892, and was the joint work of B. Weiss and J. Weiss (father and son), the former contributing the commentary on Mark and the latter that on Luke. In the present (ninth) edition the volume is once more the entire work of B. Weiss, as in the sixth and seventh editions (1878, 1885). The commentary on Mark has been thoroughly revised, while the commentary on Luke is an entirely new work, embodying the veteran scholar's latest interpretation of the third gospel. The readings of Codex D have received careful attention throughout the work, because of Blass's studies; but Weiss is not inclined to assign much value to them.

*Die Paulinischen Briefe und der Hebräerbrief, im berichtigen Text, mit kurzer Erläuterung.* Von Bernhard Weiss. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902, second edition; pp. 693; M. 10.—This is Vol. II of Weiss's latest work, covering the whole New Testament in three volumes, under the title, *Das Neue Testament, Handausgabe*. The first edition of this volume appeared in 1896; this second edition has been entirely reset, and the book has been increased ten pages in size; but the modifications and additions are very slight. We have in this volume by Weiss one of the most valuable briefer commentaries on the Pauline epistles.

*Handbook to the Gospel according to S. Luke for the Use of Teachers and Students.* By Morley Stevenson. London: Rivingtons, 1901; pp. xi+264; 2s. 6d.—The value of this book lies in its attempt to present a method "to help teachers in their own study for examinations and in their teaching."



*The Wit and Wisdom of Jesus.* By George Wright Buckley. Boston: James H. West Co., 1901; pp. 213; \$1.—Is an earnest attempt "to bring back the real Jesus to view him in human aspects and relations, to view him as under a universal law of human development and limitation, whereby even the greatest men are linked to the imperfect age in which they live and to the more or less specialized nature of the work given them to do." "Recognizing the legitimacy and effectiveness of well-timed wit and humor, the prince of righteousness exercised them to a purpose befitting one mindful of the gravity of his mission and profoundly sensitive to the tragic side of life." In ten chapters are discussed: "Humor vs. Criticism," "Life-Sketches: Turning 'Men's Ears into Eyes,'" "Misunderstood," "Kindred and Neighbors," "Pithy Sayings and Retorts," "Opposition and Quotation," "Miracles; Practical Religion," "Vanquished Craft," "Hypocrisy and Self-Righteousness," "Closing of the Conflict." The book is pleasantly written and stimulating; full of sympathy with the great mission of "this poetic, social Jesus, this deep-feeling, quick-glancing, heaven-piercing Jesus, sweeping with his master touch, and for godward ends, the chords of wit, of humor, of pathos." We wish it godspeed, a wide circulation, earnest and sympathetic readers.

*Die Wiederkunft Christi und die Aufgabe der Kirche.* Von C. Cremer. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902; pp. 65; M. 0.80.—The three addresses in this pamphlet are directed specifically against the Irvingian eschatology. The author's presuppositions make his arguments convincing only to those who have confidence in theories based on biblical details.

*Die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl.* Von C. Blecher. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902; pp. vi + 139; M. 2.25.—A polemic against the "false principle" held by both the Missouri-Synod Lutherans and their opponents in regard to the doctrine of election, with the author's interpretation of the teaching of the Formula of Concord on the subject. A diffuse treatise dealing with a petty controversy.

*La mère de Dieu et la mère des hommes, d'après les pères et la théologie.* Par J. B. Terrien. II: "La mère des hommes." 2 tomes. Paris: Lethielleux; pp. 612, 551; fr. 8.—These two volumes complete the work, the first part of which was reviewed in this JOURNAL, January, 1902, p. 203. The function of the Virgin in the salvation of men is set forth with the spirit and method there indicated.

*Introduction to Sociology.* By Arthur Fairbanks. Third edition, revised and in part rewritten. New York: Scribner, 1901; pp. xvii + 307; \$1.50, net.—A clear, well-arranged, and sane discussion of this great subject. Valuable as a manual for the general reader.

*The Annual Literary Index, 1901*, including Periodicals, American and English; Essays, Book-Chapters, etc., with Author-Index, Bibliographies, Necrology, and Index to Dates of Principal Events. Edited by W. I. Fletcher and R. R. Bowker. New York: Office of Publishers' Weekly, 1902; pp. xii + 278.—Is highly recommended as a most useful reference-book, and should be found on the shelves of every library here and abroad.

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